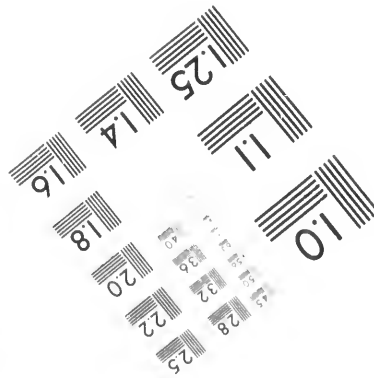
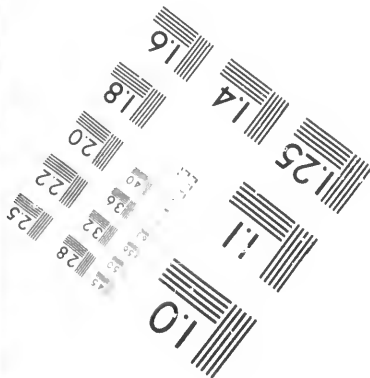
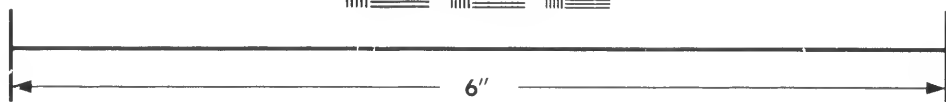
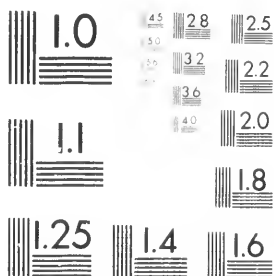


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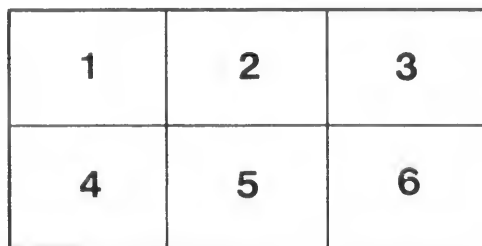
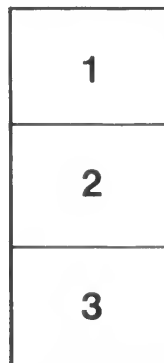
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*Author of "Business Guide," "Household Guide," "Search Lights,"
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PREFACE.

IN preparing this volume the aim of the publishers has been to present as clearly as possible to their Canadian readers the leading events in the history of Canada and the United States, and the characteristics of citizenship in the two countries, respectively. The history of Canada was prepared by a writer thoroughly familiar with the events which he has recorded. Beginning with the earliest settlement of the country, he has discussed, with great clearness, the influences which developed its peculiar form of Government. The recognition of the French language and the Roman Catholic religion by the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, had the effect of attaching very strongly to the British Crown the inhabitants of Lower Canada, and it was this circumstance perhaps, more than any other, that prevented them from uniting with the other thirteen colonies in the Convention which met in Philadelphia, in 1774, to remonstrate against the Stamp Act and the other duties imposed upon goods imported into the colonies. The subsequent events which led to the establishment of a Parliament in Upper and Lower Canada, in 1791, will be found both interesting and instructive. Then follows a long struggle between the advocates of responsible government and an irresponsible executive, which led to the rebellion in Upper Canada, in 1837, under William Lyon Mackenzie, and to a similar revolt in Lower Canada under Louis Papineau—a rebellion which happily terminated in the concession of responsible government by the Imperial Parliament and the

Union of Upper and Lower Canada under the Act of 1841. The growth of a larger national sentiment is fully set forth in the events which led to the Confederation Act of 1867. Perhaps in the history of no country is there a more striking illustration of the absorption of party predilections by the broader spirit of the most comprehensive patriotism. No two party leaders in the history of Canada ever contended for supremacy with greater determination than the party leaders of that day, namely, the Hon. George Brown, representing the Liberals, and Sir John Macdonald, representing the Conservatives. Confronted, as they both were, however, by racial and religious difficulties, which rendered the task of governing Canada as then constituted all but impossible, both agreed to surrender their respective party leadership for the purpose of consummating, by means of the best men in both parties, a new Dominion, wherein the responsibilities of nationhood would suppress the bickerings of prejudice and the parochial character of racial preference. That their attempt was not a failure is made quite clear by a study of the events recorded in the chapter dealing with that portion of Canadian history.

Not the least interesting part of the volume devoted to the history of Canada is an account of its Parliament, its present Constitution, the modes of conducting public business, and the relative powers of the House of Commons and the Local Legislatures. Any person who studies this section of the volume cannot fail to be well informed as to how the laws of his country are made, and as to what is involved in the term citizenship. The portraits which accompany the sketch of the history of Canada will no doubt add greatly to the interest of the reader.

Running parallel with the history of Canada a reasonably full account is given of the history of the United States. An account will be found of the causes which led to the Revolution of 1776, not the least interesting part of which

is the story of the Declaration of Independence and sketch of the persons concerned in its preparation. Among these the names of Jefferson, Adams and Franklin, are the most likely to be kept in perpetual remembrance. The contrast between the British and American modes of Government, and of conducting public business, is worthy of careful study. Notwithstanding the democratic character of American institutions, and notwithstanding the desire of the American people to give a distinctive individuality to everything American, the parliamentary procedure in both countries is very much alike. Washington has its Senate as well as its House of Representatives, corresponding with the Lords and Commons of the Mother country. Under both Governments the Speaker presides over the deliberations of the people's representatives, and under both the mace is the emblem of sovereignty--the sovereignty represented in the United States being the people, in Great Britain the Crown.

To Canadians the comparative study of institutionalism is of great value. Though differing from the Americans in forms of Government, and differing from them most radically in our attitude towards the country from which we have both sprung, we cannot fail to profit by a study of the causes which led to the growth, within the memory of the present generation, of the most powerful Republic of ancient or modern times. The founder of the American Republic passed off the stage less than a hundred years ago. As President he exercised his constitutional powers by the authority of about 5,000,000 people; his successor exercises authority by virtue of the same constitution over 70,000,000 of people. Such growth within one short century was never seen before in the history of the world. The student of history makes no mistake when he enquires carefully and philosophically into the cause of such marvellous development.

Several pages are devoted to the history of inventions,

which have contributed to the commercial prosperity and social comfort of the Anglo-Saxon race, some of which originated in the brain of the inventive Yankee. Of these, perhaps the most notable are the sewing machine and the electric telegraph. The success of the American people in railway construction, in the building of cities, in the opening of mines, and in various other departments of activity, is discussed at considerable length. The aim of the publishers has been, not to weary the reader with a superabundance of detail, but to give such a proportionate setting to the various events recorded that the reader in the perusal of the volume from beginning to end would have a clear conception of the growth of the two Governments which practically monopolize the Continent of North America. To Canadians, their title to the northern half is indisputable, if the historical statements herein set forth are true, as they no doubt are. The right of Americans to the other half it would not be convenient to dispute, even were it questionable, which does not appear to be the case. With the progress of the centuries, both countries will no doubt attain to greater influence and power, and the best guarantee that can be given as to their future relations will be that each would understand the history and institutions of the other, and that each should regard the right of the other to shape its government and its institutions according to those national affinities which permit of diversity without subserviency, and political rivalry without national jealousy.

TORONTO, CANADA.

THE PUBLISHERS.

A PARTIAL TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Citizenship	11
The Duties of an American Citizen.....	13
Republic—Dominion	15
Two Threads of North American History	26
The Rights of an American Citizen	33
Educational or Property Qualifications for Voting	38
Story of Canada	44
The Story of the Declaration of Independence.....	69
Congress Compared with European Parliaments	74
Parliament of Canada.....	82
How Bills are Passed and Laws Made	99
Population of Principal Towns and Cities in Canada ..	118
Comparative Population of Principal Cities	121
The Gothenburg Temperance System.....	128
Two Canadas	135
The Story of the First Sewing Machine	177
Prof. Morse's Trial	180
The Story of the First Electric Telegraph	183
The Laying of the Atlantic Cable	185
Different Submarine Lines	187
The Story of the First Railroad	187
The First Steamboat	191
The Invention of the Electric Light	194
Shall the Government Own the Railroads?	208
The Origin of Political Parties in America	214
Filibustering or Legislative Obstructions	235
Origin of Decoration Day	238
The Political Landslides of American History	240
Education and Crime	245
Dominion of Canada	248
Preventing Strikes	257
The Right and Wrong of Strikes.....	260
Boards of Labor Conciliation	264
The Principles and Declarations of Organized Labor..	265
Labor Legislation	267
The Blighting Curse of Labor	271
Emancipated Labor	276

	PAGE
The Principles of Protection.....	278
Canadian Tariffs	281
History of American Tariffs	283
McKinley Tariff and Wilson Law	290
Table Showing Difference in Tariffs	293
The Principles of Free Trade	301
Canadian Women	305
Shall Women Vote?	308
History of Paper Money in the United States	322
A Complete History of Panics	324
Different Commodities Used as Money	325
Money	326
Bimetallism or Free Coinage Defined.....	332
Dimensions of all Gold and Silver	340
Canadian Money	341
Both Sides of the Silver Question	342
Gerrymandering and Its Effects	347
Civil Service in Canada	351
United States Civil Service Rules	354
Voting in Canada	359
Qualifications for Voting in Each State	362
Woman Suffrage	367
Causes and Effects of Trusts.....	369
"Monroe Doctrine," Canadian View of It	372
The "Monroe Doctrine"	373
Cost of the Wars of the United States	376
Canadian Homestead Laws	379
How Land is Surveyed	381
United States Homestead Laws	384
Canadian Naturalization Laws	390
Naturalization Laws	391
Immigration into the United States.....	395
Corner Stones of American History	396
The British Flag "Union Jack"	399
Land Owned by Foreigners	409
Canadian School System	414
History of the School System	418
The Hope of Our Public Schools.....	423
Canadian Militia	434
Military Training in Public Schools	437
Constitution of the United States.....	447
Grave Dangers in Our Election System.....	459
History of Twenty-seven Administrations in the United States	464-578

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Citizenship.

“Canada wants patriotic men—men who
Can feel their bosoms throb at mention of
Their country’s name—men whose allegiance is
Not based on selfishness ; whose honesty of soul
Would scorn promotion’s highest seat,
If treason were the price—men who will guard
Her soil with sacred care, and when she sounds
The trumpet of alarm, will grasp their swords,
Rush to the battle-field with martial tread,
And fearless hurl destruction on her foes.”

—Ross.

In relation to his country, a man can bear no designation that implies so large a responsibility as that of Citizen—and, if the responsibility be well discharged, no title can be more honorable than it. Indeed, to have been a good citizen is presumed to be the qualification, on account of which a man may attain to the high offices and honors in the service and gift of his country.

The term is of ancient origin, coming to us from the old Roman Republic, where the conferring of the *jus civitatis* qualified a man to exercise the franchise, or right to vote, to seek the confidence of his fellow-citizens, to participate in the government of the city and strive for its highest offices.

It followed that, as this designation gained its honorable meaning in that vigorous old republic, so it has been adopted by the republics of more recent times, most notably that of the United States—the great American Republic.

1. **Citizen of the United States.**—A citizen of the United States is, therefore, one who has obtained the right to vote, that is, to exercise the franchise not only of the State in which he resides, but also of the Republic. This status becomes his either by birthright or naturalization, and demands no property qualification.

2. **Citizen of Canada.**—In Canada the term is not usually employed in so important a sense. It is more frequently applied to those who are the residents of our cities, even though they may be aliens.

From our vicinity, however, to the great Republic, and our intimate associations with its people, and no doubt in some imitation of them, we often speak of ourselves as citizens of a particular Province, or of our great Dominion. In so speaking, we imply that we hold and exercise the respective franchise indicated.

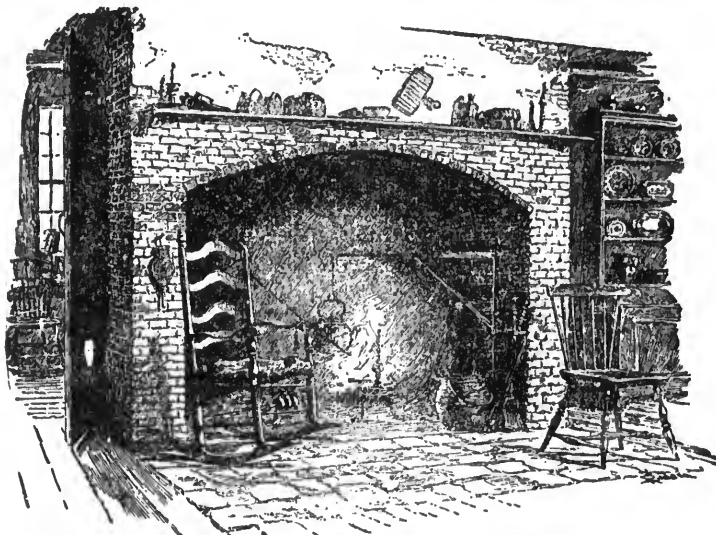
3. **British Subject, then Canadian Citizen.**—Terms must not be confused. It is to be borne in mind, that in Canada a man must be a British subject, before he can become a citizen of the Dominion, and since the *franchise* in Canada requires a property qualification, it follows that, although all citizens of the Dominion are British subjects, all British subjects, even though resident in Canada, are not Canadian citizens.

The property qualification demanded by the Canadian franchise is, however, so small that the latter is to all intents free. Instead, therefore, of its being an impediment, it should be an incentive to every lover of Canada to win his place as a citizen of his Province, and, above all, of this fair Dominion.

The principle of the franchise—the right, duty and privilege of the freeman, whether he be a citizen of the Dominion or the Republic—has been inherited in his country's constitution, from the early struggles of the same great history.

NOTE.—Whatever, therefore, in the after pages of this book is addressed to the citizen of the Republic, as to his watchfulness over national and personal rights and his diligence in political duties, may be taken in almost every instance by the citizen of the Dominion, as applicable to himself in the discharge of his national duties, the enjoyment of his rights, and the proper use of his inestimable privileges.

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Gen. Washington's Fire Place.

The Duties of an American Citizen.

1. **Political Rights.**—Every American or foreign-born citizen of the United States has certain political privileges and inalienable rights. In order to sustain a good government every man should exercise his political rights to the best of his knowledge. As every citizen is protected by the government he should not shrink from his duty in giving to the state certain protection whenever he may be called upon to do so. We need better citizenship, more education, and a better knowledge of our system of government. Every man should be able to vote intelligently.

2. **Your Duty.**—It is your duty as an American citizen to obey the laws, even if they are, in your belief, unjust or unwise. General Grant once shrewdly said that the best way to procure the repeal of an unjust or unwise law was to rigorously enforce it. It is your right to expose the folly or injustice of a law, to demand its repeal, and to try to get a majority to repeal it. But while it remains a law, you are to obey it.

3. Voting at the Polls.—It is the duty of every American citizen to exercise his right to vote at all the primaries and all the elections to which he is eligible. The American people are too indifferent in nominating and supporting men for office. To put up a ticket is too frequently left to a lot of "bummer" politicians, and the masses vote the ticket because it is gotten up by the "bummers" of their party. When selfish and unprincipled politicians control the election, incompetent and unworthy men are put up and elected to office. Indifference on the part of the people is the curse of American politics. Every citizen should go to the caucuses or primaries and insist upon the nomination of good men, and if incompetent or unworthy men are nominated refuse to support them. Every good citizen should support the best man for the office, regardless of politics, when it becomes a question of fitness, and refuse to vote for a man whom he knows to be unworthy and unqualified to fill the office for which he has been nominated, and you will do your duty to yourself and to your country. It is a dangerous thing to vote for a man simply because he has been nominated by a certain party. Let merit and ability be the claim for office.

4. Prompt Execution of the Laws.—It is your duty to insist upon the prompt execution of the laws; to be ready, even at much personal inconvenience, to aid in their enforcement, if you are called upon by proper officers; and to resent with indignation every sign of lawlessness and violence, and require its vigorous suppression. For instance, if a riot should break out in a city where you are living, you are not to go out of town until it subsides, but you are to hasten to offer your support to the authorities, and to require their prompt and decisive action to restore order.

5. Grand or Petit.—It is your duty—if you are a voter—to serve, when called on, as a grand or petit juror; and this at even great inconvenience.

6. Act Generally with Some Political Party.—It is your duty to act generally with some political party and to exert your influence upon its leaders to induce the nomination of capable and honest men for office. And it is your duty, if your party nominates a bad man, to vote against him and thus keep the public and general good before your eyes, and set an example of true public spirit before your fellows.

7. Watch the Conduct of Public Officers.—It is your duty to watch the conduct of public officers, to see that they perform their duties and observe their constitutional limitations; and if they do not, then it is your duty to help to

expose them and at the election to punish them. For it is only by such vigilance that a nation can preserve its liberties unimpaired. These are your political duties, which you cannot neglect or abjure without disgrace to yourself and harm to the country.

8. **Party Government.**—As party government is inevitable and necessary in a free country, it is the duty of every citizen to attend the primary meetings of the party with which he acts. If honest and intelligent men neglect the primaries, they thereby hand the control of their party over to bad men. It is important to the welfare of the country that both the great political parties shall be controlled by wise and honest men; for a corrupt or debased minority can offer but a feeble opposition to the majority, and in reality helps to strengthen and to debase the majority; whereas a powerful, honest and intelligent minority compels the majority to govern carefully and honestly. The demoralization of the party which is in the minority may thus, as you see, bring calamities on a country.

Republic—Dominion.

1776. A.D. 1867.

These two words stand for two distinct *federal* systems of government, in successful operation, side by side, on this continent. From the coincidence of their being federal in name, many people enjoying the benefits of their protection, hold the opinion that they are very nearly identical in fact, and would demur to the statement that they are widely different in construction and methods of working.

The purpose of this series of parallel sketches is to set forth the leading features of the two systems, with respect to constitution, plan of government, and political methods—as well as the national and commercial growth under each—in order that Canadians and Americans may have a correct conception of, what may be called, the daily working of their respective national organizations. With this purpose in view, nothing is set forth in these sketches but the facts which *preceded* the formation of the constitutions, the *letter* of the constitutions, and the facts which have *followed* them.

The facts which *precede*, and lead up to the formation of the constitution of a country, although for the most part overlooked, are, at all times, of very great importance, for

as they have produced the motives for the constitution, they are responsible in large measure for whatever may flow from it. To study such facts in the light of experience, with old grievances, if any, forgiven, and prejudices laid aside, is to deepen the foundations of intelligent loyalty, strengthen the ties of healthy citizenship, and broaden the sympathy of good citizens of both countries with one another.

In this class of events is found the explanation of the opinion, regarding the near *identity* of the two systems, that it is owing to the fact of their common origin in the principles of the mother constitution of Great Britain, and to their being written in the language common to both nations.

Therein exists also the reason for their *diversity*, namely, the division of sovereignty, when the thirteen colonies secured the acknowledgment of their Independence, an altered national relation which called for a new national motive, and a development consistent with that motive.

Lastly, the fact, that the inception of the federal system of the Republic was antecedent to that of the Dominion, is not to be passed over. The former, in its decades of growth and operation, furnished the data of its experience to the framers of the latter constitution.

The following statements give concisely the national motive at the foundation of each constitution :

1. The constitution of the REPUBLIC was formed for the purpose of binding its original thirteen States in a Union, which should become a self-existing nation, to live with Great Britain as with other nations, in friendship if possible, or in antagonism if necessary. Every question of administration, whether relating to internal or international affairs, receives the direct consideration of the citizen of the Republic in the exercise of his franchise.

2. The constitution of the DOMINION, on the other hand, has been framed, in order that, by a union of its constituent provinces, there should exist a self-governed nation, in continued association with Great Britain, and forming an enduring segment in the circle of her empire.

Since the *treaty-making* power of the British Empire resides in the British Government, the central authority of the Empire, it may be thought that the citizen of the Dominion has nothing to do with international questions. Such is not the fact. The Dominion *has a voice* in all such questions directly affecting her interests. Although the Home government must take the initiative in negotiating these ques-

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tions, representatives of the Dominion are selected to act with those appointed by the Imperial Government, whether it be to arrange a treaty, appear before a court of arbitration, or otherwise settle the international difficulty. These questions therefore frequently exert their influence upon the Dominion in as lively a manner as they do upon the Republic.

The international problems requiring the attention of the Dominion have been, and are likely to be, chiefly those which arise from the vicinity of the Republic and the rivalry of their mutual interests.

3. Regarding international questions, there can be no legislation on the part of the Dominion which would embarrass the position of the Dominion in relation to the Empire.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that the citizen of the Dominion has a *two-fold* motive in the performance of his national duties. He is not only a citizen of the Dominion; he is first a subject of the British Empire.

Political Training for the Citizen.

1. **Duty of Citizens.**—Since any male citizen of suitable age may become a legislator or an officeholder, while every citizen has an appreciable influence upon the political life of his neighborhood, it is evident that every citizen of the United States ought to have some intelligent comprehension not only of the essential features of our own government, national, state and local or municipal, but also of the fundamental principles of political rights, political economy and political science.

2. **Citizens from Two Sources.**—We get our supply of new citizens from two sources—immigration and the growing up of American children. We are all keenly alive to the dangers that threaten our government when ignorant and immoral foreigners are made citizens by hundreds and thousands. Our United States laws are explicit in requiring evidence of fitness for citizenship before naturalization papers are granted. "It shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the court admitting such alien, (a) that he has resided in the United States at least five years, (b) and that during that time he has behaved as a man of good moral character, (c) attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, (d) and well disposed to the peace and good order of the same." That is the law.

3. **Making Citizens of Foreigners.**—How safe we should be from the pernicious effect of much ignorance and vicious anarchism which now trouble us if committees of good citizens had attended at our courts of naturalization and had forced home upon the consciousness of all officers of the



CHARLES SUMNER,
America's Ablest Statesman.

law who have power to grant naturalization papers, the will of the people, that this wise law be obeyed! But in practice these provisions of the law are a dead letter, as any one knows who has sat for a few hours in any of our large cities and has seen the purely mechanical method of making American citizens out of foreigners—ignorant, reckless, too

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often manifestly immoral and besotted. The process is "mechanical," because it is usually conducted in the interest of one or the other of the party "machines." By its agents the machine brings these undeserving candidates to the court and pays their way through, that it may "vote them" afterward. The shame and the danger to our government are manifest.

4. **Obligations of State and School.**—But the great majority of our citizens come to us not from the immigrant steamships, but from the public schools! What are our schools doing to provide the United States with citizens intelligent enough upon matters political and patriotic enough to secure the permanent success of our form of government "by the people, for the people?"

5. **Obligation of the State.**—The obligation of the state to maintain the school we hear often enough emphasized. Is the obligation of the school to support the state by using all right means to train good citizens as frankly recognized and as fairly met? In our school system, is there a large enough place made for those studies which promote intelligent patriotism, voluntary obedience to law, and public-spirited interest in public affairs?

6. **Germany's Admirable Plan.**—In Germany it became a fundamental maxim of state policy a century ago "what you would have come out in the life of a nation you must put into the schools and the universities." The wonderful vigor of the national life of Germany in these last decades is directly traceable to her observance of this law of self-preservation applied by the state to Germany's educational system, in which patriotism is steadily and systematically inculcated, and in the fitting of young men for the proper discharge of public duties has an important place.

7. **Patriotism the Strength of a Nation.**—Of our forms of government, as of everything else that is precious in life, it is true that "if we would preserve it we must love it." And intelligent study of the underlying principles of government will stimulate a just pride in our own form of government and will furnish a rational basis and a sure support for that loyal spirit of true patriotism which is the strength of a nation.

8. **The Principles of Good Citizenship.**—All colleges which deserve the name now furnish full instruction in such themes. But important as is the influence of liberally educated men upon the life of America, it is but a small percentage of our voters who in their school studies reach the college course, or even the high school. It is most important that all citizens, girls and boys alike, in all our

schools should have elementary instruction in the principles of good citizenship. It is the mothers of our boys and the early school life of our boys that largely determine the life-bias toward good citizenship or bad citizenship for the great mass of our voters.

9. Value of Good Mothers.—An intelligent, public-spirited mother is almost by necessity the mother of patriotic sons and daughters. Given good mothers in this respect and good sons follow. To the ambitious mother who asked the witty English divine "how she could make sure that her son should one day become a bishop," he replied, "first get him born right." This goes to the root of the matter. And the next step, that we may have as many boys as possible early trained in the principles and the spirit of good citizenship, is to see that mothers, sisters and teachers are intelligently awake to the responsibility of residence among a self-governing people. The girls and the women of our country should be (as we believe many of them are) intelligent patriots, with clear knowledge and sound convictions upon matters of public interest in the state.

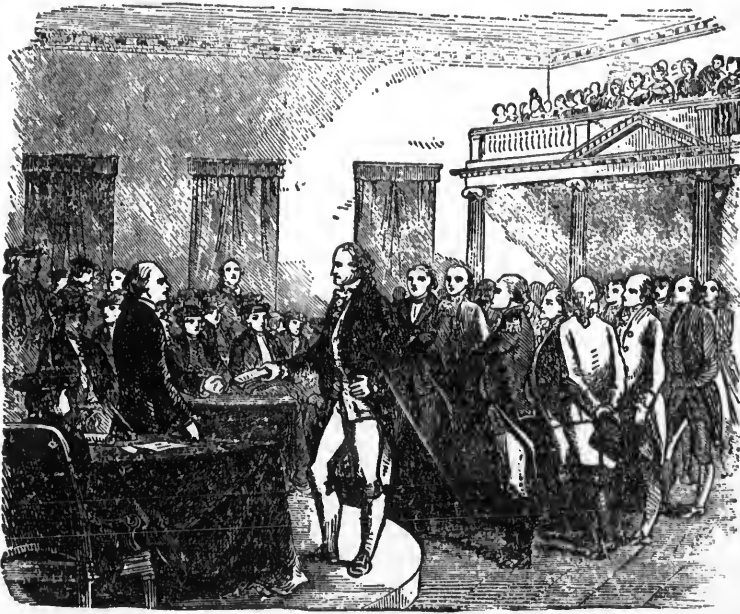
10. School Life of the Boy.—In his school life the conditions are so essentially different from those of his home life that the boy virtually begins his social life when he enters school. At home in the family love self-denial was the law. In the school, as in the state, consideration of justice, of equity, of impartiality, must have the first place. "What relations with others, my equals are possible for me?" is the question the schoolboy is practically answering, day by day, whether or not he puts it into words. The way he carries himself among his schoolmates, the standards of honor and of behavior which he accepts and helps to form, will go with him through life. The school by its tone and spirit, as well as by its studies, determines in no slight degree the nature of those relations with his fellows—relations just and harmonious, or selfish and discordant—which are to make or mar his life as man and citizen.

11. Responsibility of the Teacher.—Teachers with whom rests the responsibility of fixing these standards in school life, will not train their pupils intelligently for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship unless they have themselves given time and attention and loving thought to the principles of sound government and to the demands which popular government, if it succeeds, must constantly make upon the citizen for moral thoughtfulness, self-control and public spirit. The study of the history of our country, with emphasis upon shining examples of patriotism and disinterested goodness; patriotic songs in the school-

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room; patriotic selections for reading and declamation, these help to form the true spirit and tone in the school. But more than this is needed.

12. Begin to Teach the Citizen Early.—There should be in all our schools (and in a "grade" not so far advanced that most children leave school before they reach it) simple, clear, convincing teaching of the elementary principles of government; of the purpose and design of law and government; of the ultimate foundation of all government upon



Washington Resigning His Commission.

justice, equity, righteousness, upon the moral law, and of the supreme authority of that law over majorities as well as minorities, however "free" the form of government may be. Every young citizen should early be taught that a majority has a right to do what it pleases only when it pleases to do what is right. Even in his early school days every future citizen should learn to feel the solemn responsibility which rests upon every citizen of a free state to govern himself thoughtfully, voluntarily and strictly.

13. **Duty of Americans.**—But whatever may be done or left undone by our schools, let Americans see to it that in the great system of public schools which is so closely connected with our national life there be early introduced, steadily pursued and strongly emphasized, such studies as tend directly to make moral, intelligent, loyal citizens, who understand and love not only their rights but also their duties as citizens of the United States. Our highest interests depend upon this. So only can government by the people be carried on with safety to the people; and it is an unquestionable maxim of government, as deserving of attention in directing the peaceful policy of national education as at moments of crisis and manifest danger to the state, "*Salus populi lex suprema*"—"The welfare of the people is the highest law."

The Young Statesman's Opportunities.

1. **Political Advantages.**—What our country at the present time most needs are more thoroughly honest, competent and educated young men. Our legislatures are made up of men entirely unfit to make laws for the state. Our congressmen seem to lose sight of the principles of patriotism and statesmanship, in their partisan struggle for supremacy and power. In every department of government, both legislative and executive, there is not only room, but a serious need for a higher ideal of statesmanship. Every young man should fit himself not only to become a good citizen who can vote intelligently, but he should prepare himself to assume the responsibilities of office. It is uncertain when he may be called upon to serve the people in some higher capacity than private citizenship. This country is rich in both political and financial opportunities. Every young man should become familiar with the history of the past as well as to read and study the political questions of the day.

2. **America is Another Name for Opportunity.**—Its whole history appears like a last effort of the Divine Providence on behalf of the human race. To have the age, in which so much has been done, brought to the intellectual conception of mankind as "new and exceptional," was a fine literary effort. But, above all these things to have it once and forever realized, not only by the people here

themselves, but by the world, that "America was another name for Opportunity," imparted a comprehensive sweep and scope to the idea of how mankind might be benefited by this gift, in this age. It was a message specially designed, not only to stimulate the people of the continent itself, but to notify and guide the rest of the world to an appreciation of the chances of success that awaited them here.

Our fathers guided, first by the sturdy principles of the Pilgrim Fathers, developed in patriotism by the Revolution, fused by the powerful influence of self-government, and molded together by assimilative forces that were irresistible, a nation has been created that is perfectly equipped to fulfill the highest mission ever intrusted to a people. This mission has been the subjugation and development of the most complete gift of Providence to mankind.

3. **New Fields.**—But more remains to be done than by commerce to conquer half a continent. The destiny of such a people, with such an equipment, is not confined to trading within themselves. Having now occupied the land and created an internal commerce of magnitude unparalleled, they may, with good chances of success, turn outward their gaze. The world is before them, waiting the improvement of the Opportunity for which America is another name. To the north and west a vast region, greater than that already subjugated, awaits development in a conquest by commerce, glorious only in comparison with that already achieved, in the lesser half of the continent. In the southern hemisphere numerous nationalities, and in the East teeming populations, await the coming of the new traders from the West, in ships of his own, with products of his infinite skill, and supplies from his boundless resources. Thus only will the greatest of opportunities be fulfilled.



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The Young Man's First Vote.

1. **More than One Million Young Men** will have their first opportunity next presidential election to cast a vote for a president of the United States. For all those of this vast army of our citizens of the future who participate in the coming election it will be their first entrance into national politics. And that first vote weighs many times as much as any one that will follow it. Of itself it counts no more in the ballot-box than any other vote, but it determines largely the character of those that will come after it.

2. **Man's Conduct.**—Man's conduct is regulated by a great variety of circumstances. In politics, once his choice of a party has been made, his associations, his pride of opinion, his sentiment of loyalty, all combine and are helped by other considerations to deter him from changing his party relations.

3. **Your Political Future.**—Men do break away from their early political associations, but they are exceptions. Consequently, the first vote will probably determine your political future. See that you make the right choice and ally yourself with the party whose history, achievements and aims attract you to it.

4. **Party Changes.**—Most young men vote as their fathers do. They are Republicans, Democrats, Populists or Prohibitionists because their fathers are, and the chances are that they will always vote that ticket. It is unfortunate that so little independent thinking is done. The few furnish the brains and the argument for the masses, and, consequently, the country is cursed with bad politics and badly enforced laws.

5. **The Right Principles.**—Young man, think for yourself and vote your convictions. Look over the field and vote for the best men. When you see an incompetent or unworthy man on your ticket, don't vote for him. Remember that no party can rise above the moral character of the men that represent its principles. Vote for good men regardless of party, and you will do your duty as a good citizen. Bad men must be kept out of office. If your party puts up an unprincipled man, rebuke the party by refusing to vote for him.





**BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, SCIENTIST, STATES-
MAN, AND PHILOSOPHER.**



Columbus.

The Two Threads of North American History.

The history of America, since its discovery by Europeans, has been woven upon warp-threads of the same material as seen in the web of European history. As the surroundings of life in the new, wild continent were different from those in Europe, so the weft of early North American history was as stout and rough on the surface, as the undressed homespun woven by the early settlers. From the loom of time, however, there has come out a more finished product of New World events, resembling, at times, in one fashion or other, the hues and texture of Old World patterns. It cannot be otherwise, so long as the same *rivalries* compose the warp-threads in both, and, even the same old colors are retained, with perhaps a slight difference in the shading.

i. The Two Threads.—*Two Rivalries*, readily traced because of their high coloring, are found running through the succession of events which led up to the establishment of the two systems of federal government—American and Canadian.

The two rivalries are those which belong peculiarly to *national competition* for expansion of commerce, and the *emulation* of religious creeds for augmentation of influence.

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They are the initial causes which, inhering in the very infancy of European settlements in America, have not only furnished the motive for its great national upheavals and reconstructions, but have also continued their influence to the present time.

2. **The trade rivalry** of the European nations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the same as that which exists between the nations of the nineteenth century, namely, to discover New World markets and the shortest route between them.

PORTUGAL sought such a route to India, sending her skilled mariners southward around Africa. Spain was induced to fit out an expedition under Columbus, to sail westward, in order to reach the same fabled land. The Portuguese reached India, the Spaniards discovered the outskirts of a new world.

ENGLAND and FRANCE then entered the lists of discovery against Spain, with the hope to find the westward passage to India. They found America, but the purpose of their first efforts remained unfulfilled, until the new-found continent should be bridged by "steam."

THE SPANIARDS set out in the interests of commerce, found gold without the intermediary of trade; were beguiled from the legitimate pursuit of the latter; lost, to their national character and prestige, the benefit of its many honorable incentives, and became impoverished by the abundance of their easy riches.

ENGLAND and FRANCE, on the other hand, continued "in trade," sought profit from the products of the sea, the forests and the soil of the New World, and have had their reward in the hardihood, courage, and intelligence of their sons.

3. **Religious Creeds.**—The very nations which were thus animated by the results of commercial enterprise, were at the same time under the influence of strong religious antipathies, the outgrowth of the Protestant Reformation and its stern contests. The bearing of the two rivalries, however, became coincident, as regards America. To those Protestants in the old lands, who had witnessed persecution, the wilds of the New World offered a possible home, where they might enjoy liberty of creed and worship. For this reason were made several of the attempts which led to the European settlements along the Atlantic coast. To the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, the New World

offered an opportunity by prior occupation of the territory and evangelization of its native tribes, to recover in the future somewhat of the influence and numbers lost to it through the Reformation in Europe.

From the first, therefore, this missionary purpose was made an integral part of the commissions, and charters, issued by the Court of France to her explorers and fur companies, and the latter bound themselves to do certain specific work in aid of the Church.

The influence of the latter first gave any show of permanency to the settlement of Canada. Otherwise, NEW FRANCE would have continued to be not much more than hunting-ground for the fur companies. The high-minded purpose, unquenchable zeal, and indomitable perseverance of the Catholic missionaries alone kept the people in stable communities, taught them to look to the soil for subsistence and love Canada as their home.

NEW ENGLAND owed its settlement to the fact that it was sought as a refuge by men who had suffered for conscience' sake in their native land, men of high character, whose only desire was to live in peace. They were the antipodes in religious creed and practice of those, who in Canada had undertaken the conversion of the Continent to their Church. The Pilgrim Fathers, in coming to the shores of America, had no such purpose of evangelization as that which animated the Recollet and Jesuit Fathers of Canada. Each contributed, however, in its own way, to the permanent settlement of its section of the continent.

The French and English colonies were yet in their infancy when they began to recognize each other's neighborhood. As they grew, they developed their instinctive antipathy, inherited from the Old World, with regard both to trade and religion, and it soon became evident that these rivalries would furnish motives to both races to strive for the mastery of the continent. The old quarrels which were continued in Europe, were fought also in America, in a series of conflicts, the result of which was to transfer the ownership of the continent to England.

The sides being reversed, these very same rivalries afterwards contributed to prevent the total loss to England of what she had so recently gained, and enabled her to maintain her hold upon the largest portion of the continent. The growth of her Canadian and other provinces has since con-

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firmed her possession of them, by their organic union as the Dominion of Canada.

The old rivalries operate still. The international relations of the Canadian and American Federal governments are but the adjustment of their mutual trade rivalry. Upon the social and educational questions, arising within the jurisdiction of their central governments, and more especially of their subordinate legislatures, the influence of the two great divisions of the Christian Church is very marked and readily traced. The details of conflict, whether on behalf of commerce or creeds, are no longer waged with sword and flame, but with pen and free speech. Their field of contest for ascendancy is in the school, at the polls, and on the floor of the Legislature.

The following instances illustrate the preceding statements :

1. The rivalry of the fur trade, and the aggressive missionary policy of the Canadian Church, produced the series of wars which ended in the transfer of French empire in America.

2. The Atlantic colonies, in 1775, charged their grievances against England to undue restrictions upon their commercial rights. They also found fault with her chivalrous treatment of the French-Canadian Church.

3. The attitude of these colonies on the latter issue secured the attachment of Canada to England during the wars of the Revolution and the American invasion.

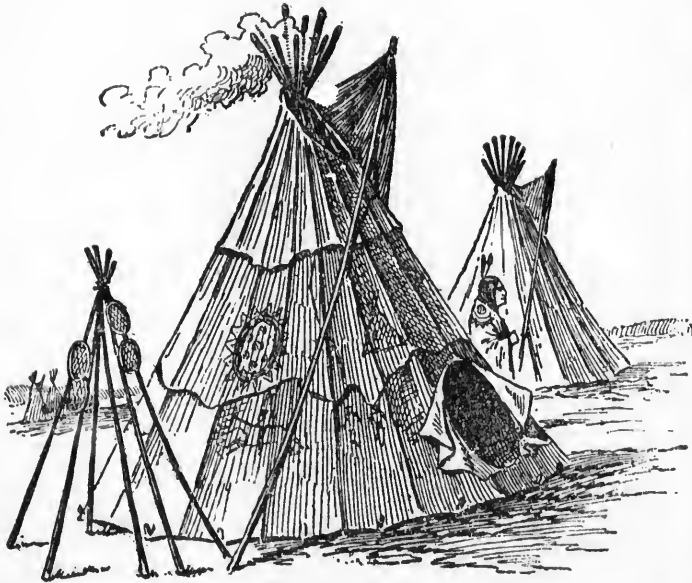
4. Trade questions were made the ground of the declaration of war by the United States against England, in 1812.

5. The interests of trade have required the appointment of a number of commissions to arrange differences between the same governments. The result of their work is found in the Fishery, Reciprocity, Extradition and other treaties which mark their history.

6. The two nations have incurred large expense in canals and other public works for the facility of commerce.

7. The union of French and English colonies, in 1763, under one flag, did away with the former religious antipathy as an intercolonial fear. The division of the same colonies, in 1783, under two flags, resulted also in the separation of religious forces, into two opposing parties, on each side of the "line."

8. In both the Republic and the Dominion, the battle of the creeds is most largely upon the question of *education*.



The Home of the First Law Maker in America.

Our Civil and Political Rights.

1. **Inalienable Rights.**—Our civil and political rights are sometimes called *inalienable rights* because they cannot be taken away, except as a punishment for some crime. They are our natural rights and are not conferred by any earthly power, but are given to every human being at his birth. They are:

- (1) The Right to Personal Security; that is, the right to be free from attack and annoyance;
- (2) The Right of Personal Liberty; that is, to go when and where he pleases, providing he does not trespass upon the rights of others; and
- (3) The Right of Private Property; that is, the right to use, enjoy, and dispose of what he has acquired by labor, purchase, gift, or inheritance.

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2. Industrial Rights.—It is the right and duty of each person to provide in his own way, providing it is legal



HONEST INDUSTRY.

and honest, for himself and those dependent upon him. All business transactions, the search for homes, comforts, and wealth; agriculture, manufacturing, mining and commerce; the conduct of all professions, occupations and industries; the interests of farm laborers, operatives in factories, miners, clerks, and

all persons engaged in mental or physical labor are based upon industrial rights and duties.

3. Social Rights.—Each member of society has rights as such, and these are called social rights. They include the rights of personal security and protection. They underlie all efforts for the improvement of the social condition of the people. Society is interested in better schools, in public health, in the reformation of criminals, in good highways and streets, in safe buildings, in well-lighted cities and villages, in the maintenance of charitable institutions, in the establishment of sources of harmless amusement, and in the preservation of peace and order.

4. Right of Eminent Domain.—This right of society, existing above the right of any of its members, is called the right of eminent domain. By it individual rights must yield to the rights of society, of the government, or of a corporation. A corporation is an association of individuals authorized by law to do business as a single natural person. Railway companies, banks, chartered cities and villages, and the counties of some states are corporations.

5. Moral Rights.—Man is a moral being; that is, he is conscious of good and evil. Therefore he has moral rights

and duties. He has rights of conscience, with which it is not the province of government to interfere. He naturally worships a Being superior to himself, and feels the obligation to deal justly with his fellowmen. He has a right to do so and say all things which are not unlawful or wrong within themselves. It is right to worship when he pleases, whom he pleases, and as he pleases.



A Western Settlement.

6. Political Rights.—By the social compact, men also agree to abandon a part of their natural rights in order to participate in the government. They agree in part to be governed by others, in order that in part they may govern others. The rights of participation in the government, such as voting and holding office, are called political rights, because they affect the public policy of society. Political rights do not belong to men by nature; but are conferred by government. Within reasonable bounds, they may be enlarged or restricted without injustice. Since they are conferred by the government, the power to vote and to hold office is a privilege to be enjoyed rather than a right to be asserted. In the United States the political rights of the people are carefully set forth in the Constitution.

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Public Punishment in Olden Times.

The Rights of an American Citizen.

1. Republican Principles.—Under this head the Bill of Rights declares:

That all power is inherent in the people;

That governments exist for their good, and by their consent;

That all freemen are equal;

That no title or nobility shall be conferred;

That exclusive privileges shall not be granted except in consideration of public services;

That all elections shall be free and equal.

2. Personal Security.—In the interests of the personal security of the citizen, it is provided:

That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and possessions, from unreasonable seizures and searches;

That warrants to seize and to search persons and things must describe them by oath or affirmation;

That there shall be no imprisonment for debts, except in cases of fraud.

3. Private Property.—To secure the rights of private property, the bill declares:

That private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation;

And in some states that long leases of agricultural lands shall not be made.

4. Freedom of Conscience.—To induce the entire freedom of conscience of the citizen it is declared:



LYNCH LAW.

Breaking Open the Jail and Publicly Executing Two Criminals.

That there shall be perfect religious freedom, but not covering immoral practices;

That there shall be no state church;

That no religious test shall be required for performing any public function;

That the rights of conscience are free from human control.

5. Freedom of Speech and of the Press.—To maintain the rightful freedom of the press, the bill guarantees:

That printing presses may be used by all;

That every citizen may freely speak, write, and print upon any subject, being responsible for the abuse of the right.

6. Freedom of Assembly.—The right of assembly is secured by the provision:

That the people may peaceably assemble for the public good, to discuss questions of public interest; and

That they may petition the government for redress of grievances.

7. Rights of the Accused.—Among the worst abuses of tyranny in all ages have been the corruption of the courts and the denial of the rights of common justice. To guard against these it is expressly provided:

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That the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it;

That, except in capital cases, persons charged with crime may give bail;

That no excessive bail shall be required;

That all courts shall be open;

That the accused shall have a speedy trial in the district in which the offense was committed;

That the ancient mode of trial by jury shall be maintained; but civil suits, by consent of the parties may be tried without a jury;

That all persons injured in lands, goods, person or reputation shall have remedy by course of law;

That the accused shall be informed of the nature of the charges against him;

That he shall be confronted by the witnesses against him;

That he shall be heard in his own defense, and may have the benefit of counsel;

That he shall not be required to testify against himself;

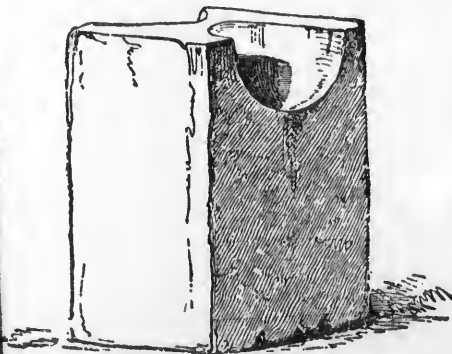
That he shall not be deprived of life, liberty or property except by due process of law;

That no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted;

That no one shall be twice placed in jeopardy for the same offense.

8. **Rights.**—All citizens, says Peterman in his civil government, have a right to the full and equal protection of the laws. Each has a right to be secure in his person

and property; to demand that the peace be preserved; to do all things according to his own will, provided he does not trespass upon the rights of others. No one in the family, in the school, in the civil district, in the country, in the state, or in the nation has the right to do or say anything which



THE BEHEADING BLOCK.

interferes with the life, liberty, property or happiness of another. Any act which interferes with the rights of others

is an offense against the common good and against the law. It is chiefly for the prevention and punishment of these unlawful acts that the civil district exists, with its court and its officers.

9. **Legal Voters.**—All legal voters of the district have the right to participate in its government by exercising a free choice in the selection of its officers, except in states where these officers are appointed. They have the right to cast their votes without fear or favor. This is one of the most important and sacred rights that freemen possess. Free government cannot exist without it. The law guarantees it, and all the power of the state may be employed to maintain it. Therefore, whoever prevents a voter from exercising the rights of suffrage does it at his own peril.

10. **Duties.**—As the citizens of the civil district have rights, they also have corresponding duties. As they may demand protection and the preservation of the peace, so it is their duty to obey the law and assist the officers in its enforcement, in order that the same protection may be extended to the whole people. Each should abstain from acts that injure others, and render cheerful aid to all in securing their rights through the law.

11. **Qualified Voters.**—All qualified voters have the right, and it is also their duty, to vote. The voters elect the officers of the district, and are therefore its rulers. When they fail to vote, they fail to rule, fail to do their duty to the people and to themselves. The duty to vote implies the duty to vote right, to vote for good men and for good measures. Therefore, men should study their duty as voters that they may elect honest, capable, faithful officers, and support the parties and principles that will best promote the good of the country. Every man should study his political duty with the best light that he can obtain, decide what is right, and then vote his sentiments honestly and fearlessly. If the district has good government, the voters deserve the credit; if it has bad government, the voters deserve the blame.



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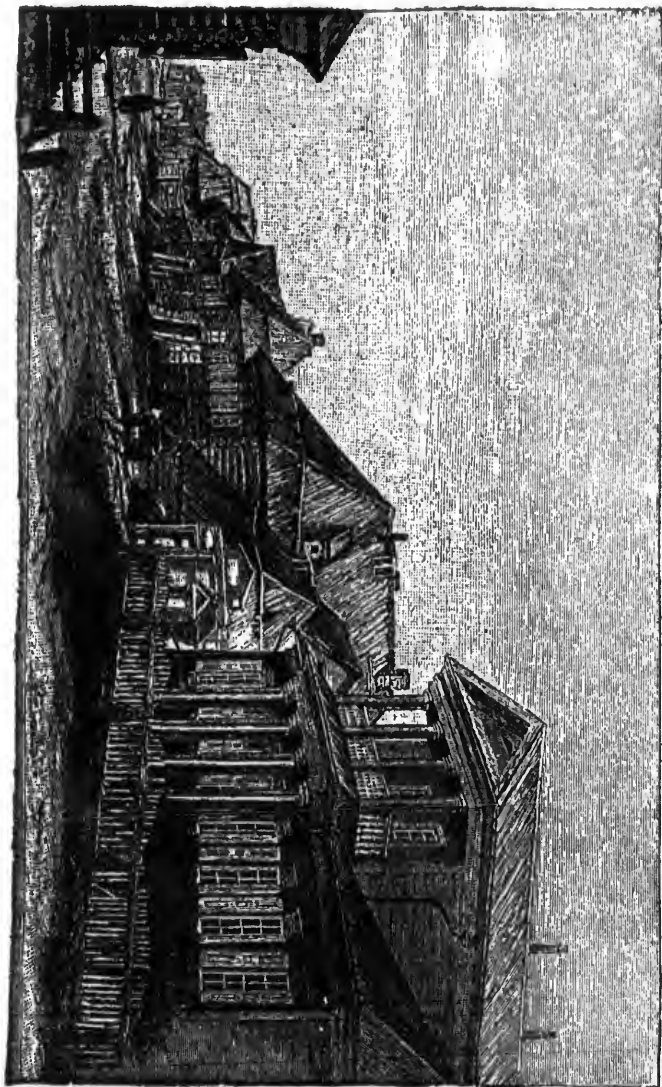
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WHERE OUR GRANDFATHERS VOTED.



Educational or Property Qualification for Voting.

1. **Qualifications.**—In some countries the electoral franchise, as the right to vote is called, is still further limited to persons who can read and write, or to persons possessing a specified amount of property, or paying a certain annual rent for the premises they occupy. Property qualifications originally existed in a number of our states, but they have generally been abolished.

2. **Educational Qualifications.**—An educational qualification is proposed in some states, and will probably be adopted in many within the next few years. Where public or free schools are made accessible to the whole population there would be no injustice in requiring that only those shall vote who can both read and write.

3. **Minors.**—Minors, or persons under age, and paupers are not allowed to vote because they are dependent; and it is presumable that they would vote under coercion, and not according to their independent judgment. Moreover, a person incapable of managing his private business ought not to have a voice or influence in public affairs. It is probable that women are denied the vote for the same reason—because the greater part of them are in a dependent condition; and the law takes no note of exceptions.

4. **General Manhood Suffrage.**—General manhood suffrage, which prevails in the United States, is required by justice, and is necessary to the perpetuation of peace in a community or nation. By his vote each man has his influence upon those affairs which are common to all citizens; if he is outvoted, he is still satisfied, because it was his hope to outvote his opponents, and it is his hope to have the majority with him at another time.

5. **Property Qualifications.**—It is sometimes urged that only those who possess property ought to be allowed to vote taxes and appropriations for public purposes. This proposition has an appearance of justice; but, besides being generally impracticable, it rests upon a wrong view of society. It supposes a degree of meanness and bad spirit in the poor and of intelligence and liberality in the wealthy, which we do not find in actual life; and it would facilitate a division of men into classes, the poor arrayed against the rich, which, if it existed, would make free government almost, if not quite, impossible.

6. **Vote Money Out of the Pockets of the Rich.**—If general manhood suffrage anywhere leads the poor to vote

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money out of the pockets of the rich wastefully or for needless or corrupt purposes, the reason is that the rich have abdicated their proper place and influence in political society and have selfishly given themselves to mere money-getting or a life of pleasure, by which they endanger not only themselves, but what is of greater consequence, the stability of the community. It is an additional argument in favor of general suffrage if it compels the wealthy and intelligent as an act of unavoidable self-defense to exercise that influence in political affairs which justly and naturally belongs to them, and reminds them that their prosperous fortunes bring with them duties and responsibilities.

7. Take Notice.—Take notice that a free state or republic cannot remain prosperous if the more fortunate of its citizens withdraw themselves from political duties to devote their lives to money-getting or to pleasure. Take notice, too, that when a rich man complains that his poorer neighbors—many of whom he probably employs—vote against his interest, you will find that he conducts himself toward them selfishly, and thus loses the influence which his wealth naturally gives him if he rightly uses it.

8. Under Our System the States Have the Exclusive Power.—Under our system the states have the exclusive power of declaring, each for itself, which of the citizens shall vote; being prohibited only from excluding persons on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery. They cannot, however, give the franchise indiscriminately, for the federal government has the exclusive authority to declare who shall be citizens. Thus no state could allow Chinese to vote, because these people are not capable, under the laws of the federal government, of becoming citizens. But any state may adopt an educational or property franchise or condition, only making it equally applicable to all citizens.



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DANIEL WEBSTER,
Born in N. H., 1782, Died 1852.

How to Become a Public Speaker.

1. **Great Orators.**—It must be remembered that great orators who have astonished the world with their cutting wit and power of words were once obscure, timid and bashful boys. It must be remembered, too, that the most of the great orators of the past came from the humble walks of life. They were not born in palaces or inherited wealth and were educated in luxury. They invariably were of poor parentage, but self made, and by hard struggle and untiring labor they worked their way to the front.

2. **Every Young Man's Duty.**—Every young man should be able, with calmness and self-possession, to express himself in public. This can be done by a little extra preparation and study. If a man has anything to say,

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JOHN C. CALHOUN,
Born in S. C., 1782, Died 1852.

and knows what to say, he may experience some embarrassment in making his first effort, yet he can always say it with credit to himself and to his friends. The great trouble is ignorance, and people are often called upon to say something in public when they have nothing to say. It takes a reading and a thinking man to speak in public.

3. **How to Prepare for Public Speaking.**—In the first place get over the idea that you will never be called upon to say something in public. Overcome this thought, and it is one of the first steps toward oratory. It will, no doubt, happen many times in the course of your lifetime that you will be called upon to speak in a public gathering, or to preside over some public meeting. Study the parliament-

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PATRICK HENRY,
Born 1736, Died 1799.

ary laws as given in this book, and it will be a great acquisition. Read the papers, the magazines, and pick out parts and portions that impress you and study them so that you can remember them. Study the papers as well as read them, and discuss the prominent subjects or topics of the day with your friends. It is wonderful what an amount of knowledge you can give by simply improving your spare moments.

4. **What Books to Read.**—Read books of history, read the life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Matthews' "Getting On in the World;" Smiles' two books on "Duty and Character;" Ridpath's History of the United States; Macaulay's History of England; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of Rome," and there are various other books that you will find both interesting, impressive, and highly instructive. Good public speakers ought to be extensive readers.

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5. **Writing.**—You should sit down and write an address or essay upon some subject of public interest, either political, social, or otherwise. After writing it study it over carefully and re-write and re-write it several times; after each time be sure to study it over carefully and find parts or portions that can be profitably improved. This address or essay is not supposed to be delivered or read, though they are good things to keep and lay away for future references. After writing a few of these addresses and committing them to memory you will find to your surprise that you can think better, speak better and write better. It is a practice that excels all other methods of preparation.

6. **Reading and Re-reading.**—Next in value to the frequent use of the pen is the practice of carefully reading and re-reading the best prose writers and poets, and committing their finest passages to memory, so as to be able to repeat them at any moment without effort. The advantages of this practice are that it not only strengthens the memory, but fills and fertilizes the mind with pregnant and suggestive thoughts, expressed in the happiest language, stores it with graceful images, and, above all, forms the ear to the rhythm and number of the period which add so much to its impressiveness and force.

7. **Melody.**—It is the melody of a sentence which, so to speak, makes it cut, which gives it speedy entrance into the mind, causes it to penetrate deeply, and to exercise a magic power over the heart. It is not enough that the speaker's utterances impress the mind of the hearer, they should ring in his ears; they should appeal to the senses, as well as to the feelings, the imagination and the intellect; then, when they seize at once on the whole man, on body, soul, and spirit, will they "swell in the heart and kindle in the eyes," and constrain him, he knows not why, to believe and to obey.

8. **Oratorical Moulds.**—Let the student of oratory, then, brood over the finest passages of English composition, both prose and poetry, in his leisure hours, till his mind is surcharged with them; let him read and re-read the ever-varied verse of Shakespeare, the majestic and pregnant lines of Milton, the harmonious and cadenced compositions of Bolingbroke, Grattan, Erskine, Curran, and Robert Hall. Let him dwell upon these passages and recite them till they almost seem his own, and insensibly, without effort, he will "form to theirs the relish of his soul," and will find himself adopting their language and imitating them instinctively through a natural love for the beautiful.

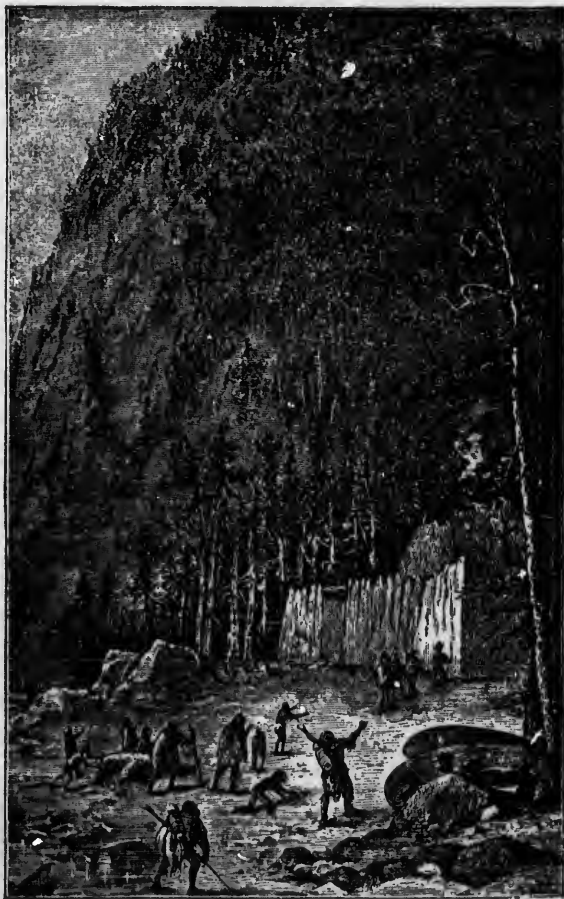
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The Story of Canada.

1599—1791.

The "Story of Canada" is the oldest continuous history of North America. True, at one period it underwent conquest and was transferred from the crown of France to that



Quebec in 1608.

of England, but so much of the old "setting" was retained in the transfer, that the identity of the gem is still clearly marked,

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1. Settlement.—Although England had the right over France of prior discovery of the American coasts, the latter was the first to follow up her explorations by colonization.

In 1599, an unsuccessful attempt at settlement was made at Tadoussac, on the St. Lawrence, but in 1605, under the Sieur de Monts, a small colony was planted at Port Royal (Annapolis), on the Bay of Fundy. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain, by the founding of Quebec, laid the cornerstone of French Empire in the New World.

2. Outposts.—From these two outposts the French sent forth those forces, whether for barter, conquest, or missionary effort, which procured for them their New France of Acadie and Canada.

Around the forts at these two points raged the fiercest fights for conquest, or defence, ever suggested by the old-time, old-world animosities of France and England.

3. Port Royal, during the one hundred and sixty years which followed its foundation, was captured five times by the English, and unsuccessfully attacked three times by the same foe. Four times it was given back to the French, and twice they failed in their attempts to recover it.

4. Quebec, esteemed the key to Canada, has undergone four sieges, and seen two futile attempts for its capture. England received its surrender in 1629, and held the city for three years; failed to invest it in 1690, and likewise in 1711, when storm and tempest shattered her fleet, but finally acquired the prize, through the persistent heroism of Wolfe, in 1759. France, in 1760, failed in a valiant effort for the recovery of the fortress. The last day of 1775 witnessed the repulse of the "forlorn hope" of the American force under gallant General Montgomery, which had beleaguered the city for several months.

Other outposts of French influence were Montreal, founded in 1642; Cataraqui (Kingston) in 1672, Detroit in 1701, Niagara, Sault Ste. Marie, Rouillé (Toronto), and points in Illinois, the Ohio valley, and Louisiana. These all had an experience similar to that of Port Royal and Quebec.

5. English Colonies.—The earliest of these, Virginia, was not commenced until 1607, and the Pilgrim Fathers did not land on the New England coast until 1620. By 1635, however, seven years before the founding of Montreal, the foundations of nine Atlantic provinces had been laid. The activity which had performed this speedy work of planting colonies, soon made itself felt in the relations which were

established with the Indian tribes located between the Atlantic colonies and the French on the St. Lawrence. The rivalry thus commenced between New France and New England, intensified the acrimony of their contests arising from the wars of the parent European nations.

6. Conflict.—Reprisals were sudden and bloody. The English attacked Canada and Acadie by sea, the French harassed the New England settlements by land, making incursions with their Indian allies in the depth of winter, which were marked by massacre and flame. The governors of New France were always men of long military experience, who successively aimed at the supremacy of France. The most capable of them all, the Count de Frontenac, be-



MONTCALM.



WOLFE.

came Governor for the second time, in 1689. His conduct of the war at once gave the French the advantage to such an extent, that the New England colonies were awakened to their danger. At a congress of the colonies held at New York in 1690, it was resolved that the conquest of Canada was the only guarantee for their future safety and welfare. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York determined to strike a blow at once, and contributed to both sea and land forces for the enterprise. From this date, for over sixty years, the warfare was maintained with only brief intervals of peace. But the end was near, when Great Britain, with Pitt at the head of her government, came to the aid of her colonies. These now assured of the war being prosecuted

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to a finish, again furnished a large body of land forces and munitions of war.

7. Under One Flag.—France, if she would have done so, could render no assistance to her colony fighting for existence. The last brave Governor, de Vaudreuil, with the gallant officers Montcalm, Drucour, Bougainville, de Lévis, Pouchot, and others, were left to make the best defence of the Province in their power.

Four events in rapid succession closed the contest for Canada. In 1758, General Amherst took Louisbourg and razed its fortress to the ground; in 1759, British regulars and New England militia, led by the immortal Wolfe, scaled the heights above Quebec, and fought a sharp battle which decided the fate of the city; in 1760, General Amherst received the capitulation of Montreal and of Canada; and, in 1763, the Treaty of Paris transferred New France—Acadie and Canada—to Great Britain, whose colonies were increased in number, and delivered from the horrors of border warfare.

8. Perplexing Problem.—That the people of Canada should be conciliated and transformed into willing subjects, was the sincere desire of Great Britain. Differing from her Atlantic colonies in language, racial habits, modes of civil law, and with a State Church of opposite creed, Canada presented a problem in colonial administration, the solution of which, for a century to come, was to demand the parental care and best thought of Great Britain. There was no desire to repeat the Acadian experience of 1755.

9. Military Rule.—In 1760, therefore, the articles of capitulation were made as liberal as possible. The Canadians were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion, and both the laity and the Church were confirmed in their property rights. The practice of the French civil law was continued, and only one thing added, the English criminal law.

The districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, into which Canada had been divided by the French for purposes of defence, were continued by the English for purposes of government. Over these were appointed capable military officers, of whom the senior was General Murray, at Quebec. They were each assisted by a small council, chiefly made up of officers. The Governor and his assistants exerted themselves to render the transition of the country to a willing allegiance, as agreeable and speedy as possible. Several circumstances were opportune for so delicate a task. The

people under the French *régime* had never had a voice in the management of even their local affairs, as is the custom in English communities; the long wars had wearied and impoverished them, and the civic officials of their late French Government had become hateful to them on account of exactions. In contrast to all this, the change of Crown had brought the people peace and a return to their homes; had given them a ready market and payment in coin for their produce; they had no fear of burdensome taxation, and could freely worship God in conformity with their own creed. Under these conditions the French-Canadians were far from being unhappy during these first years of military administration.

10. Disturbing Influences.—There were events at hand, however, which, by giving rise to unrest, upon racial and religious questions, among a people naturally sensitive at a time of national transition, postponed their hearty collective allegiance to British rule. This was unfortunate, for such social unrest, unless quickly allayed, is bound to be shared in by the generation coming up, to be intensified, perchance, by any concurrent circumstances which may be construed as a further offence against cherished sentiments. In a word, national faith will give place to distrust, distrust beget prejudice, and set in motion those retarding influences so disastrous to national unification and progress.

The period of fourteen years following the capitulation is, therefore, of the deepest interest to the student of the political history of the Dominion. In that brief period, in the old Province of Canada, were excited to action those motives in regard to religion, education, race, and language which, not only made necessary the Imperial Acts of 1774, 1791, and 1840, but influenced, also, the formation of the constitution of the Dominion, and under the Dominion have constituted the "balance of power" between political parties.

11. "Old Subjects"—"New Subjects."—While Governor Murray and his assistants were zealous to conciliate the Canadians to British authority, there was a counter influence, small in its way, but offensive to the people. This was the bearing of the small colony of English settlers which followed the "occupation" of the Province. These called themselves "old subjects," in distinction from the Canadians whom they styled "new subjects," and arrogated to themselves the airs of conquerors.

12. Royal Proclamation.—The Treaty of Paris, 1763,

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confirmed the possession of Canada by Great Britain, and repeated the concessions made to the Canadians in the terms of the capitulation. On the 7th of October, in the same year, King George III. issued the Royal Proclamation defining the boundaries of the Province, and providing for its more regular government.

General Murray was appointed Governor-in-Chief. A constitution was outlined, with the evident intention, that, while the French civil law should be administered in behalf of the French-Canadians, in accordance with the treaty, provision should also exist in the powers bestowed upon the Governor, for the introduction, at the proper time, of those forms of law and representative institutions, for which prospective settlers from Britain and her colonies would be sure to agitate. The Royal Proclamation offered as an encouragement to such settlers, the assurance that, "all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colony may confide in our Royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England." It was also stated that, "so soon as the state and circumstances of the colony would admit thereof, the Governor should summon and call a General Assembly in such manner and form as was usual in those colonies and provinces, which were under the King's immediate government."

13. **The Form of Colonial Government** referred to, was that which had been developed under the charters of the Atlantic colonies. Modelled after the English system, it was, at least in the number of its units, a miniature of that parliamentary government so dear to British people, whether in the Old Land, or the colonies. As recently as 1758, the same form of constitution had been granted to the new Province of Nova Scotia. It consisted of a Governor, appointed by the King, an Executive and Legislative Council selected by the Governor in accordance with the Royal instructions given him, and a General Assembly to be elected by the counties and towns of the colony.

14. **Royal Instructions.**—In addition, therefore, to the Royal Proclamation, the King conveyed to the Governor-in-Chief his "instructions," authorizing the selection of a Legislative Council for Canada, and conferring upon it executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Authority was also given to establish the English system of courts of justice, the judges to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council.

15. Taxes.—The right to impose taxes in the provinces, was reserved as belonging only to the British Government.

16. The Inducement held out to British settlers regarding the introduction of English institutions, coupled with the offer of liberal grants of land to those who had belonged to the army, led to a considerable increase of the number of "Old Subjects" in the Province. The grants of land were to be conveyed to such settlers under the English law, and not according to the feudal tenure of the French-Canadian code. The result was an impetus to the prosperity of Canada in every department of industry and commerce. British immigration, however, while benefiting the material development of the country, increased the difficulties of its government. Governor Murray's attitude towards both "New" and "Old Subjects" was as judicious as ever.

17. There was Failure, however, in carrying out in full the constitution outlined in the Royal Proclamation.

18. A General Assembly was summoned but never met, for the reason that the French-Canadians, being of the Roman Catholic faith, could not take the oaths of office without doing violence to their conscience. These oaths were the same as those required of members of the English Commons, and included "allegiance to the King," an "abjuration of the Pope's authority in the King's realm," and "a declaration against transubstantiation." The "New Subjects" were ready to take the oath of "allegiance to the King," but could not subscribe to the others. Thus the promise of parliamentary representation was a dead letter.

19. The Legislative Council, therefore, in the exercise of its several functions, became the sole law-making power in the New Government. It was composed of twelve members, of whom four were officials, and eight were selected from the "principal" citizens. Among the latter there was only one French-Canadian to represent the interests of the 70,000 "New Subjects," while seven members represented the predilections of fewer than 1,000 "Old Subjects."

20. The Introduction of English Laws made necessary English courts, English judges, English forms of practice, and trial by jury. All these were satisfactory to the British residents. The French-Canadians do not seem to have found any fault with the decisions of the courts or the integrity of the judges. The practice, however, was not familiar to them; it was expensive; they had no sympathy with "trial by jury,"—to French ideas it was an innovation.

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Lastly, they heard their old "Civil Code," quoted less frequently as time went on.

On account of its judicial function, the Legislative Council, with the Governor, formed a court of last resort in the Province. The attention, therefore, of all classes followed its actions jealously. In its make-up, the Council was, in the eyes of the Province, simply the first Board of Military Advisers of General Murray, increased by the addition of a few civilians, several of whom had themselves been in the army. With General Murray as Governor-in-Chief, the military character of the Government impressed itself quietly but firmly upon the people.

21. **Difficulties.**—Recognizing the rights of the King's French subjects under the late treaty, the Governor sought to afford them, as far as possible under the tenor of his instructions, the enjoyment of those rights. But however judicious his administration might be, it was impossible to prevent the feeling, that their fears regarding those rights were being confirmed. The oaths of office required, not only closed the doors of office against them, but were taken as an attack upon their religious faith. The general use of the English language in the Courts and Council placed them at a disadvantage. Above all, the practice of the Courts and the ultimate appeal to English law in cases of difficulty, seemed a tacit resolve to ignore their "Civil Code" altogether. On the other hand, the British colonists complained that the promise of an Assembly had not been fulfilled, and that they were placed in a position inferior to that enjoyed by British subjects in other colonies.

22. **The Hon. Guy Carleton** was made Governor of Canada in 1766. He continued the pacific policy of his predecessor, and recommended to the Home Government the better observance of the terms of the Treaty of Paris in relation to the French-Canadians. Several years of delay and agitation followed, during which, petitions to the King, memorials to the Secretary for the Colonies, and deputations were sent to England by both "New" and "Old Subjects," to urge their respective cases.

Governor Carleton had been directed to inquire into the causes of these complaints. He made his report in 1770, and accompanied it with a draft of the French "Civil Code," prepared for him by capable Canadian lawyers.

23. **Reference to Parliament.**—The memorials of both "New," and "Old Subjects," and the reports of the Gover-

nor, were laid before Parliament's action. That body appointed a commission of crown lawyers to consider the whole subject of the documents submitted, to hear the depositions and others, and report its finding. This Commission did not make its report until 1773, when it recommended the claims of the French-Canadians. Upon this report the British Parliament, in 1774, passed its first Act in relation to the Constitution of Canada.

24. The Parliamentary steps, by which that Constitution has advanced, furnish the student of politics a most valuable lesson upon correct procedure in the development of government.

We have seen that the first civil government of the new province was formed under the authority of the Royal Proclamation and Instructions. This was following the usual colonial policy of England. In the same way the Atlantic colonies or provinces received their early charters of government.

Since 1770, however, when the "Canadian Question" was referred to Parliament, no change has ever been made in Canada's Constitution, except by Act of the Imperial Parliament.

25. Four Great Acts have been passed for that purpose, and have marked as many epochs in the history of the country, each Act affording some amendment of the mistakes or omissions of the former, and supplying a basis for future progress. These constitutional enactments are known as, the Quebec Act, 1774; the Constitutional Act, 1791; the Union Act, 1840, and the British North America Act, 1867.

26. Quebec Act, 1774.—The terms of this Act, stated briefly, were as follows:

Boundaries.—These had been curtailed by the Royal Proclamation, but were now restored to their old lines, and included Labrador to the east, the settlements in the Ohio Valley to the south, along the Mississippi to the west, and all the country northward to the Hudson's Bay Territory.

Religion.—The adherents of the Roman Catholic Church were granted the free exercise of their religion. They were exempted from taking the test oaths, which were against their conscience and which had debarred them from office. In future they were required to take only the oath of Allegiance. The Catholic clergy were allowed the dues and tithes from members of their own Church, which they

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had enjoyed under French rule. The various religious orders, with the exception of the Jesuits, were given the enjoyment of their former properties and estates.

Laws.—The laws of the French Civil Code were allowed in the Province, in all questions as to property and civil rights, except in those clauses which related to the succession to property, instead of which the English law on these points was substituted. The English Criminal law was also made the law of Canada. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was withheld.

Taxes and Revenue.—The Act reserved to the English Parliament the right of levying duties for revenue, but it was permitted to impose local taxes for the improvement of roads and the erection of public buildings.

Government.—The form of government in use was continued, but the Council was to be made up of not less than seventeen nor more than twenty-three members, taken from both French and English colonists. It was empowered to make such laws as might be deemed necessary for the good and peace of Canada, subject to the approval of the King.

27. How the Act was Received.—By the 80,000 French-Canadians of the enlarged province, this measure was taken as an evidence of British good faith regarding the terms of "cession and treaty." Their laws and institutions were restored to them. The form of government was similar to that to which for generations their people had been used. The administration was an improvement, and there is little doubt but that it was the best suited to their condition in their infancy as a British province. They knew not the value of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and despised "trial by jury." On the other hand, by the 20,000 English settlers in the Ohio Valley and along the St. Lawrence, the Act was looked upon as a calamity. The very things to which the "New Subject" was unused, the promised Assembly, the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and trial by jury, were prized by every Englishman as beyond value. The imposition, therefore, of French civil law upon the English settlers who had come into Canada under the promises of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, was considered by them harsh and unjust. Much sympathy was expressed for them both in Great Britain and the New England colonies.

28. After Effects of the Act.—*Imperial.*—It preserved Canada to Great Britain through two future wars.

Provincial.—It caused the somewhat ill-defined differ-

ences of the two classes of colonists to become definite issues, which begat others, and which formed largely the necessity for the three constitutional Acts which followed.

29. United States.—In the meantime, the older British colonies along the seaboard, being delivered from the fear of a foreign foe on their northern frontier, had for some years been drifting into serious disagreement with the authorities in the Mother-land. The breach became wider until, in 1776, they declared their *independence* of her, which, after several years of bitter war, was acknowledged by England in 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles. England gave up her *sovereignty* over the Thirteen Colonies, which at once entered upon their separate national existence, another English-speaking nation, the "United States of America."

The division of territory made by the treaty was very nearly equal. At the close of the war, the population of European descent in the United States was about 2,200,000, and in the British provinces 140,000.

Two International Questions had their origin in the terms of this treaty—Boundaries and Fisheries—which have since required several commissions and further treaties in the endeavor to define their limitations.

30. Canada along the St. Lawrence remained constant in its allegiance to Great Britain; but the portion which lay south of the lakes, and which had been offended by the Act of 1774, went with the seceding States. The boundaries of Canada were again curtailed, but although she lost in territory, she gained in an important accession to her population.

"The war was over, seven red years of blood
Had scourged the land from mountain top to sea;
(So long it took to rend the mighty frame
Of England's empire in the western world)
Rebellion won at last, and they who loved
The cause that had been lost, and kept their faith
To England's Crown, and scorned an alien name,
Passed into exile, leaving all behind
Except their honor, and the conscious pride
Of duty done to Country and to King."

—*Kirby.*

31. United Empire Loyalists.—There was a large number of the best citizens of the Atlantic colonies, who had not sympathized with warlike measures for the redress of grievances, and had remained loyal to England during the war of

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revolution. By the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, these Loyalists were placed in very distressing relations to the new nation. England, at the signing of the treaty, requested the Congress to exercise



Pioneer Life.

generosity, and Congress did recommend to the State governments that the Loyalists be treated with leniency; but the feelings begotten of civil war were not so easily allayed, and Congress, seemingly, had not authority to

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enforce its requests upon its constituents, the State governments. Instead of that generosity which victory can well afford to exercise, and by which it is hallowed, laws of *confiscation* were passed, under which the Loyalists were deprived of their property, and they themselves were declared enemies of the Republic.

These acts augmented the numbers of these brave people who left the United States. Large numbers of them, however, of their own accord, gave up station, property, comfort and cherished home ties, to commence life anew in the forests of Canada and New Brunswick, that they might continue, unbroken, their allegiance under the old flag. These people were just as staunch in the maintenance of their civil rights as their neighbors who had taken up arms, and they brought to Canada the same firmness to resist, by constitutional means, the infringement of those rights, as they had shown in the midst of surrounding revolution. The result has been, that they and their descendants have worked out in Canada the same broad development of responsible government, under British forms, which has obtained in England itself.

The judgment frequently expressed nowadays is, that had the same opinions and practice regarding responsible government prevailed in Great Britain in 1775 which exist there to-day, the difficulties which led to the severance of the thirteen colonies from the Mother-land, would never have reached the acute stage of revolution.

England at once recognized the heroism of the Loyalists. In 1789, an Order-in-Council of the Government was passed, that a list of these people should be preserved, "To put a mark of honor upon the families who had adhered to the 'Unity of the Empire,' and joined the Royal standard in America before the treaty of separation in 1783." From the term "Unity of the Empire," they and their descendants have since borne the distinction of being called "U. E. Loyalists." The British Parliament also voted nearly £4,000,000 sterling, for the relief of their immediate necessities, and in aid of their migration to the provinces which, thirty years before, had been wrested from France, by the help of the now separated colonies.

To those Loyalists who removed to these provinces, large grants of forest lands were given, and they were furnished with tools for building, implements for tilling the soil, seed for sowing, and food and clothing for three years.

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These were the people who laid the foundations of the Provinces of Upper Canada (Ontario) and New Brunswick, besides adding to the population of the other provinces.

32. **British North America**, at the Peace of 1783, comprised the following provinces and territory :

Newfoundland, discovered by John Cabot in 1497, visited by Frobisher in 1575, was taken possession of by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, in the name of Queen Elizabeth. The first English colony was placed in the island in 1622, by Lord Baltimore. In 1634, the French began a settlement at Placentia Bay, and paid England a tribute of five per cent. for the privilege of fishing. Newfoundland underwent the vicissitudes of the wars between France and England, but, in 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht gave it up to the British, with the right to the French in perpetuity to fish off certain of its coasts, and to land for the purpose of curing their fish. The islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre were given to France, under restrictions, as a rendezvous for her fishing fleets.

Nova Scotia.—In 1783, Nova Scotia included all the mainland and islands of the eastern sea-coast provinces of the Dominion, except Prince Edward Island. It was the Acadie of the French *régime*.

As already mentioned, France made her first settlement at Port Royal (Annapolis), on the Bay of Fundy, in 1605. In 1613, a small expedition of English colonists from Virginia, under Samuel Argall, captured the post, destroyed the fort, and sailed away. But England, on the strength of this raid, as well as on a claim of prior discovery by the Cabots, asserted her right to the country, and, in 1621, James I. issued a patent to Sir William Alexander for the settlement of a colony there, and changed the name to Nova Scotia. After a century of intermittent war, during which Acadie passed several times from one to the other of the two fighting nations, the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, gave England all the mainland and confirmed the name of Nova Scotia. The English made Annapolis the seat of government, where the governor, Colonel Vetch, with a council, administered the affairs of the Province.

As a result of the change of Crown, many Acadians removed to Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward). France established a government in Isle Royale (Cape Breton), and erected Louisbourg into a fortress, second only to Quebec in point of strength, and which was a constant menace to Nova Scotia.

The English had very little rest in their newly acquired province, but were subjected to continuous petty warfare. In order to strengthen their position, liberal grants of land were offered to British settlers. In 1749, about 4,000 disbanded soldiers came over, under the patronage of the Earl of Halifax, and formed the settlement of Halifax. The city of that name was founded and made the seat of government.

Ever since 1713, the Acadians, along the Bay of Fundy, had not only refused to take the oath of allegiance, but had also openly abetted several of the raids of their Canadian compatriots and their Indian allies. It was thought necessary to take extreme measures. In 1755, therefore, upon a further refusal to become British subjects, the Acadians were collected at convenient harbors, put aboard ship, and distributed among the English colonies along the Atlantic coast. At the first alarm, many fled to the forest and made their way to Canada, or Isle St. Jean. In the confusion of embarkation, many families became divided, never to meet again. However much may have been the exasperation caused by the Acadians, their punishment was unnatural, and intensified the bitterness of the succeeding war.

In 1758, the semi-military administration, by a governor and council, gave place to that of a constitution granted by England. This provided for a joint Executive and Legislative Council of twelve members, appointed by the Crown, and a General Assembly of twenty-two elected by the ratepayers.

In 1758, the capture of Louisbourg assured the safety of Nova Scotia, and added to it Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean; so that, from this date until 1770, the limits of the Province were those of the old Acadie. In 1770, Isle St. Jean (St. John's Island) was made a separate government.

From 1761, population moved into the country north of the Bay of Fundy, and in 1768, from the Bay of Fundy to the Bay of Chaleurs was made the County of Sunbury, in Nova Scotia.

St. John's Island.—In 1783, this was the name of what is now known as the beautiful island-province of Prince Edward. It is said to have received this name from Sebastian Cabot, who is believed to have discovered it on St. John's Day, 1497. Champlain confirmed the belief by simply translating the name into Isle St. Jean. Though England claimed its discovery, and both England and France agreed upon its name, neither nation gave it any serious attention for more than two hundred and sixty

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years. After the Treaty of Utrecht, many Acadians moved into it, and, when France had fortified Cape Breton, Isle St. Jean furnished the larger part of the supplies required for the garrison of Louisbourg. When the English took this fortress in 1745, they also claimed Isle St. Jean, but returned both to France in 1748. Ten years later, however, the two islands were retaken by England, and, in 1763, made a part of Nova Scotia.

The Island of St. John, as it was now called, was surveyed into townships of 20,000 acres each, and these again into lots. In 1767, Lord William Campbell, the Governor, distributed these by lottery among officers of the army and navy who had served in the late war. The lands so divided were held under special conditions, one of which was that the holders should pay a quit-rent, instead of taxes. Such a condition constituted the tenure as leasehold. These payments fell in arrears, difficulty ensued, and in 1770, the land-holders asked for and obtained a separate government for the Island. In 1773, it received a constitution, providing for the usual Executive and Legislative Council and a House of Assembly of eighteen members. In 1775, two American cruisers raided the little province, taking considerable plunder and making prisoners of the Governor and some of his officials. The affair being reported to General Washington, he cashiered the captains of the cruisers, restored the property taken, and set the prisoners at liberty, with a courteous apology for the trespass.

Hudson's Bay Territory.—By this name was known all that vast territory around Hudson's Bay, stretching northward to the Arctic Ocean, westward to the Pacific, and southward to the limits of Canada. It took its name from that great discoverer, Henry Hudson, who, in 1610, was the first to sail into that inland sea. Sebastian Cabot is said to have found its entrance in 1517. To Hudson, however, belongs the honor of its exploration and utility for commerce. France and England were soon contending for the possession of its rich fur trade. In 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, the whole territory was given up to France. But trade rivalry therein was not a whit abated. Regardless of treaty, in 1670, Charles II. of England, by charter, granted to Prince Rupert and his "company of merchant adventurers," a monopoly of all trade in that immense region, for two hundred years, with unlimited privileges of control. This company maintained its possession

against the French, while the latter held Canada. In 1784, however, it had to meet another rival, the "North-West Company of Canada." The strife between the two companies was only ended by their amalgamation, in 1821.

New Provinces.—So large was the number of U. E. Loyalists who entered the eastern provinces, in 1783 and 1784, that important changes in province limits and constitutions became an immediate result. The several thousands who chose the County of SUNBURY as their future home, at once agitated for a constitution, separate from Nova Scotia. England listened to the request, assigned provincial boundaries, and granted the usual colonial government, consisting of the three units, a Governor, an Executive and a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown, and a House of Assembly elected by the ratepayers; the Council to have twelve members, and the Assembly twenty-six. On the 22nd of November, 1784, the new province was proclaimed as NEW BRUNSWICK. The first governor was Colonel Thomas Carleton. In 1785, Parrtown was incorporated as the city of St. John, and was the meeting-place of the first parliament. In 1788, the seat of government was removed to Fredericton, which is still the capital of the Province.

Cape Breton Island, in 1784, was given a government, and maintained a separate existence for thirty-five years.

Upper Canada.—In 1784, Loyalists to the number of ten thousand came into Canada, west of the Ottawa River. In preparation for their coming, the necessary surveys were made. Locations of townships, concessions and lots were made along the St. Lawrence, Bay of Quinte, Niagara and Lake Erie, and were quickly taken up. Although Canada was then one government, under the operation of the "Quebec Act," special provision was made that the Loyalists should receive their lands under English law, and that justice should be administered through the forms of the English courts.

This large accession of English-speaking population added new forces to the demands, which the few "Old Subjects" had not ceased to make, for the granting of an Assembly. Considerable jealousy was engendered by the fact, that Canada, with the largest population, was the only province which had not a constitution patterned after English forms. During the late war, experience in Canada had taught the French the value of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and many now joined the English residents in petition for representative institutions. Several years of agitation en-

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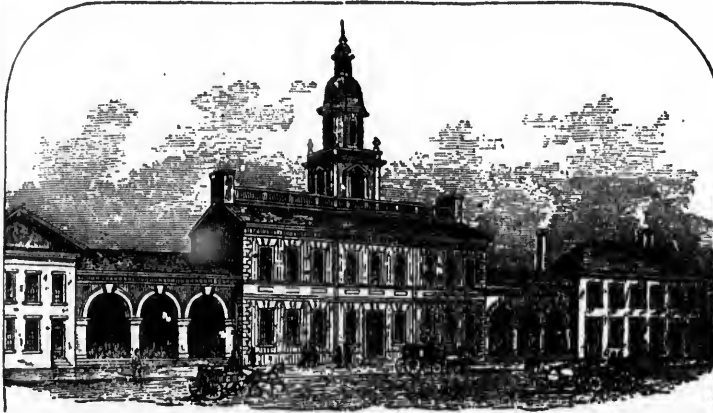


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sued before a solution of the difficulty was reached. The ablest statesmen of the British Parliament were not agreed, whether it would be better to give one constitution to all Canada, or divide the country into two provinces, each with a constitution of its own. The latter plan was adopted, and, in 1791, the "Constitutional Act" was passed, creating TWO CANADAS.



Independence Hall, Philadelphia, the Place where the American Republic was Born, July 4, 1776.

The Story of American Independence and the Origin of the First Congress.

1. Continental Congress.—This was on the 10th of May, 1775, with Lexington a few weeks earlier, Bunker Hill a few weeks later, and the "Declaration of Independence" fourteen months in the future. But there was a "Continental Congress." It had existed since the 5th of September, 1774.

2. Independence.—How came Congress to assemble on that 5th day of September, 1774? Independence was not thought of by the people. The idea would have been painful if entertained. Or if entertained, it would have been re-

jected as undesirable. To be sure, the struggle was already a fierce one, but it was for the rights of the people as English subjects. Why did a Congress assemble?

3. The Declaration of Independence.—Results appear with suddenness. We must look far back for the preparatives which slowly, tediously evolve and mature them. The Declaration of Independence burst on the world perfected, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, but it took a century and a half of pregnant events to bring this about. The general reader—indeed, often the interested student—is apt to commence the investigation of the occurrences which precipitated the great war for liberty, if not with the event of July 4, 1776, certainly no farther back than the passage of the Stamp Act, or of its repeal, or the story of the "tea party" in Boston Harbor. Yet, if any part of our history is to be omitted or lightly passed over by young or old in comparison, one portion with the other, let every soul in this country in preference master the account in all its details of the colonizing of the thirteen original states, and understand what the people had to contend with in a hundred different shapes, and how famine, pestilence, contests with Indians, dreadful as they were, came to be less feared, because of less importance, than the attempts of the rulers of the land from whence they came to subject them to the tyranny of arbitrary power.

4. The Thirteen Original States.—The thirteen original states were colonized by people of various origin, of every form of religious faith and belief, and of different nationalities. There were Swedes in Delaware, there were Germans in Pennsylvania, the Dutch were in New York. There were the Catholics in Maryland and Delaware, the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Church of England men in Virginia and the South, the Huguenots in New York, the Pilgrims in Massachusetts, the Liberals in Rhode Island, the Non-conformists everywhere. You can hardly imagine a greater mixture of origin, habits, caste, religious belief and religious dissent than was to be found among the first settlers of the United States. Yet it turned out that some marvelous power of cohesion, when the hour of trouble came to one extremity of the land, bound all together in ties so strong that they could not even be disturbed by the ordinary differences and discussions which separate and keep apart communities of different customs and associations.

5. Came Not For Gold.—The colonies did not come to these shores in search for mines of gold and silver, nor to fish, nor to proselyte the Indians. They came mainly

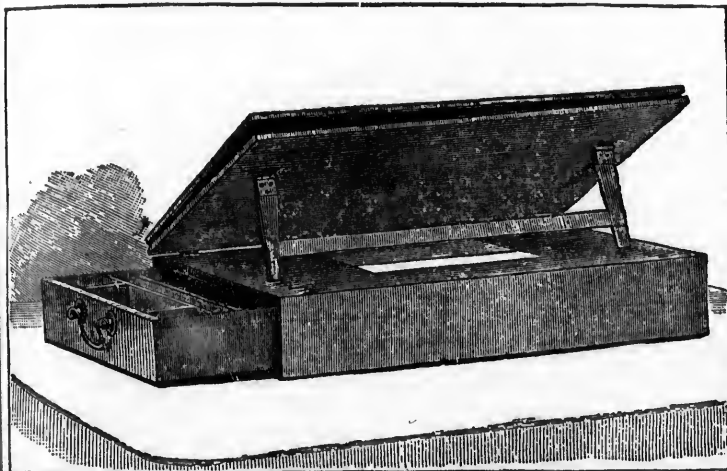
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for a home. This applies equally to the cavaliers in Virginia and the hardy pioneers at Plymouth. They all loved the land they left behind them. It was the home of their fathers, and had been their home until they quitted it. Besides, their friends and their kindred were still there. But when they embarked they took with them no crown with which to establish and perpetuate a divine right. Obligation to the King was acknowledged cheerfully, especially where the territory was taken under a loyal grant; but the colonists did not occupy themselves with any rights of kings. One and all claimed political freedom of original organization.



The Desk on which Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence.

6. **The First Bond.**—Here was the first bond of union. Each colony was established under circumstances essentially differing the one from the other. But in every one, sooner or later, difficulties arose touching the royal authority over them. In many, especially New England, the colonies were left to themselves to frame their own government, which for many years was that of the people assembled in town meeting, till the population became too large, and then representatives were chosen. In fact, civil government was established by common consent on shipboard by

The Pilgrims and a governor chosen. It was not till the success of the colonies attracted the cupidity of the rulers at home that charters were created, many liberal in their terms, and governors appointed.

7. **First Encroachments.**—At the very first certain resolutions were adopted which controlled every one of the colonies. First was that of representation and trial by jury; second, that which provided that no taxes or impositions



Patrick Henry Addressing the Continental Congress in 1774.

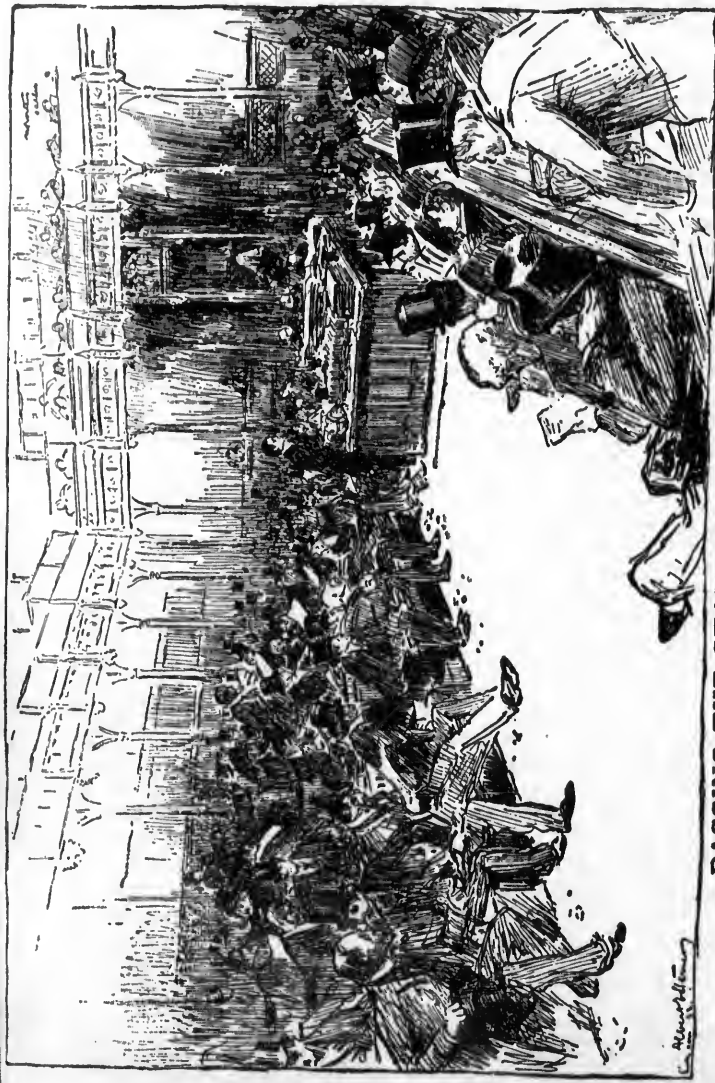
should be levied upon the colonists, their land or commodities, without the consent of the people through the action of the General Assembly, the taxes to be levied and employed as the assembly should appoint. The form of these resolutions varied in the different colonies, but in all the substance was identical. The reader will at once perceive that when Parliament undertook as against any one colony to

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PASSING THE STAMP ACT IN PARLIAMENT.

trench upon these essential rights—rights which the people insisted on as English subjects under the English Constitution—all the colonies naturally took the alarm, sympathizing practically with the aggrieved member. At first and for many years the encroachments were moderated. They were resisted vigorously from the start, and generally with success. From north to south, meanwhile, the people were from time to time harassed by inroads of hostile Indians, so that every community on these occasions became an armed camp, and the men warriors. Their dreadful perils from a common enemy formed another bond of fraternal sympathy between the different sections. During the hundred years succeeding the year 1664 (when the whole territory forming the original United States came under the control of England) Great Britain was engaged in wars with different continental nations a large proportion of the time, and when not so engaged the condition was that of suppressed war, often worse than war itself.

8. Increasing Prosperity.—The American colonies had increased in population; they were already very considerably engaged in trade and commerce. The tobacco of Virginia, the cotton and rice of the South, were sources of increasing prosperity. Then began to be agitated the question of taxation, of restriction on the commerce of the colonies, of duties to be levied on imports. The story is familiar to us. The passage of the infamous Stamp Act, opposed by the best and noblest of the British Parliament, aroused the intense indignation of the colonies through their entire extent.

9. The Stamp Act.—The passage of the Stamp Act stirred the people as they had never been stirred before. It was on the memorable 8th of September, 1765, that the act was passed, and it was to take effect on the 1st day of November following. By the act it was made that no legal instrument in writing of any sort, however insignificant, should be valid without a government stamp, and an elaborate scale of prices for the different stamps was given in detail. The first of November (when the Stamp Act was to go into operation as a law) was ushered in at Boston by the tolling of bells and other mournful tokens. Similar demonstrations took place in New York and Philadelphia and in other towns.

10. A Large Funeral Procession.—The town of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, has unquestioned precedence in these exhibitions, both by the originality of their conception and by the genuine earnestness with which the proceedings were conducted. A large funeral procession assembled, as

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if to follow a dear departed friend to the grave. A coffin handsomely constructed, inscribed with the word Liberty, was carried to the spot. Minute guns were fired. An oration, eulogistic of the virtues of the deceased, was pronounced. Here we must record a marvelous event. The oration was scarcely ended and just as the coffin was about to be lifted some tokens of life were perceived. Instantly the entire scene was transformed; hearty congratulations were exchanged, then the bells pealed forth a joyful sound, and demonstrations of satisfaction were everywhere exhibited. It is stated by an old historian that decorum and regularity marked all these proceedings.



The Old Chair Used by the First Congress.

II. The Provisions of the Stamp Act.—The provisions of the Stamp Act were evaded throughout the entire land by common consent. Documents and agreements passed be-

tween the people without the stamp. In fact, it would have deserved opprobrium to have used one, and on the 18th of March, 1766, the act was repealed. It was not repealed in acknowledgment of the American principle, but rather as a measure which proved absolutely impracticable.

12. Act to Levy a Tax.—The triumph of the colonies was short-lived. In 1767 the British Parliament passed an act to levy a tax or duty on glass, tea, paper, painters' colors, etc., besides an oppressive revenue law touching importations. This revived the agitation with a tenfold vehemence. Committees of correspondence again set to work. Non-importation and non-consumption societies were formed. In short, every method was set on foot to resist the operation of the act except that of open rebellion to it.

13. Anti-Tea-Drinking.—The colonies would not accept the situation. Anti-tea-drinking societies were formed. The great East India Company took part in the contest, and petitioned the King for a repeal of the tax. The petition was unheeded. On the contrary, the King declared "there should always be one tax to keep up the right of taxing." The rest of the story is well known. Ships loaded with teas were sent to Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston. In New York and Philadelphia the ships were not permitted to enter their cargoes, but were compelled to return with them to England. In Charleston the tea was landed and stored on an assurance that it would not be offered for sale, and the agreement was kept. In Boston there was a military force strong enough to compel compliance with the law. This led to the destruction of the cargoes of both vessels by citizens disguised as Indians.

14. King and Parliament.—King and Parliament received tidings of the event with amazement. Such audacious acts merited swift and ample punishment. The inhabitants of Boston must be taught by the severest methods not to set the law at defiance. The measure adopted by Parliament was indeed a cruel and complete one. On the 7th of March, 1774, the "Boston Port Bill" was passed, which closed the town as a port of entry, and transferred all the maritime business to Salem.

15. Financial Ruin.—It is difficult to figure the financial ruin which the act brought upon the business men, and the want and distress which it entailed on the inhabitants. It is still more difficult to figure the flame which was kindled in the breast of every person throughout the widely extended provinces. It is not difficult to record and transmit the events which took place, but the agitation of the public mind can never be adequately described, or, in fact, com-

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prehended. All the inhabitants of the land, from New Hampshire to Georgia, were carried away in this tremendous upheaving; not the young and impetuous only—in fact, not the fiery and impetuous so much as the aged and temperate were aroused by this revengeful and merciless blow inflicted on the town of Boston. This answers our question, "How came a Congress to assemble on the 5th of September, 1774?"

The Story of the Declaration of Independence.

The first suggestion of American independence was made in England. In the *London Chronicle*, October 25, 1774, an elaborate article appeared entitled "American Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain." It was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, but there was no response. Attachment to the mother country survived the tea riots of that year, and in March, 1775, Franklin informed Lord Chatham that he had never heard an opinion looking toward independence from any American, "drunk or sober." But the "massacre at Lexington," as the first collision (April 19, 1775) was called, moved the country to indignation. It was an illustration of how great a matter a little fire kindleth. A few villagers under Captain Parker (grandfather of Theodore Parker, who kept the captain's musket on his wall) met the English troops. Parker had warned them not to fire unless fired on, but one could not restrain himself; his gun missed fire but the flash brought a volley from the Englishmen, and independence was potentially written in the blood of the seven men who were left dead in Lexington. A few days after the tidings reached Philadelphia appeared the April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, edited by Thomas Paine. It contained a summary of Chatham's speech, in which he said the Crown would lose its luster if "robbed of so principal a jewel as America." Paine adds this footnote: "The principal jewel of the Crown actually dropped out at the coronation." This little footnote was probably the nearest approach to a suggestion of independence made by any American even then. And among all the fiery meetings held throughout the colonies only one ventured to utter the word independence. From the county of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, came resolutions passed May 31 and June 10, 1775, demanding the



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organization of an independent government. Congress would not allow such treasonable resolutions to be read before it, and the written records were lost. Jefferson pronounced the Mecklenburg resolutions mythical. But lately a copy of the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 13, 1776, has been discovered containing the resolutions; it is in Charleston and I have seen a photographed copy.

The first argument for independence, from the American point of view, was from the pen of Thomas Paine. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, October 18, 1775, under the title, "A Serious Thought," and over the signature, "Humanus." It presents a series of charges against Great Britain, somewhat resembling those of the "Declaration," and concludes: "When I reflect on these, I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain—call it Independency or what you will—if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on." The king is especially arraigned for establishing African slavery in America, which independence will abolish. Paine's phraseology leaves little doubt that he wrote the anti-slavery passage in the Declaration which was struck out. While writing "Common Sense," which really determined the matter, Paine was suspected of being a British spy. Nor was it so absurd, for up to the "massacre of Lexington" he had been active in conciliation. He was discussed at the prospective outbreak, and wrote to Franklin: "I thought it very hard to have the country set on fire about my ears almost the moment I got into it." "Common Sense" appeared January 10, 1776. Washington pronounced it "unanswerable" (to Joseph Reed, January 31), and indeed there was not a leading patriot in the country who did not applaud. New York had instructed its congressmen not to vote for independence; but one of its delegates, Henry Wisner, sent its leading assemblymen this pamphlet, asking their answer. As they could not give any, Wisner disregarded their instructions, and the state had to come round to him. At that time many ascribed the pamphlet to Franklin, who was one day reproached by a lady for the expression, "Royal brute of Great Britain." Franklin assured her that he was not the author, and would never have so dishonored the brute creation.

"A little thing sometimes produces a great effect," wrote Cobbett from America to Lord Grenville. "It appears to me very clear that some beastly insults offered to Mr. Paine while he was in the excise in England was the real cause of the revolution in America." This is more epigrammatic than exact. Paine was turned out of the excise for absenting

himself from his post (Lewes) without leave. It was not fair, for he had been engaged by the excisemen of England to try and get a bill through Parliament raising their salaries, and had to be much in London; and no other fault was charged. There were no insults, but he was left penniless, and Franklin advised his coming to America. Here he at once secured a good position, and was editing the only important magazine of the country, without any animosity to England. However, Cobbett is right when he further says that whoever may have written the "Declaration" Paine was its author. At that time Philadelphia was full of so called "tories." Their chief nest was the university, presided over by Rev. William Smith, D. D., who, as "Cato," attacked "Common Sense." Paine replied under the name "Forrester," and President Smith was so worsted that he lost his position, and left Philadelphia for a small curacy in Maryland. Paine resided in a room opposite the chief meeting-house of the Quakers, who, under pretext of peace-principles, aided the enemy. "Common Sense" insisted that they should address their testimony against war to the invaders equally with the invaded, and as they were not ready to do this their influence was destroyed. The danger to independence now lay in the approach of peace-commissioners from England. Paine issued a little pamphlet entitled "Dialogue Between the Ghost of General Montgomery, Just Arrived from the Elysian Fields, and an American Delegate." The gallant ghost warns the delegate that union with England is impossible, and, were it otherwise, would be a wrong to the English as well as the American people. This pamphlet was effective in strengthening waverers.

On June 7, 1775, Hon. Richard Henry Lee submitted to Congress a resolution that the colonies are and ought to be independent. A committee was appointed to propose appropriate action and reported June 28 through Benjamin Harrison, great-grandfather of the late President. It was found that six states hesitated—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina. Congress postponed the matter until July 1, meantime appointing a committee to draft a Declaration, another to organize a Confederation and a third to obtain foreign aid. The committee on a Declaration (Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston), reported on July 2. A bare majority in Congress passed the Declaration on July 4. Congress then adjourned to July 15, in order that efforts might be made to induce New York and Maryland to withdraw their restrictions on their delegates, who were personally favorable to independ-

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ence. On July 15 all were free and unanimous. On the 19th Congress ordered the Declaration to be engrossed and signed by every member. The paper had been signed on July 4 only by John Hancock, president of Congress, and the secretary, Charles Thompson. The engrossed copy was produced August 2 and signed by the members, some signatures being added later. The first to sign was Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire, and the last Matthew Thornton, of the same colony, when he took his seat November 4. In Trumbull's picture of the "signing," in the capital, more pomp is given to the affair than accompanied it. The secretary was so little impressed that his entry that the members signed is written on the margin of the journal of Congress. Thomas Stone, of Maryland, who signed, is not in Trumbull's picture, and Robert Livingston, who did not sign, being absent, is put in.

The earliest draft of the Declaration, before the anti-slavery paragraphs were stricken out, is in the library of the state department; the draft agreed to by the committee and passed by Congress is lost; the engrossed Declaration is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

A complete collection of autographs of the "signers" is a fortune. There are only three in existence. One of these belongs to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York. The costliness of the autographs is in the ratio of the obscurity of the signers. One of the least distinguished signers was Thomas Lynch, Jr., of South Carolina. Only three examples of his writing are known, uninteresting business notes, and for one of them Dr. Emmet paid over \$5,000.

The signers of the Declaration were rich men, and all of the "gentry." The British government were probably deceived by their adopting as their spokesman, and making secretary of foreign affairs, the humble exciseman Paine. The first president of Congress, Peyton Randolph, and George Washington, would pretty certainly have been knighted but for the Revolution. The espousal of American independence by such men, and by the Adams family, the Livingstons, the Stones of Maryland, meant that the most loyal and conservative class had gone against the king, and that America was irrecoverably lost to him. A well-informed English ministry would have spared themselves and us the seven years' war.

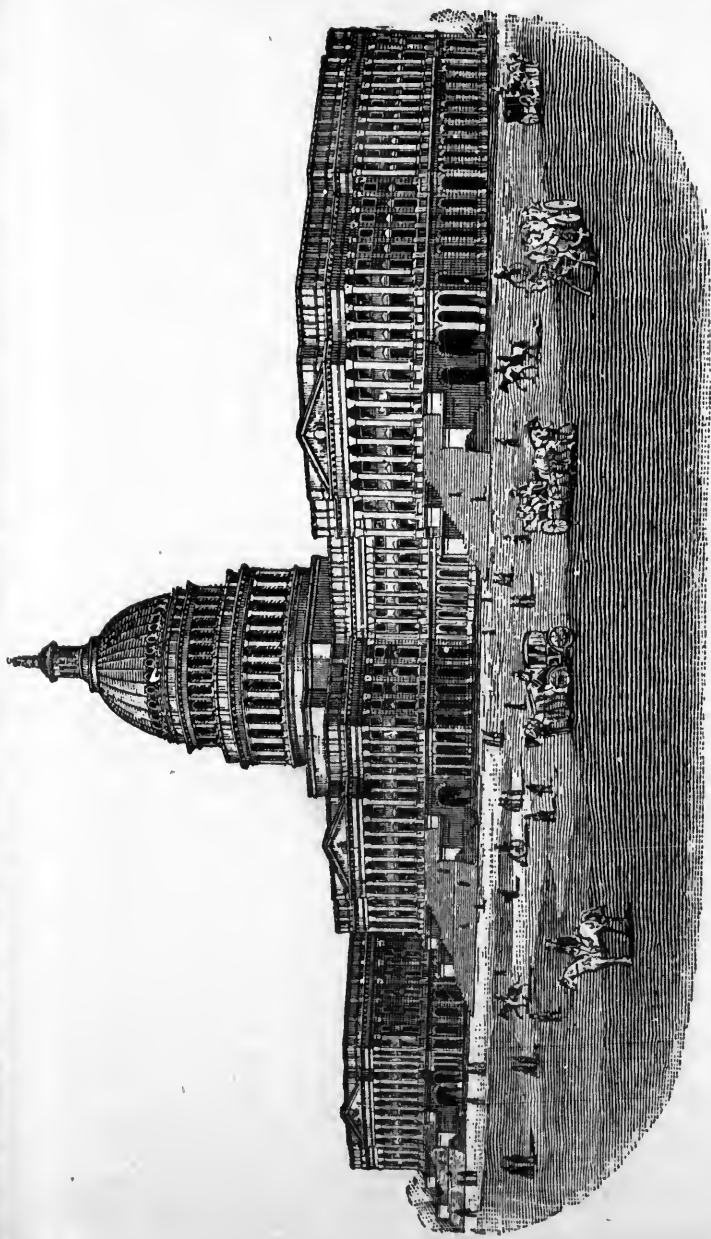
Paine did not use only his pen in the Revolution. When the cause had been consecrated to independence he shouldered his musket, marched to the front, did such service (at Fort Lee) that Gen. Greene took him on his staff, shared the hardships of Washington's retreat to the Delaware, and

wrote by campfires his "Crisis," which Washington ordered to be read to his depressed soldiers. The first sentence of that "Crisis," "These are the times that try men's souls," was the watchword at Trenton, where Paine helped to capture the Hessians. He afterward went in an open boat, under fire of the English ships, to convey an order to those besieged in Fort Mifflin, and on other occasions proved his courage. He visited France, and brought back six million livres.

Our Congress Compared With European Parliaments.

1. Delays and Losses.—The uncertainties, delays and losses attending the law-making faculties of the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington bring home sharply and tangibly to every citizen in the land as to excite not only an extraordinary interest in regard to our congressional methods of doing business, but, also, in regard to parliamentary ways and methods in other countries. The vexed questions of "quorum," "silver," "tariff," have of late been thrust forward so prominently, and debated so bunglingly and lengthily, as to compel the attention of the public mind and to cause it to inquire, to wonder, how knotty questions of like perplexing and weighty character are dealt with when drifted into by the legislative bodies of other great countries.

2. Origin of Legislative Bodies.—The parliamentary germ is traceable to remote ages. First appearing in the rough councils of primitive tribes, it developed by slow gradations until it fairly blossomed out amidst the Greeks and Romans, and, upon their collapse, it withered and underwent decay. Parliamentarism, or the exercise of a nation's sovereignty through regularly elected bodies, is distinctly a modern outgrowth, its original home England, whence it spread to other countries, which more or less successfully adopted it. The American Congress is based essentially on the English lines, and is really an importation, pruned and trained to suit the requirements of a new world. The base upholds the superstructure, and, fortunately, in this particular instance was of a vivifying, enduring kind, and so the superstructure remains capable of improvement, which many think is now greatly needed.



THE NATIONAL CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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3. Written Constitution.—In considering the English system, the striking fact stands out that the most powerful and leading parliamentary nation during the last few centuries never possessed a written constitution, and that one merely fixed by practice and precedents amply sufficed for the enormous share of prosperity and freedom it enjoyed throughout that extended period.

4. The Difference Between the English and the Continental Constitutions.—The difference between them lies in the fact that the former gradually grew into life, while the latter were made to order at short notice and launched without a particle of inherent vitality, truly very readable on paper, but unsuited to long use and liable to be erased at a stroke of the pen, or rather the sword.

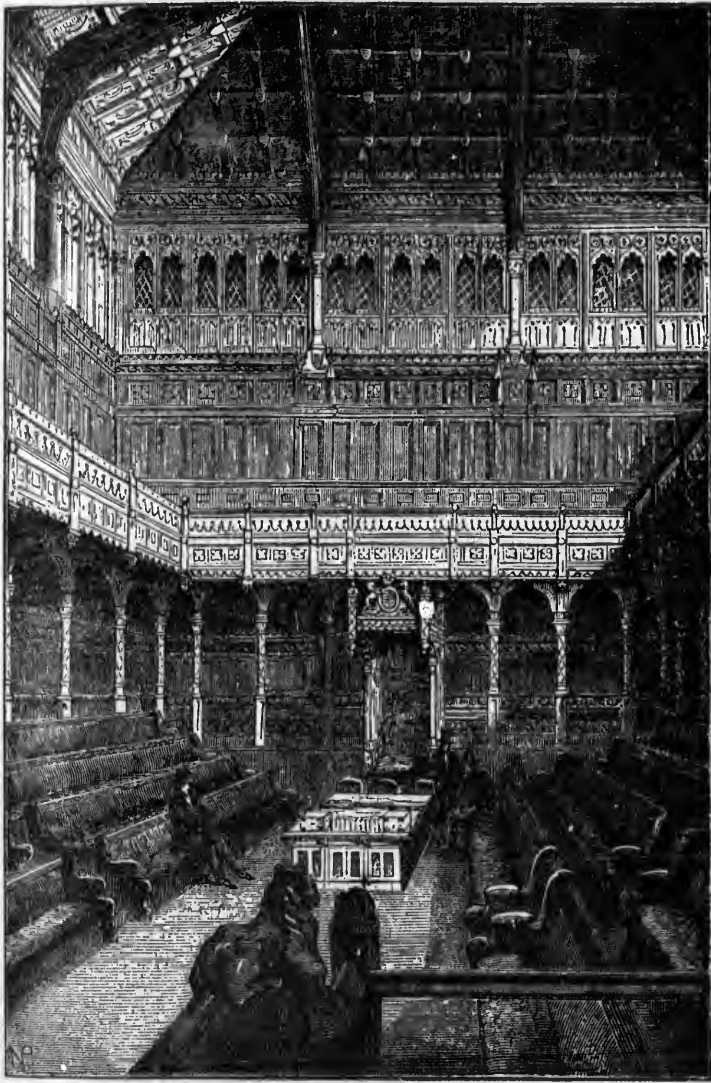
5. The House of Commons.—The House of Commons, elected by the people on an enlarged suffrage plan, and the House of Lords, of hereditary membership, have been very much improved as working machines within the past fifty years, although their school of oratory cannot be ranked as high as in the days of Pitt and Burke, or even so late as of Peel, Bright and Palmerton. The only notable orator left over from the old school is Mr. Gladstone, the present octogenarian, recently having retired from public office.

6. The Current Style in the Commons.—The current style is plain, concise English for the transaction of the business of the day, beyond which its statesmanship now neither looks nor is capable of looking. The body harbors no uncommon, remarkable talent; the oratory is fair, so far as it goes. There is no straining for effect, no "stump speaking" for petty outside communities; no talking to the galleries, and there is a steady sticking to practical work both in the House and in the committee rooms.

7. Improvement Over the Practice of Congressmen.—This is a decided improvement over the practice of Congressmen who, being exceedingly fond of cheap notoriety, prattle by the hour to the galleries and to the reporters, though in the meantime necessary questions be waiting consideration. Stump speaking, for the most part a mixture of screaming words and guffaws, is the besetting sin of the newly fledged delegates at Washington, eager to make themselves heard, through the press, to their local constituents. Nothing of the kind has a foothold in the English Parliament. The general public is too critical and exacting to tolerate neglect of business, which is always important because it so nearly concerns both local and national affairs, as no European Parliament is free to disregard local matters and devote itself exclusively to high national affairs, as



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



THE HOUSE OF LORDS, THE LEGISLATIVE HALL
OF THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY.

Congress is compelled to do under our mixed system. For the rest, a special public is not allowed in the galleries of the London building, as in the two Washington Houses, wherein the gallery audience greatly outnumbers the members and almost overawes them by the influence of open applause or condemnation. Here again, in this small item of gallery restriction, our Republican system might adopt, without any silly conceit, a betterment from the mother country.

8. Filibustering.—Filibustering is now impossible in any European Parliament, and should be equally impossible at Washington, the minority's pretenses being altogether indefensible. The French were the first to see the necessity of the cloture rule, and in this their notorious chop-logic instinct placed them on the right track for once. It is a vast improvement, a logical and indispensable step in accordance with the more rapid advances in every civilized land; it simply prevents a few, most often cranky, persons from putting obstructions on the track to stop the train of progress.

9. The House of Lords.—The sessions of the House of Lords, presided over by Lord Chancellor, have a strictly perfunctory character, though in picturesqueness of splendid scenery it holds first rank. The Speaker of the House of Commons is elected by the members, and has great power and many privileges. In the usual course of his presiding he takes the chair at 4 P. M., when prayers are read by a clergyman of the Established Church, and the business of the day commences. The members invariably thin out about dinner hour, which is 7, to return about 9 P. M., when the night's sitting is entered on in earnest, to last sometimes until daybreak, and always until the small hours of the morning.

10. Parliamentary Holidays.—The Parliamentary holidays are frequent during a session, all the more so as the ministerial tenure of office is not fixed, but is subject to the uncertainties of voting. The best debating nights are Mondays and Thursdays, and on Wednesday the House sits only from noon to 6 P. M.; of course there is no sitting on Sunday, which, however, on the continent is an important day for official work, elections being held on that day when they become necessary. Unless forty members are present at a sitting, it is agreed that "there is no House," to use a Parliamentary phrase; that is, not a sufficient quorum to transact the public business.

11. Queer Privileges.—All members sit on benches, and have no desks as congressmen have. The attitudes of

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THE GREAT BRITISH PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS



the members, when not speaking, are limited by no conventionalities, and the greatest freedom is allowed, including the practice of smoking and drinking at will, wearing hats, and a considerable amount of subdued playfulness and chaffing in the English style.

12. Ministers.—Ministers, though appointed by the Queen, have also to be members, and, after appointment, are invariably re-elected by their constituencies. The benches to the right of the Speaker's chair are the recognized seats of the government party, the heads of which, the ministers, occupy the first bench. The benches to the left of the Speaker's chair are filled by the members forming the "opposition," the leaders of which also take their seats on the first bench directly confronting the ministerial bench. The ministers, being responsible both for the making and execution of the laws, occupy the front rank, the main position in the House of Commons, of which the prime minister is the recognized leader, though the opposition has its own special leader.

13. Voting.—The process of voting is done, not by a roll call, but by the members passing into their respective "division lobby," in order to be counted; the count is what tells. The ayes, or those in favor of the ministry, retire into the lobby on the right of the Speaker's chair, and the noes, or those voting with the opposition, retire into the lobby on the left of the Speaker's chair.

14. The Queen Opens Parliament.—When the Queen opens Parliament, and she also prorogues or dissolves it when the premier authorizes, she enters the building through the "Victoria Tower," and proceeds to her "robing room," which is a spacious apartment elegantly fitted up, and only issues from it to march in solemn procession—black rod, crown, and other regal paraphernalia—through the Victoria gallery, 110 feet in length, to the House of Lords. She makes this march on foot, as it would be against English etiquette for her to be carried in a "sedia gestatoria" (portable chair), as the Pope of Rome is in St. Peter's. English etiquette is extremely exacting, so much so that Her Majesty is now more than ever addicted to shirking it. On arriving in the House of Lords, her throne awaits her to sit down on.

15. In Full Dress.—The peers in the presence of the Queen are arrayed in their robes, the members of the House of Commons are in dress suits, the ladies of the court in attendance are attired in splendid costumes, and the scene itself is eminently adapted to such a rich display, the House of Lords being sumptuously decorated in the richest Gothic style. The ceremony being ended with the reading of the royal speech, royalty goes back over the same route to its palatial home.

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16. **The French Assembly.**—The present Assembly, consisting of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies, was instituted by Jules Favre and Gambetta at Paris, in September, 1870. As it is a very numerous body, representing the most mercurial of nations, its debates are remarkably stormy, and the scenes enacted during debating battles are simply indescribable, eclipsing anything ever seen or heard in the other more orderly capitals. The orators speak from a special tribune, and when they get off any brilliant effort they are duly congratulated by their colleagues of their own set, for the political factions and hues are numerous, and every prominent politician has his own clique, or coterie, in addition. Wit, ridicule and sarcasm are the favorite weapons, more relied on than good judgment and sound arguments, because they can be quickly made to tell in the debating, which is invariably in a desultory, running and leaping fashion, impossible of accurate following by the reporters.

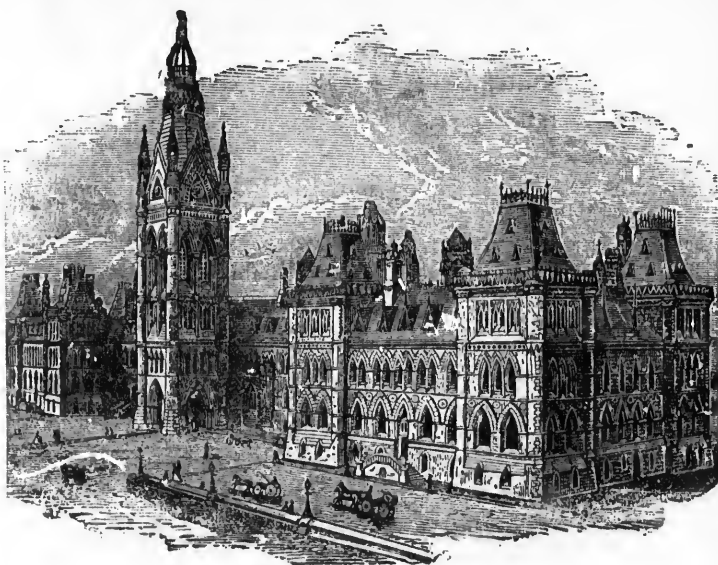
17. **The Members.**—The members sit on benches, and both the Senate and Chamber are directed, from elevated "tribunes," by "Presidents." A prominent feature is the abundance of official ushers and attendants, dressed up in gorgeous liveries, with chains of honor on their coat lapels, who flit frequently about the floor, the corridors and rooms, in obedience to the fickle demands made upon them.

18. **Italian Parliament.**—When the Italian kingdom was recently formed it simply continued the constitution and parliament which little Piedmont had adopted during the revolutionary period. On taking possession of Rome it was found to be without a Parliament building, as the popes had never had any use for this species of machinery, and so the construction of one was at once ordered. A site was picked out, where the papal prisons stood, at Monte Citorio, and they were pulled down, to the great glee of many revolutionists who had been confined in their dungeons, and a hasty building was put up for the accommodation of the members who migrated from the old capital, Florence, to the new one. Since that day the Italian Parliament has held uninterrupted sessions in the "Monte Citorio Palace." The members are generally more orderly and restrained in debate than the French deputies, but they can be, on some occasions, more noisy and furious, even unto blows and the drawing of weapons. The debates are rarely of interest, the proceedings being unenlivened by the least wit or repartee, now that the more prominent statesmen who built up the kingdom have either died or withdrawn from active politics.

19. **The German Reichstag.**—The Imperial House of Parliament, known as the "Reichstag," is in close proximity to the "war office," in Leipsic street, which fairly throws it into the coolest of shades and remotest of backgrounds combined; in fact, it is difficult to find where the Imperial German Parliament is at, literally as well as metaphorically, for it is a small concern dimly 'visible, as through a glass, darkly, in the concrete, and history has yet to record what public use it has served, what practical result given, even to the Kaiser or his family. Bismarck started the Reichstag on the well-worn road of registering the imperial will in the shape of voted laws, and the late chancellor, Count von Caprivi, has kept the gentlemen voters well up to their set tasks. All the parties, including the Socialists, are represented in it, but this is of no avail to them if free debate is useless, even when tolerated by the arbitrary ministers, who either get the certain number of votes their measures require or order a new Parliament, brand new from the polls superintended by the police and the military.



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Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

Parliament of Canada.

Introductory.—In the “Story of Canada” it was noted that of all the Provinces of British North America, the Canadas were the only ones whose advancement towards full Constitutional Government was marked by the gift of specific written constitutions, the others retaining throughout the same period that form of government, which had been first outlined for them in the Royal instructions, their after progress being some privilege added or grievance removed in answer to petition. Yet, by the year 1854, they all enjoyed the possession of “responsible government” in the full meaning of that term in the British constitution. When, therefore, their Federal Union—as the Dominion of Canada—was consummated in 1867, by Act of the Imperial Parliament, there was nothing further in the way of self-government for them to receive under that constitution. They entered into Union for the strength which union, judiciously made, must always secure—strength to bear one another’s burdens, to develop material resources, and improve national opportunities. A union, by the terms of which, what had

been acquired by each, should still be enjoyed, and while surrendering much, to receive much more in return. By that Imperial Act, therefore, the powers already acquired by the Provinces were, with their consent, gathered to endow one strong central government, in connection with which each province retained its identity and self-government.

2. The **British North America Act, 1867**, had, for its occasion, the expressed "desire of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, to be federally united into one Dominion, under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution *similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom.*"

It stated that "such a Union would conduce to the welfare of the Provinces, and promote the interests of the British Empire."

It established the Union "by authority of Parliament;" it provided for "the constitution of the Legislative authority in the Dominion," and declared "the nature of the Executive Government therein."

It made provision "for the eventual admission into the Union of other parts of British North America."

The succeeding clause reveals what that "Authority of Parliament" is, by which alone power was given to the provisions of the Act :

"Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same."

Therein are enumerated all the factors of British Parliament—the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons—the supreme legislative authority of the British Empire. The above form of enactment is necessary to the validity of every statute, every ordinance of that government.

The present sketch has reference only to the provisions of the Act regarding :

(1) The "nature of the Executive Government of the Dominion."

(2) The "Constitution of the Legislative Authority" therein.

As already stated, the principles set forth in the provisions of the Act are, in both of these particulars, the same as those contained in the former constitutions of the provinces at the time of the Union. They had come to be

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"similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." In the larger Parliament of the Dominion, however, their identity with the principles of the British Parliament is more striking.

EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

1. "The Executive Government of and over Canada is declared to continue and be vested in the QUEEN."

2. The **Command-in-Chief** of all military and naval forces in Canada "is also declared to continue and be vested in the QUEEN."

3. A **Governor-General**, who is appointed by the Queen-in-Council, represents Her Majesty in Canada, and possesses all the powers, authorities, and functions of former Governors, to be vested in and exercisable by him, with the advice and consent of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, or any members thereof, or by himself individually, as the case requires, subject nevertheless to be abolished or altered by the Parliament of Canada, except where such alteration would contravene an Act of the Imperial Parliament.

THE ROYAL AUTHORITY, *as represented by the Governor-General, follows the same constitutional course in Canada as it does in the United Kingdom.*

4. The Act further states, "There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the Government of Canada, to be styled the QUEEN'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR CANADA"; the members of which "shall be from time to time chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and members thereof may be from time to time removed by the Governor-General."

5. The term Governor-General-in Council is "construed as referring to the Governor-General acting by and with the advice of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada."

6. **Duties of Governor-General.**—As the Representative of the Queen, he acts only within the terms of his commission, and with the advice of the Privy Council for Canada. Among his duties to be thus exercised are:

(1) The appointment of the Lieutenant-Governors of Provinces, and their removal only upon sufficient cause, before expiry of their term of office.

(2) The appointment of Judges in all branches of the Judicature, throughout the Dominion, and their removal upon the address of Parliament.

(3) He summons duly qualified persons to seats in the Senate.

(4) He appoints one of the Senators as speaker of that House, and may remove him.



QUEEN VICTORIA.

(5) As the Executive Head of the Government he summons, prorogues and dissolves Parliament.

(6) In the name of the Queen, he assents to Bills, which have passed both Houses of Parliament, or reserves them for the consideration of Her Majesty-in-Council.

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(7) He must also send copies of all Acts, to which he has assented, to one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, that such Acts may receive the consideration of the Queen-in-Council. If they are found to be beyond the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament, they may be disallowed by the Queen-in-Council, and are annulled from the date on which the Governor-General signifies Her Majesty's action to the Houses of the Parliament of Canada.



LORD ABERDEEN,
Governor-General.

(8) He may disallow the Acts of a Provincial Legislature within one year after their having been passed in the Province.

(9) He may commute the sentence of a Court of Justice.

7. "Responsible Advisers."—These two words express the whole theory of government under the British constitution, which is that of Canada also. It is the theory which has prevailed in practice in British North America since

1848. It is also expressed in the old saying, "The King can do no wrong," signifying that the Royal authority whether exercised by the Sovereign or the representative of the Sovereign, must not be chargeable with any blame in the administration of government. From the earliest times, the monarch had the services of a Council, whose members performed various duties in the State, and gave their advice when required. English history relates, however, that difficulties arose and conflict ensued, as to which should have the supremacy, the prerogatives of the Royal power, or the rights and liberties of the nation, as represented by Parliament. In time, however, the solution of the question at issue has been found, and a method of procedure has become sanctioned usage, by which all the branches of government are brought into harmonious operation. This method of procedure has to do with the "choosing and summoning" of the QUEEN'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR CANADA.

8. This **unwritten law** of "sanctioned usage," in regard to the selection and calling of members to the Privy Council, is followed in Canada in the same way as in England. *In the first place*, only those are eligible to be summoned who are at the time members of the Senate, or the House of Commons. *In the second place*, they are chosen from among those members of Parliament, whose public policy commands the support of the majority in the House of Commons. *Again*, as a matter of fact, the Governor-General does not select his advisers individually, but summons to his aid that member of Parliament, of either House, usually of the House of Commons; who is recognized as the choice of the majority in the latter House. *To him* the Governor-General intrusts the selection of other members of Parliament, who are willing to assist him in the responsibility of advising the representative of the Queen. Having completed the selection of his co-advisers, and received their assent, he submits their names, with his own, to the Governor-General, and being summoned, they all are sworn as members of the Privy Council. The oath is one of secrecy as to the deliberations and proceedings of the Council, and no member may divulge any of these matters without the permission of the Queen or her representative.

Upon taking the above oath these Privy Councillors receive appointment, each to the control and responsibility of some one of the departments of State. Those who are members of the House of Commons must now present them-

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selves, as early as possible, to their constituencies for re-election, as a test of public sentiment regarding their acceptance of the position of Councillors. So long as these advisers of His Excellency retain the confidence of the House of Commons they remain in office, and are jointly responsible for every action of the Executive Government, as vested in the Queen or her representative. But, that confi-



HON. WILFRID LAURIER,
Premier of Canada.

dence being forfeited in any way, they must resign their administrative positions, and cease to be the *responsible* advisers of the Crown.

When such a contingency occurs, the Governor-General has no other course to pursue than to repeat the steps of selection and appointment, detailed above, in order to surround himself with constitutional advisers. At this time,

however, his choice of *first* adviser will be that member of Parliament who has been able to supplant his predecessor in the confidence of Parliament, and therefore of the country.

9. **The Cabinet, Ministry, Administration or Government,** are terms very commonly used instead of "The Privy Council," to denote the advisers of the executive head of the Dominion. The first has come into use from a reference to the *secrecy* of its deliberations in Council. The others have reference to the active functions of its members. That member who is *first* summoned by the Crown is distinguished above his associates in the Cabinet, by the title of First Minister or PRIME MINISTER, Premier or Leader of the Government. His colleagues are known as members of the Cabinet or Government, Ministers of State or of the Crown, and, individually, as the Minister of Finance, of Justice, or of Agriculture, according to the department administered by him. Very frequently he is spoken of as holding the "Portfolio of Finance," of Justice, or of Agriculture, as the case may be. Sometimes there are "Ministers without portfolio," which occurs when the Prime Minister selects one or more Privy Councillors above the number required to fill the Offices of State.

The number of members in the Cabinet, therefore, may vary.

10. **The Departments or Offices of State** at present are as follows, their names indicating the matters of their general administration:

(1) *The Office of the Privy Council* is in charge of a member who is styled the "President of the Privy Council," and presides at all meetings of the Cabinet. At these meetings the public business is formulated for presentation to Parliament. The will of Parliament regarding the public business of the country, as expressed by its Acts, is made operative by means of Orders-in-Council passed by the Cabinet in session, and transmitted to the other departments for their guidance and authority. This office maintains correspondence with the Imperial Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the Canadian High Commissioner in England, and with Her Majesty's Ambassador to the United States. All State papers are in charge of this department.

(2) *Department of the Secretary of State for Canada* is the medium of all correspondence between the Dominion and Provincial Governments. It is the proper channel for all petitions, especially those addressed to the Governor-General-in-Council. It is the record office for the Dominion

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of all commissions, letters-patent, writs, and documents bearing the impress of the Great Seal of Canada.

It has charge, also, of the sub-department of *Public Printing and Stationery*.

(3) *Department of Justice*, presided over by the Minister of Justice, who has the oversight of the administration of justice throughout the Dominion, and of the prisons and penitentiaries. He is the legal adviser of the Governor-General, the Privy Council, and the Offices of State, and has charge of all suits-at-law either on behalf of or against



RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN,
British Colonial Secretary.

the Dominion. His duty, also, is to follow the legislation of the Provinces, to see that it is within Provincial powers.

(4) *Department of Finance* has charge of all matters relating to the Public Accounts, showing the revenue and expenditure of the Dominion Government. It looks after the execution of the laws relating to currency, banking and insurance. The Minister of Finance must submit to Parliament an annual statement of "ways and means" in reference to Canadian finances. As the head of the great taxing department of Government, he must hold his seat in the House of Commons.

(5) *Department of Public Works* has charge of all public works relating to harbors, rivers, piers, etc., and buildings required and in use for the service of the Government.

(6) *Department of Railways and Canals* has charge of the Government railways, the inspection during construction of railways aided by Government subsidy, and the construction and maintenance of canals.

(7) *Department of Agriculture* has for its duty the encouragement of agriculture, the superintendence of experimental farms, the importation of stock, immigration, sanitary and quarantine measures, census, statistics, copyright, trade marks, and patents of invention.

(8) *Department of Trade and Commerce* has the supervision of the condition and operations of these important matters, especially with regard to international relations and channels of trade, and the improvement of facilities for the same. Until lately "Customs" and "Inland Revenue" were sub-departments of "Trade and Commerce."

(9) *Department of Customs* has special oversight of all matters relating to the adjustment and collection of import charges under the "customs tariff."

(10) *Department of Inland Revenue* has the duty of administering the laws respecting excise, weights and measures, gas and electric meters, culling and measurement of timber, inspection of foods, hides, drugs and petroleum.

(11) *Department of Militia and Defence* has special control of all matters relating to the efficiency of the militia of Canada, the inspection of stores, armouries, schools of instruction, and the Military College. Under the Minister of Militia, there is a Major-General in command of the militia, who is chosen from the regular army of England.

(12) *Department of Marine and Fisheries* looks to the administration of the laws relating to fisheries, lighthouses, the signal service, harbors, examination of masters, mates, engineers, and inspection of vessels.

(13) *Department of the Interior* has charge of the Crown lands in Manitoba, British Columbia, and North-West Territories. It has two sub-departments: *The Superintendent of Indian Affairs* and *The Geological Survey*.

Post-office Department directs the administration of the postal service of the Dominion, whether local or international.

Deputy Ministers.—As the Ministers at the head of de-

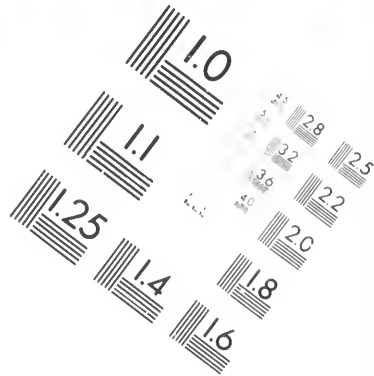
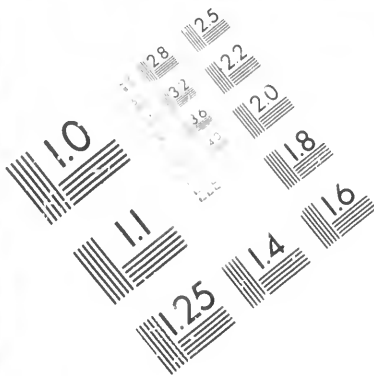
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partments are subject to be removed or transferred from one department to another, it is necessary that the work of the details of the departments should be interfered with as little as possible by these incidents of change. For this reason there is a Deputy Minister next to the Minister of State at the head of each department. His is a permanent appointment, and not effected by change of Ministry.

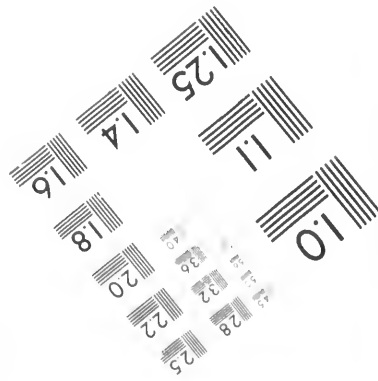
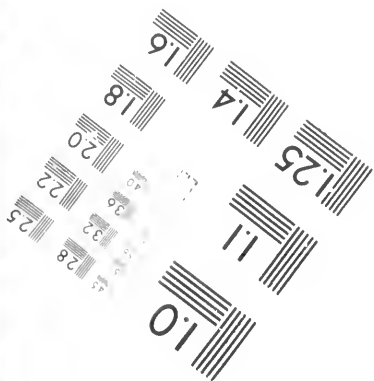
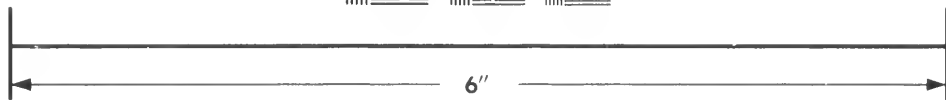
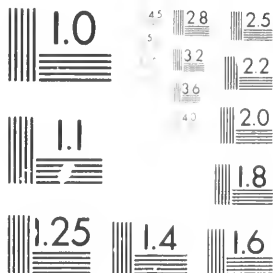
The Auditor-General's Department is one also independent of changes of government from the very nature of its duties. It is of most important service in verifying every one of the numerous details of receipts and expenditure in connection with the various departments of Government.

11. **The public evidence** of the responsibility of the Privy Council for the executive Acts of the Crown, in Canada, is to be found upon all instruments or State papers purporting to be issued under that authority. Such instruments must bear the impress of the Great Seal of Canada, must be signed by the Governor-General, and, *in addition*, must have the signature of the Minister of the Crown, who is in charge of the Department of State on behalf of which the instrument is issued.

12. **Cabinet Maxims.**—Under this head may be grouped those principles of conduct, which naturally grow out of the essentially confidential association and common responsibility of Ministers. Just as those “usages” are unwritten, yet faithfully followed, by which the Cabinet is brought into existence, so these principles of conduct which govern the members of the Cabinet, though no part of written law, are well understood, and, for the very reason that they have no formal expression, are the more binding in their operation. Being matters of honor, they are axioms, essential in that unity of policy and action, which alone has made the effectiveness of the Cabinet, in its peculiar functions as an intermedium in the Constitution. Being such, its responsibility is two-fold—*to the Crown*, that its prerogatives shall be respected; *to Parliament*, that the counsel given the Crown shall be consonant with the rights and customs of Parliament. Having accepted the invitation of the Prime Minister to share with him this responsibility, each member of the Cabinet is bound in honor to support the Premier as head of the Cabinet, as the leader of the Government. It is a fact, also, that the Governor-General is not present at the meetings of the Cabinet, except upon occasions of special importance. It follows, therefore, from the above



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considerations, that (1) the Prime Minister is the official channel of communication between the Crown and the Cabinet, and that he is accountable to the Crown for the faithfulness with which the departments of State are administered ; (2) each Minister is responsible for the department of which he is in charge ; (3) at the same time, all the Ministers bear a joint responsibility for every act of the Cabinet, whether it be departmental or one of general policy ; (4) the Ministry must be a unit upon all questions of policy and administration ; (5) if any member of the Cabinet ceases to agree with the policy of the Prime Minister, honor obliges him to resign his seat in the Cabinet ; (6) if any Minister be guilty of incompetency or unfaithfulness in his department he stands to be removed from the Cabinet ; (7) the dismissal or resignation of a Minister removes from his colleagues any responsibility for him ; (8) as the Prime Minister is responsible from the first for the organization of the Cabinet, it follows that his resignation or removal from any cause would at once dissolve the Cabinet.

13. **The Executive Government of Canada**, therefore, is carried on by the Crown, with the advice of a responsible Cabinet or Privy Council, which is, in reality, a Committee of the two Houses of Parliament.

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

14. **There shall be one Parliament for Canada**, consisting of the Queen, an Upper House—styled the Senate, and the House of Commons, is the declaration of the British North America Act, in forming the Dominion of Canada. It is seen that the same three elements exist for the making of laws as in the Executive Government of the country.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

15. (1) *Numbers*.—The Act for purposes of representation in this House, Canada was deemed to consist of three divisions : (a) Ontario, (b) Quebec, (c) The Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). Each division was to have twenty-four members, which, in the third division, gave twelve to each of its two Provinces. The total representation of twenty-four for the Maritime division was, however, to remain the same after Prince Edward Island should be

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admitted into the Dominion, the number for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being decreased in proportion. This occurred July 1st, 1873, when four Senators were appointed for Prince Edward Island, the numbers for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being reduced to ten each. By the provisions of the Act of 1867, for the admission of other Provinces, Manitoba has now four Senators, the North-West Territories two, and British Columbia three. Provision was also made that Newfoundland should have a representation of four members upon its coming into the Dominion.

At the present time, therefore, the Provinces are entitled to a representation of eighty-one Senators.

(2) *Qualification and Residence.*—(a) A Senator shall be of the full age of thirty years. (b) He shall be a natural-born or naturalized British subject. (c) He must hold real and personal property to the value of \$4,000, above all liabilities. (d) He shall be a resident in the Province for which he is appointed. (e) In the case of Quebec, he shall have his property qualification in the electoral division for which he is appointed, or shall be resident in that division.

(3) Persons duly qualified are made Senators by the summons of the Governor-General, in the Queen's name, and by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

(4) Senators hold their seats for life, subject to the provisions of the Act.

(5) *Forfeiture.*—A Senator shall forfeit his seat (a) if he fails to give attendance in the Senate for two consecutive sessions, (b) if he take an oath of allegiance to a foreign power, (c) if he become bankrupt or be convicted of felony or treason, (d) if he ceases to be qualified in respect of property or residence.

(6) *Speaker.*—The Governor-General appoints one of the Senators to be Speaker, and may remove him at pleasure.

(7) *Quorum.*—Fifteen Senators, including the Speaker, are necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate for the exercise of its powers.

(8) *Voting.*—Questions shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases have a vote, and when the voices are equal, the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative. The terms "contents" and "non-contents" are used instead of "yeas" and "nays" in recording the votes of the Senate.

A Senator is not eligible to be elected or to sit or vote as a member of the House of Commons.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

16. (1) The Governor-General shall, from time to time, in the Queen's name, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada, summon and call together the HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(2) *Numbers.*—In framing the Act of 1867, provision was made for preventing too large an increase of the members of this House with the increase in population. For this purpose the Province of Quebec was made the basis of representation, and the following enacted: (a) "Quebec shall have a fixed number of sixty-five members. (b) There shall be assigned to each of the other Provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at each census) as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec (so ascertained). (c) In the computation of the number of members for a province, a fractional part not exceeding one-half of the whole number requisite for entitling the Province to a member shall be disregarded, but a fractional part exceeding one-half of that number shall be equivalent to the whole number. (d) On any re-adjustment the number of members for a Province shall not be reduced unless the proportion which the number of the population of the Province bore to the number of the aggregate population of Canada at the then last preceding re-adjustment of the number of members for the Province is ascertained, at the then last census, to be diminished by one-twentieth part, or upwards. (e) Such re-adjustment shall not take effect until the termination of the then existing Parliament." (f) The Parliament of Canada has power to increase the representation in the Commons, but only while preserving the proportion indicated above.

The first Parliament under the Act, which met in 1867, had 181 members. The census has been taken in 1871, 1881, and 1891. By that of 1881 the House of Commons had 215 members. By that of 1891, although there was an increase in the total population of the Dominion, there was also such a migration between Provinces, that a re-adjustment of membership in the Commons was again necessary under the Act, and this time the number was reduced. There are now 213 members, allotted as follows: Quebec,

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65 ; Ontario, 92 ; Nova Scotia, 20 ; New Brunswick, 14 ; Manitoba, 7 ; British Columbia, 6 ; Prince Edward Island, 5 ; North-West Territories, 4.

(3) *Qualification.*—Only British subjects may be elected to and sit in the House of Commons. No property qualification has been required since 1874. No person holding a



HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER,
Ex-Finance Minister.

contract with the Government, directly or indirectly, or any office or employment from the Crown, to which any salary or fee is attached, can become a member of this House.

(4) *Speaker and Deputy-Speaker.*—The Speaker of the House of Commons is elected immediately on its first assembling after a general election. His duty is to preside at all meetings of the House. A Deputy-Speaker is also elected,

who is chairman of the House when resolved into *Committee-of-the-Whole House*. He also takes the place of the Speaker during the latter's absence, and relieves him during very lengthy sittings of the House.


(5) *Quorum*.—The presence of twenty members, including the Speaker, is necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers.

(6) *Voting*.—Questions arising in the House of Commons are decided by a majority of voices other than that of the Speaker, and when the voices are equal, but not otherwise, the Speaker shall have a vote.

(7) *The Duration* of the House of Commons, after a general election, shall continue for *five years* from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General), and no longer.

(8) *Money Bills*.—It is the distinctive right of the House of Commons that "Bills for *appropriating* any part of the public revenue, or for *imposing any tax or import*, shall originate in the House of Commons."

(9) It shall not be lawful for the House of Commons to adopt or pass any vote, resolution, address, or bill for the appropriation of any part of the public revenue, or of any tax or impost, to any purpose that has not been first recommended to that House by Message of the Governor-General, in the session in which vote, etc., or bill is proposed.

 These two clauses contain the essence of the representative and responsible principles upon which Parliament is founded: (1) Taxes and imposts can be levied only by authority of the people's House; (2) No expenditure of these taxes and imposts may be even proposed, except by authority of the Crown, with the responsible advice of the Cabinet.

BOTH HOUSES.

17. (1) *Annual Sessions*.—There must be at least one session of the Parliament of Canada in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Parliament in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

(2) *The privileges, immunities, and powers* of the two Houses, and of their members, are defined by the Parliament of Canada, but such Act of Parliament cannot confer

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privileges, immunities, or powers exceeding those held and exercised by the House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

(3) *Legislation.*—In this respect the powers of the two Houses are co-ordinate. It is indifferent in which House measures may commence, except money bills, already referred to. It is necessary that these, as well as all other bills, should pass *both Houses* before receiving the assent of the Governor-General. Legislation upon any measure is stopped by the adverse vote of either House. In practice, though not of any right, it has become usual for petitions for divorce to be considered first by the Senate.

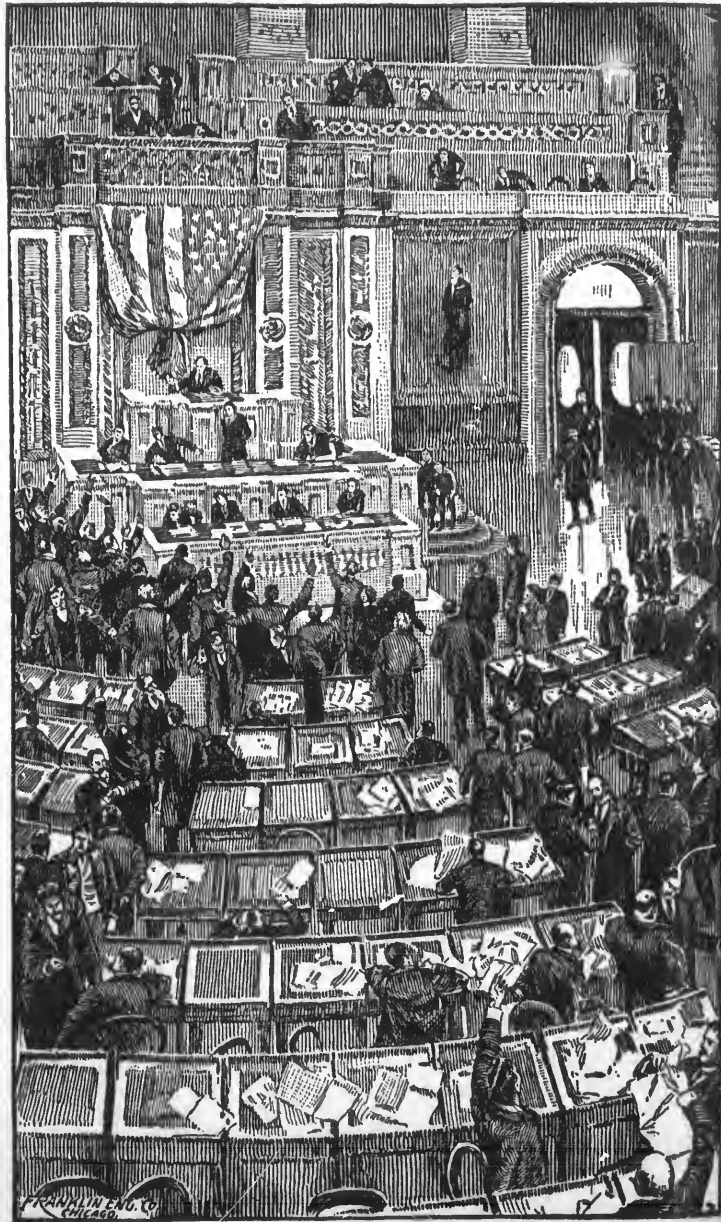
(4) *The indemnity to members* of both Houses for their attendance at Parliament is \$1,000 for a session of thirty days, \$10 a day if the session be less than thirty days, and travelling expenses at ten cents a mile, coming and going.

(See page 108.)

How Bills are Passed and Laws Made in Congress.

1. **The Framers of the Constitution.**—Most of the framers of the Constitution were elected members of the first Congress. Their wisdom and patriotism did not desert them, and every bill that became a law was the subject of active debate by all. To prevent the hasty consideration of any measure, rules were adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate, but while it is true that many of these early rules still remain in the manual of each House, their force has been lost in the needs and demands of increased legislation. It is seldom, indeed, that a bill is deemed important enough to arouse general debate, and frequently bills are rushed through Congress which have been hastily considered and are possessed of little merit.

2. **Over Fifteen Thousand Bills.**—In the Fifty-second Congress there were over fifteen thousand bills introduced in the Senate and House. They were referred, as they were in the earlier Congresses, to the proper committees. Thousands of them were considered by these committees, and reported back to their respective Houses either favorably



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or unfavorably, and hundreds of them were passed, but of the whole number introduced only a small percentage became laws.

3. **The Course of a Bill Through Congress** is most interesting. Take, for instance, a private bill that has had its origin in the Senate (and for the purpose of illustration the Senate will do as well as the House, for in both of these bodies the system is practically the same). A private bill is, as the term indicates, for the relief of some individual, while a general or "public" measure is far-reaching in its effect. In nine cases out of ten the senator who introduces a private bill is solicited to do so by one of his constituents who wants a pension, or who desires the charge of desertion removed from his military record, or who has a claim against the government of some kind or the other. The bill may or may not be properly draughted, but whether it is or not, it is usually introduced by the senator without careful consideration.

4. **The First Reading of the Bill.**—There is a legend printed on the bill that the senator first asked and obtained consent to introduce the bill; but, in fact, the senator does nothing of the kind. He rises in his place during the morning hour, when the introduction of bills is in order, and simply reads the title of the bill and asks that it be referred to the proper committee. The title of the bill is then read by the reading clerk, and the reference is made in a perfunctory way by the President of the Senate. That is called the first reading of the bill. It is true that an objection might be raised to the first reading of the bill, but that has not been done for years, if, in fact, it was ever done.

5. **Introducing the Bill by Request.**—It is not difficult to get a bill introduced. If the senator or representative does not care to be responsible for it, he states that he introduces the bill by request, and it is so printed. There are many people, ignorant of the course of legislation, who believe that the mere introduction of the bill insures its passage, and it is a lamentable fact that there are senators and representatives who give false hope to their constituents by simply introducing the measure, sending a copy of it to the claimant, and then dismissing the whole matter from their minds.

6. **The Life of a Bill** terminates with the Congress in which it was introduced, and it is customary with some to reintroduce in the new Congress all of the old bills which were not favorably acted upon. In the Fifty-Second Congress one senator from a middle state, probably through the zeal of his private secretary, introduced an old bill four

times. In each case the bill was referred to the same committee and was exactly for the same relief.

7. **The Old Bill** is usually accompanied by a mass of papers that have upon them the earmarks of preceding Congresses. These papers cannot be withdrawn from the files of the Senate if at any previous time the measure has been reported upon adversely. They are retained in evidence of that adverse action, but if a measure has been reported favorably the papers may be withdrawn upon a motion of a senator. Old claims may or may not be meritorious, but they are invariably regarded with suspicion as well as dislike. The multitudinous duties of a senator leave him but little time to delve into musty papers and to prepare written reports which will stand the test of the committee, let alone the Senate.

8. **To Get a Bill Out of the Committee.**—It is a hard matter to get a bill out of the committee, for several reasons. Most of the committees of the Senate are composed of nine members. These members are in turn appointed sub-committees, to which are assigned the various bills which have been referred to the whole committee. In the course of a Congress these references to the working committees of the Senate consist of from three to nine hundred measures. All of this means a great deal of exacting work. Perhaps in the mass of bills referred to an individual senator, as a sub-committee, there is a large percentage which is not deserving of a favorable recommendation. These bills are usually held back, out of consideration to the senators who have introduced them. If a report is urged upon any one of them it means unfavorable action, and that is never desired, as an unfavorable report practically kills the bill. But outside of these bills there are many meritorious measures which lie dormant until the sub-committee in charge is stirred up to make a report upon them.

9. **When a Bill Has Passed the Committee,** the one who has prepared the report submits the bill, amended or not, as the case may be. The bill is reprinted with its amendments, and is given a calendar number. The report is also printed and given the same calendar number, the calendar being a record of each of the bills in the order in which it is reported back to the Senate with the favorable or unfavorable recommendation of the committee.

At this period in the course of the passage of the bill, the claimant feels hopeful. He believes his measure is nearly a law, for if it is passed by the Senate, he will then have to get it only through the House. Perhaps he has anticipated the action of the Senate, and has had a similar bill

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already introduced in the House. His efforts may have been successful in that body and the bill may be on the House calendar also.

10. Both the Senate and the House.—But the work of getting the bill on both the Senate and House calendars has been the work of months. The committees usually meet but once a week, and then remain in session not over an hour and a half. For weeks at a time no legislative business may be considered by the committee in charge of his bill, on account of nominations made by the President. However, the private claimant finds that weeks have passed into months, the long session ended, and the short one begun before he gets his bill on the calendar of each house. There is not much time for legislation of a private character in the short session, except at the beginning. The appropriation bills for carrying on the government for the ensuing fiscal year must be prepared, and, as they have the right of way over all other legislation, a private bill must take its chances. But being on both the Senate and House calendars, it has a favorable prospect.

11. When the Bill Has Passed Either the House or the Senate it becomes an act and is signed by the Clerk of the House if it be a House bill, and by the Secretary of the Senate if it be a Senate bill. The Senate bill has now become an act and is again reprinted, but still retains its identity as a Senate measure. The only changes are in the heading, which reads "in the House of Representatives," and in affixing the date of passage and the name of the Secretary of the Senate.

12. Many Bills Are Reported.—During the course of a Congress many bills are reported. The House calendar in the last days of a Congress is usually a thick, voluminous document, and it would be a matter of impossibility to dispose of all of the bills, which still remain on the calendar. It is customary, therefore, for the House to assign to the several important committees one or two days each for the consideration of the business which these committees deem most pressing. Only a few of the many bills can be selected to be pushed to a final passage. The claimant must still be on the alert to secure for his bill a place among those which shall be given this great favor. If his bill passes it goes back to the Senate, with the amendments made by the House.

13. Accepting or Rejecting the Amendments.—The Senate then has to concur in the amendments or reject them. If they are accepted and adopted by the Senate, the bill is ready for the President's signature.

14. The President's Signature.—When the act is laid before the President a few hurried words, needed to explain the purport of the bill, are spoken. If they are not satisfactory a "pocket veto" follows, which means that the President has declined to approve the law, and it therefore dies with the Congress. This frequently happens. But if the President is satisfied he affixes his signature, his executive private secretary records the number of the bill in his book and then rushes out of the doorway to appear calmly in front of the President of the Senate and announce that the President has approved Senate bill of such a number. The private bill has become a law and the claimant is at rest.

The History of Voting.

Where did the ballot come from? Like Topsy, and most other institutions, it "grewed." And in its growth it has taken such varied forms that it will make an interesting study. Of course, in the good, old times, when all civilized countries were governed by kings, there was no use for a ballot. A primitive, self-governing tribe, like those of the ancient Germans, were satisfied with *viva-voce* voting. The Jews, before they had kings, might be called a self-governing people. Strictly, however, their theory of government put everything in the hands of God, and in technical terms was a theocracy. If a public officer must be chosen, he was named by God's representative, the priest or prophet, or else lots were cast, and it was expected that God would send the right lot to the right man. It is not unlikely that such casting of lots gave the first hints of a secret ballot.

The ancient Greeks used the ballot in enacting laws and in courts, where there was a large number of judges. The ballot there was originally a pebble, whole for a yes vote, or pierced with a hole for a no. Sometimes there was only one stone, which was dropped into a yes or no box. Later the pebble was changed for a little bronze wheel. A few of these have been found in modern times, stamped on one side with the words, "Official ballot," and on the other with the number of the judicial district.

In electing officers the Greeks voted by show of hands. Often officers were appointed by lot. White and black beans were used for lots, and those who were understood to be hungry for office received the suggestive name of bean-eaters. The idea here was that every citizen was good

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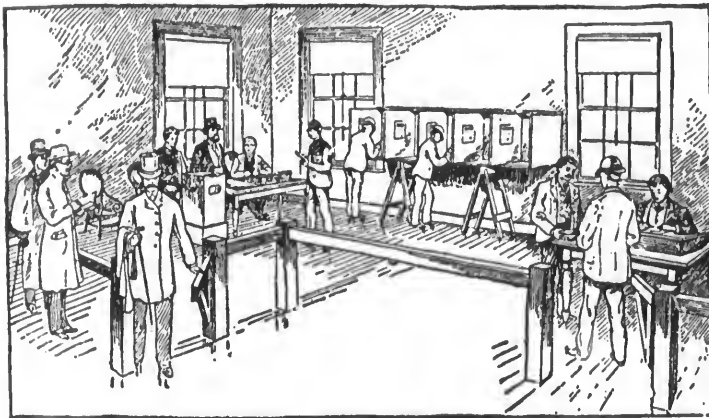
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enough to hold office, and this was the most impartial way of dividing the spoils. They never used a secret ballot to vote for candidates in the modern fashion, but only to vote against them.

If party spirit was running high, and the power of a boss was growing dangerous, a vote of exile was ordered. Each citizen wrote a name on an oyster shell or a piece of broken crockery, and put this vote secretly into the box. Any boss against whom there was a sufficient majority must leave the country for ten years.

This peculiar institution, called ostracism, is really the nearest approach the Greeks made to a modern ballot system. Ostracism went out of use because on a certain important occasion the thunderbolt failed to hit either of the prominent leaders, but struck a comparatively obscure person.



Australian Ballot.

The details are not quite clear. It has been suggested, however, that the great bosses made a deal by which they were to let each other alone, and give all the votes to a troublesome third party man. This result was so unsatisfactory to the people that ostracism was given up.

The ballot was introduced into Rome in the second century B. C. This was the real Australian ballot. The voter received a sort of wooden slate covered with wax on which the names of all the candidates were scratched. He made holes in the wax opposite those of his choice and dropped his tablet in the box.

After the downfall of the Roman republic, popular government took a long sleep, and there was little use for a ballot till quite modern times. Still, some of the most curiously elaborate ballot systems known were developed in the small governing bodies of the middle ages.

One of these is the form for electing a pope, which has continued to our own time. All the cardinals are locked up together in a suite of rooms at the Vatican, and forbidden to have any communication with the outside world till they have made a choice. Food is passed in to them, but if the pope is not elected within a few days, they are put on prison rations by way of quickening their work.

A ballot is taken every morning, followed by another, to give an opportunity for changing votes. Each cardinal receives a printed blank. He first signs it, then folds it over so as to conceal the signature, and seals it. On the uncovered part of the paper he writes the name of his candidate. If there is not a two-thirds majority the ballots are burned, and the smoke tells the waiting crowd outside that there is no election.

The same process is repeated every evening. When any candidate gets the necessary two-thirds, the sealed signatures are opened, to make sure that no unauthorized person has voted. Then the election is publicly announced.

This carefulness, however, is nothing to that which was used in electing a doge of Venice. The Venetian legislators, despairing of getting an election which would not be controlled by politicians' intrigues, called in the lot as their helper.

When a doge was to be elected, the great council, of between four and five hundred members, was called together. Those below thirty years of age were shut out and the names of the rest were written on slips of paper. A small boy was then picked up on the street and brought in to draw out thirty names.

Out of these thirty, nine were chosen to go on with the election. They were to choose forty others. Four of them nominated five each, five of them four each; and each of the forty must be confirmed by a two-thirds of the nine. Out of these forty names twelve were taken by lot.

The twelve in the same way chose a new board of twenty-five, the chairman nominating three and each of the others two, a three-fourths vote being necessary to elect. Lots were again drawn for nine of the twenty-five. These nine in the same way chose forty-five others, of whom the lot picked out eleven.

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These eleven, still in the same form, nominated forty-one to elect the doge. Each of these must be confirmed by a majority of the great council. Then the forty-one were locked up together, to go on with their election. While they were locked up each of them was furnished with whatever he asked for, regardless of expense. But the same must be given to each of the forty-one.

For instance, there was once an elector who wished to read in *Æsop's Fables*. He got his book, but not till all Venice had been ransacked to find the necessary forty-one copies. At another time one of them ordered a rosary. Forty-one rosaries made their appearance in due form.

This treatment was expected to make the electors so unanimous that at least twenty-five of them would agree on a doge. When this took place the rigmarole was over. An evening newspaper, trying to follow the returns in Venice at that time, would have painful times.

Coming back to the ballot as used by common mortals, and coming down to this century, the Hungarian ballot of thirty years ago is one of the most interesting. The voter had given to him a stick from four to six feet long. With this he went alone into a room where the ballot boxes were placed, each bearing the name and color of a candidate. In one of these he must place his stick. The object in having such a large ballot was to make sure that there were not two or three extra ones concealed in the citizens' pockets. But this has now been replaced by prosaic paper.

In Greece at the present day the ballot is a little lead ball. There is a box for each candidate, divided into two compartments. A clerk goes from box to box with the voter, carrying a bowl full of these balls. At each box the voter takes one, puts his hand into a funnel, out of sight, and drops his ball into the yes or no compartment, making a vote for or against the candidate. If he wishes to vote for more than one party there is nothing to prevent him.

In Italy, each voter, on registering, gets a ticket of admission to the polling house. Here a stamped blue paper, with a copy of the law printed on the back, is handed to him. On this paper he must write his vote.

The French ballot system is much like what the American was five years ago. England uses the Australian ballot.





HON. GEORGE A. KIRKPATRICK,
Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

Provincial Constitutions.

1. Introductory.—Previous to 1867, each Provincial Government was independent of the others, and their only bond was their common loyalty to the one monarch from whom each received direct the appointment of its Governor. Each Province was in direct communication with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, while the Acts of each Legislature came under the consideration of the Queen-in-Council for approval or disallowance.

2. Executive Power.—Since the formation of the Dominion of Canada, all that is changed. The Governor-General-in-Council and the Dominion Cabinet in the Parliament of Canada have been charged with the relations formerly fulfilled by the Queen and her Government directly.

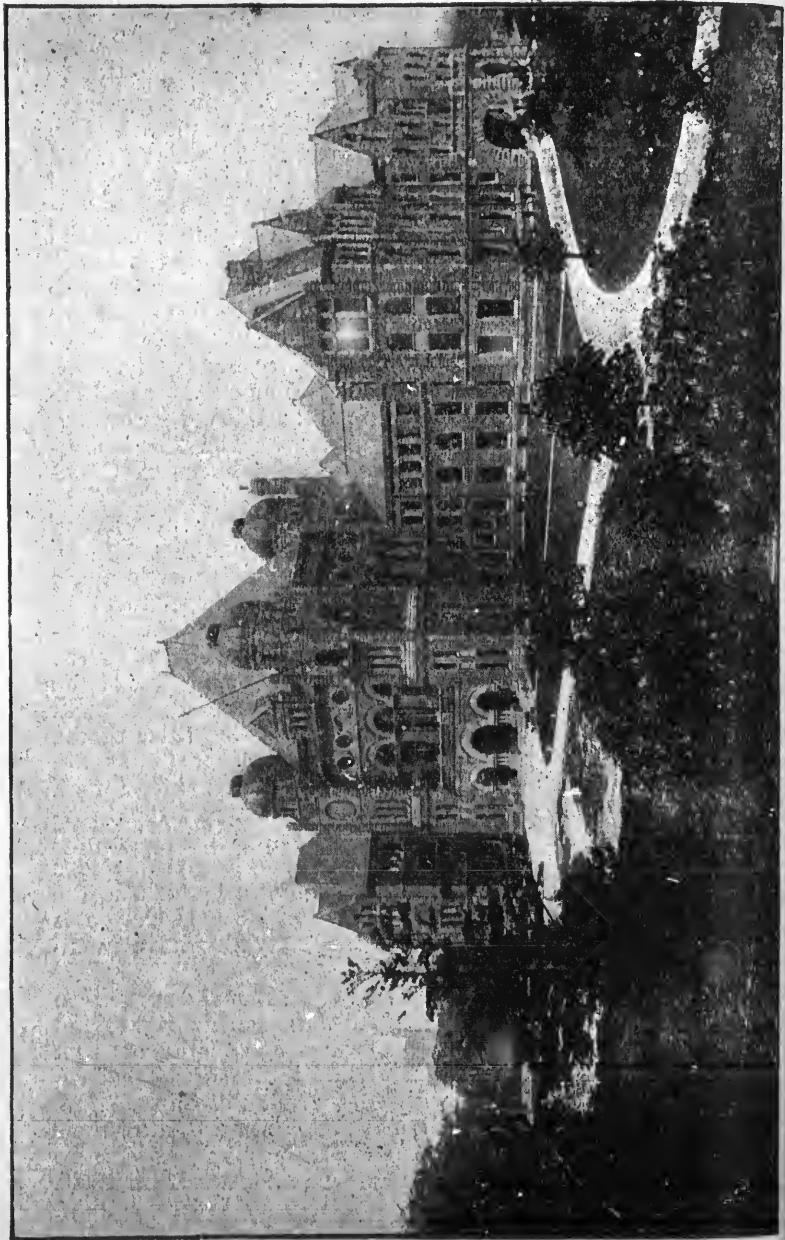
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The Governor-General is the one *direct* representative of Her Majesty; the Governors of the Provinces receiving their appointments from him, and subject to be dismissed by him "for cause assigned." Provincial legislation is reviewed by the Dominion, instead of the Home Government, and sometimes *disallowed*.

By the Act of 1867 the outward form of the Provincial Governments was not to be changed, except by the Act of their own Legislatures. The result has been that only two Provinces—Quebec and Nova Scotia—have a Legislative Council or Upper House. All possess a Lieutenant-Governor, Executive Council and House of Assembly. All these several parts of a Provincial Parliament bear and exercise the same relation to each other as the corresponding branches of the Dominion Parliament. The Lieutenant-Governor issues his Orders-in-Council, the Executive Council is as responsible to the Assembly as the Dominion Cabinet to the House of Commons; and, while the members of the Executive Council are in number but one-half those in the Cabinet, their offices and methods of procedure are similar to those of the latter. The Lieutenant-Governor follows the same precedents in the summoning and formation of his Ministry as does the Governor-General, or the Queen. Each Province has its Premier, or Leader of the Government, supported by public opinion, as expressed in the elections to the House of Assembly. The titles of the Provincial Ministry vary somewhat, but their duties are equivalent in all the Provinces. The Act provides for an Attorney-General, a Secretary and Registrar of the Province, a Treasurer, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works, and other divisions of the public service as found convenient. Ontario is the only Province which has a Minister whose sole charge is Education. The Provincial Ministry may also have members "without portfolio."

3. Legislative Power.—The Act of 1867 makes provision for the constitution of the Legislature in each Province, and naming the Lieutenant-Governor as a constituent unit thereof, just as the Queen, whom he indirectly represents, is made a constituent part of the Parliament of Canada.

4. Legislative Councils were at first continued, after their union in the Dominion, in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, as well as in Quebec and Nova Scotia. In 1891, New Brunswick abolished its Upper House, and, in



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1892, Prince Edward Island amalgamated its two Houses in a way peculiar to itself, by giving the Upper Chamber a representation of fifteen members in the Assembly, upon the conditions of a small property qualification and popular election. In Quebec and Nova Scotia the Legislative Councilors—twenty-four for the former and seventeen for the latter—are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governors, and must have a property qualification.

5. **Legislative Assemblies.**—*The mode of procedure* in the summoning, proroguing, and dissolving of an Assembly follows that in use regarding the House of Commons, with the substitution of the offices of the Lieutenant-Governor in the case of the Assembly for those of the Governor-General in relation to the Commons.

The provisions of the Act of 1867, in reference to the Speaker of the Commons, his election, duties, voting, and powers, are made to apply in regard to all these matters to the Speaker of a Legislative Assembly.

The duration of the House of Assembly in any Province is four years from the day of return of the writs for choosing the same (subject to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province).

A session of the Assembly in each Province must be held in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Legislature in one session and its first sitting in the next session.

The number of members at present constituting the Legislative Assemblies in the several Provinces are: Prince Edward Island, 30; Nova Scotia, 38; New Brunswick, 46; Quebec, 79; Ontario, 94; Manitoba, 40; North-West Territories, 29; and British Columbia, 31.

6. **Money Bills** and others are especially referred to in the British North America Act, as follows: "The provisions relating to *appropriation* and *tax bills*, the recommendation of *money votes*, the *assent to bills*, the *disallowance of Acts*, and the signification of pleasure on *bills reserved*, shall extend and apply to the Legislatures of the several Provinces, as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to the respective Provinces and the Legislatures thereof, with the *substitution* of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province (in question) for the Governor-General, of the Governor-General for the Queen, and for a Secretary of State, of one year for two years, and of the Province for Canada."



Hon. Joseph H. Choate, of N. Y., Chairman of the
State Convention of 1895.

PARLIAMENTARY LAWS.

How to Conduct a Public Meeting; How to Organize a Debating Society or Other Literary Organizations.

1. **The Ignorance of Parliamentary Laws.**—It is surprising to see how few people understand the simple principles of parliamentary laws. How often is a person called to preside in public meetings or is called up to take the chair in a social gathering when he is entirely ignorant of the first principles of a presiding officer. He is embarrassed,

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stammers, and his conduct becomes painful to his friends. A little study on the part of the person will sufficiently qualify him to carry out the duties of a presiding officer with dignity and satisfaction to all.

2. **How to Organize a Public Meeting, Occasional or Mass Meeting.**—The first thing to be done in a common meeting is to organize. The time appointed having arrived, some one calls the meeting to order, and moves that A., B. or C. act as chairman of this meeting. If this motion fails another is nominated till a chairman is obtained and takes the chair. The next business is the election of a secretary. The chairman calls for nomination, which being made and seconded the vote is taken. The secretary being elected, no other officers are usually necessary in a meeting of this kind. The chairman asks what is the further pleasure of the meeting, when some one of those at whose instance the meeting has been called rises and states the object of the meeting, or better still, introduces a resolution previously prepared to express the sense of the meeting on the subject which has called them together.

3. **Main Question.**—All business should be introduced by a motion or resolution. This is called the "Main Question," or "Principal Motion." When a motion of this kind is pending, no other principal motion can be introduced. But there are certain other motions which would be in order, and in reference to some of these still other motions would be in order, while the main question is still pending. Some of these must be seconded, others need not be; some can be amended, others can not; some can be debated, others can not; to some the previous question applies, to others it does not; some can be laid on the table, committed, postponed definitely or indefinitely, others can not; some can be reconsidered, others can not; some require a two-thirds vote, others are decided by simply a majority.

4. **A Meeting of Delegates.**—When the members of an assembly have already been appointed, the first business after a temporary organization, effected as above, is to appoint a committee on credentials to ascertain who are properly members of the meeting. Then proceed to a permanent organization, and the business of the meeting.

5. **Privileged Motions.**—So called because on account of their importance, they take precedence of all other questions.

6. **Incidental Motions.**—Incidental motions such as are incident to, or grow out of other questions, and must therefore be decided before the questions which give rise to them.

7. **Subsidiary Motions.**—Subsidiary motions, or such as are applied to other motions for the sake of disposing of them in some other way than by direct adoption or rejection.

8. **The Main Question.**—The main question which has already been spoken of.

9. **Miscellaneous Motions.**—Miscellaneous motions, under which head come the motions, "To Reconsider," "To Fill Blanks," and "To Renew a Motion."

By this is meant that any motion in the 2d, 3d, and 4th classes yield to any motion in the 1st class; the 3d and 4th yield to the 1st and 2d; and the 4th to the 1st, 2d and 3d. This is the general rule; but it is subject to some modifications, as will hereafter appear.

10. **The Privileged Motions.**—The privileged motions in the order of their precedence are:

1. To fix the time to adjourn.
2. To adjourn.
3. Questions of privilege.
4. Orders of the day.

11. **The Motion to Fix the Time to Which to Adjourn.**—The motion to fix the time to which to adjourn is not a motion to adjourn, but, as its name signifies, is simply a motion to fix the time to which the adjournment will stand, when the motion to adjourn is carried. Its form is "I move that when we adjourn we adjourn to" such a date or "to meet again at" such a date, naming the date. It takes precedence of all other motions, and is in order even after the vote to adjourn is taken, if the result has not been stated by the chair.

12. **The Motion to Adjourn.**—The motion to adjourn takes precedence of all motions except the foregoing, to which it yields; that is to say, it may be made when any other motion is pending except the motion to fix the time of adjournment, but cannot be made when this latter motion is pending.

13. **Questions of Privilege.**—These must not be confounded with "Privileged Questions." The latter embrace the whole list of motions in this class; the former is only one species in the class. As examples of questions of privilege the following may be mentioned: Whether disorder shall be restrained; whether an open window endangering the health of any one may not be closed; whether charges against the official character of any member shall be allowed, etc., etc. The form of raising this question is (addressing the chair and obtaining the floor), "I rise to a question of privilege." The chair requests the member to state his question; then he decides whether it is a question of privilege or not

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14. **Orders of the Day.**—This expression is used to designate those subjects the consideration of which has been assigned to a particular time. When it is desirable to consider a subject at some future time the motion is made that such a subject be made "the order of the day" for such a time, fixing the precise time; or, if a regular business has been made the general order for such time, that the subject be made the "special order." It requires a two-thirds vote to make a subject a special order; but when so made it takes precedence of the general order.

15. **Incidental Motions.**—The incidental motions in the order of precedence are as follows:

1. Appeal (Questions of order).
2. Objections to considering a question.
3. Reading of papers.
4. Withdrawing a motion.
5. Suspension of the rules.



ADLAI STEVENSON,
Elected Vice-President of the U. S., 1892.

16. **Appeal (Questions of Order).**—A member detecting any disorder in the proceedings of the assembly, or the department or decorum of members which he wishes to correct, he obtains the floor and says, "I rise to a point of order." The chairman responds, "Please state your point of order." After it is stated, the chairman decides whether the point is well taken or not. From this decision any member may appeal by saying, "I appeal from the decision of the chair." If any one seconds this appeal, the chairman at once states the question "Shall the decision of the chair be sustained," and immediately puts it to vote. It cannot be debated when it relates simply to decorum, transgression of rules, priority of business, or while a previous question is pending.

17. **Objections to Considering a Question.**—When a member announces that he objects to the consideration of any question, the chairman immediately puts to vote the

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propositions, "Shall the question be discussed?" If decided in the affirmative the decision goes on; but if decided in the negative, the whole matter is dismissed for that session.

18. Reading of Papers.—Every member has the right to have a paper read before voting upon it. When any one calls for the reading of a paper, the chairman immediately orders it read if no one objects. If objection is made, the question whether it shall be read or not, must be put to vote without debate or amendment.

19. Withdrawal of a Motion.—The person who makes a motion can withdraw it if no objection is made. If objection is made to the withdrawal of a motion, the question whether it shall be withdrawn or not must be decided by vote. It cannot be debated or amended.

20. Suspension of the Rules.—When it is desired for any purpose to suspend the rules, the form of the motion is, "to suspend the rules which interfere with," etc., specifying the object of the suspension. It cannot be debated, cannot be reconsidered, nor have any subsidiary motion applied to it; and it requires a two-thirds vote. A motion to suspend for the same purpose cannot be regarded.

21. Subsidiary Motions.—This is as important a class of motions as any in the whole list, and a class more frequently used than any others. The subsidiary motions, are the following:

1. To lay on the table.
2. The previous question.
3. To postpone to a certain day.
4. To commit.
5. To amend.
6. To postpone indefinitely.

These motions stand, with respect to each other, in the order of precedence here given.



Comparative Population of Principal Cities and Towns of Canada, 1881-1891.

The census of the Dominion is taken every ten years, under the careful supervision of Mr. George Johnson, the Official Statistician of the Government. The following figures are furnished by him in "The Statistical Year-Book of Canada, for 1891," published under the authority of the Department of Agriculture :

CITIES OF 10,000 INHABITANTS AND UPWARDS.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE.	
	1881	1891	No.	Per Ct.
Brantford, Ont.	9,616	12,753	3,137	32.6
Charlottetown, P.E.I..	11,485	11,374	- 111	- 0.9
Guelph, Ont.	9,890	10,539	649	6.5
Halifax, N.S.	36,100	38,556	2,456	6.8
Hamilton, Ont.	35,960	48,980	13,020	36.2
Hull, Que.	6,890	11,265	4,375	63.5
Kingston, Ont.	14,091	19,264	5,173	36.7
London, Ont.	26,266	31,977	5,711	21.7
Montreal, Que.	155,237	216,650	61,413	39.5
Ottawa, Ont.	31,307	44,154	12,847	41.0
Quebec, Que.	62,446	63,090	644	1.0
St. Henri, Que.	6,415	13,415	7,000	109.1
St. John, N.B.	41,353	39,179	- 2,174	- 5.2
St. Thomas, Ont.	8,367	10,370	2,003	23.9
Sherbrooke, Que.	7,227	10,110	2,883	39.9
Toronto, Ont.	96,196	181,220	85,024	88.4
Vancouver, B.C. ....	....	13,685	13,685	....
Victoria, B.C.	5,925	16,841	10,916	184.2
Windsor, Ont.	6,561	10,322	3,761	57.3
Winnipeg, Man.	7,985	25,642	17,657	221.1

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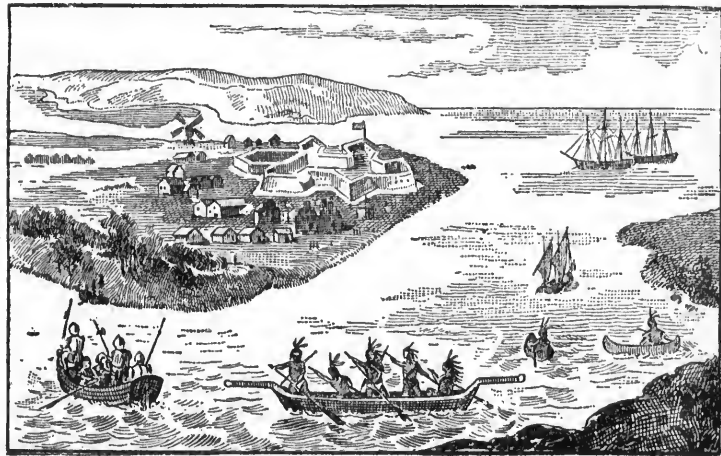
TOWNS OF FROM 5,000 TO 10,000 INHABITANTS.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE.	
	1881	1891	No.	Per Ct.
Barrie, Ont.	4,854	5,550	696	14.3
Belleville, Ont.	9,516	9,914	398	4.2
Berlin, Ont.	4,054	7,425	3,371	83.1
Brockville, Ont.	7,609	8,793	1,184	15.5
Chatham, Ont.	7,873	9,052	1,179	15.0
Cornwall, Ont.	4,468	6,805	2,337	52.3
Fredericton, N.B.	6,218	6,502	284	4.5
Galt, Ont.	5,187	7,535	2,348	45.2
Levis, Que.	7,597	7,301	-296	-3.9
Lindsay, Ont.	5,080	6,081	1,001	19.7
Moncton, N.B.	5,032	8,765	3,733	74.2
New Westminster, B.C.	1,500	6,641	5,141	342.9
Owen Sound, Ont.	4,426	7,497	3,071	69.5
Peterborough, Ont.	6,812	9,717	2,905	42.6
Port Hope, Ont.	5,581	5,042	-539	-9.6
St. Catharines, Ont. ...	9,631	9,170	-461	-4.7
St. Cunegonde, Que. ...	4,849	9,293	4,444	91.7
St. Hyacinthe, Que. ...	5,321	7,016	1,695	31.9
Sarnia, Ont.	3,874	6,693	2,819	72.7
Sorel, Que.	5,791	6,669	878	15.2
Stratford, Ont.	8,239	9,501	1,262	15.3
Three Rivers, Que.	8,670	8,334	-336	-3.8
Truro, N.S.	3,461	5,102	1,641	47.4
Valleyfield, Que.	3,906	5,516	1,610	41.2
Woodstock, Ont.	5,373	8,612	3,239	60.4
Yarmouth, N.S.	3,485	6,089	2,604	74.7

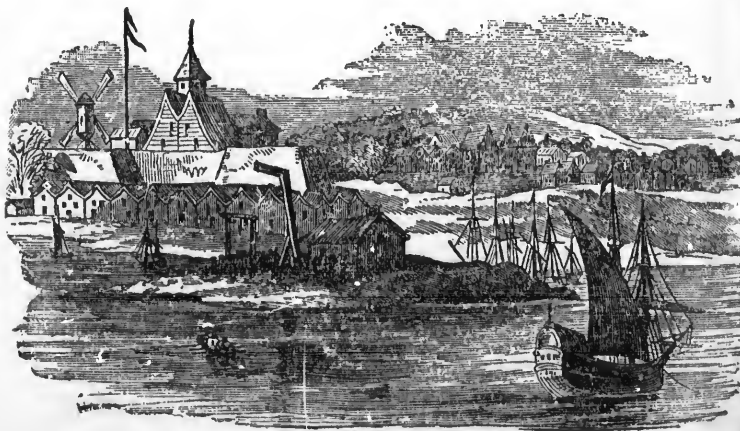
By the census of 1891 there were ninety-six towns with a population of between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants, and forty-one villages of more than 1,500 inhabitants.

The Growth of Cities.

Nature never prepared a more picturesque or a more advantageous site for a great commercial capital than Manhattan Island, nor a harbor more secure or better adapted



New York in 1612.



New York in 1846.

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for the commerce of the world than New York bay. In primeval solitude, 3,000 miles from civilization, the discovery and settlement of the island by Europeans may be traced to causes beginning about three centuries ago. Two great Dutch commercial corporations seriously agitated the world during the half century between 1580 and 1630, and in the convulsive moments through which they took their rise, New York has its origin.

In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed to America to find a northwest passage to India. Failing in this, he explored the eastern coast of North America from Chesapeake Bay to Long Island, entered New York harbor, and ascended the Hudson beyond the present site of Albany. This voyage laid the foundation of the greatest city of the New World. New York City in 1890 had a population of 1,515,301, an increase of over 25 per cent. from the census of 1880. The population at the present writing is over two million.

Comparative Population of Principal Cities, 1880-1890.

The following information is compiled from Census Bulletin No. 52, dated Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., April 17, 1891, under the supervision of Superintendent of Census Robert P. Porter. Consequently the information is authentic:

The North Atlantic division contains nearly one-half the urban population of the country, while the North Atlantic and North Central divisions together contain nearly five-sixths of it.

In the North Atlantic division 51.58 per cent., or more than one-half the entire population, is contained in cities of 8,000 or more inhabitants. During the past ten years the urban element has increased 43.53 per cent., while the total population has increased but 19.95 per cent. This relative increase is well distributed among the several states of this division with the exception of Vermont, whose urban element has increased but little. In Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts and New York the numerical increase in the urban

element is greater than the increase of the total population, so that in these states the rural population has actually diminished in number. This rapid increase in the urban element of the North Atlantic division is due to the equally rapid extension of manufacturers and commerce, requiring the aggregation of the inhabitants into compact bodies.

In the North Central division 25.90 per cent., or a trifle more than one-fourth of the inhabitants, are classed as urban. In the past ten years the number of the urban element has nearly doubled, while the total population has increased but 28.78 per cent. The number of cities has increased from ninety-five in 1880 to 152 in 1890. The increase in number of urban population, viz.: 2,766,593 is comprised mainly in a few large cities; thus the total increase in the eleven largest cities, comprising a trifle more than one-half of the urban population of this section, is 1,446,089, or more than half the entire gain in urban population in this division.

In the South Atlantic and South Central divisions the proportion of urban population is comparatively small, being in the first named but 16.04 per cent. of the entire population, or less than one-sixth, and the second but 10.45 per cent., the proportion of urban to the total population in all the southern states being less than 13 per cent. The industries of these states are mainly agricultural, and while manufacturers and mining are making some progress they are still in their infancy. The progress in these branches of industry may be measured roughly by the growth of the urban element. In 1880 this element numbered 1,616,095, and constituted less than 10 per cent. of the population. In 1890 it numbered 2,567,602, having increased 58.88 per cent., while the total population has increased but 20.07 per cent.

In certain of these states the proportion of urban population is still trifling; thus, in Mississippi it constitutes but 2.64, in North Carolina but 3.87, and in Arkansas but 4.89 per cent. of the total population.

In 1880 there was but one city, New York, which had a population in excess of a million. In 1890 there were three, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia.

In 1870 there were but fourteen cities each containing more than 100,000 inhabitants. In 1880 this number had increased to twenty; and in 1890 to twenty-eight.

The following table shows the fifty principal cities of the United States, in the order of their rank, giving the population in 1890 and 1880, and the increase in population from 1880 to 1890.

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Paterson
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COMPARATIVE POPULATION OF PRINCIPAL CITIES. 123

FIFTY PRINCIPAL CITIES IN 1890 IN THE ORDER OF THEIR RANK.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE.	
	1890	1880	No.	Per Ct.
New York, N. Y.....	1,515,301	1,206,299	309,002	25.62
Chicago, Ill.....	1,099,850	503,185	596,665	118.58
Philadelphia, Pa.....	1,046,964	847,170	199,794	23.58
Brooklyn, N. Y.....	806,343	566,663	239,680	42.30
St. Louis, Mo.....	451,770	350,518	101,252	28.89
Boston, Mass.....	448,477	362,839	85,638	23.60
Baltimore, Md.....	434,439	332,313	102,126	30.73
San Francisco, Cal.....	298,997	233,959	65,038	27.80
Cincinnati, Ohio.....	296,908	255,139	41,769	16.37
Cleveland, Ohio.....	261,353	160,146	101,207	63.20
Buffalo, N. Y.....	255,664	155,134	100,530	64.80
New Orleans, La.....	242,039	216,090	25,949	12.01
Pittsburg, Pa.....	238,617	156,389	82,228	52.58
Washington, D. C.....	230,392	177,624	52,768	29.71
Detroit, Mich.....	205,876	116,340	89,536	76.96
Milwaukee, Wis.....	204,468	115,587	88,881	76.90
Newark, N. J.....	181,830	136,508	45,322	33.20
Minneapolis, Minn.....	164,738	46,887	117,851	251.35
Jersey City, N. J.....	163,003	120,722	42,281	35.02
Louisville, Ky.....	161,129	123,758	37,371	30.20
Omaha, Neb.....	140,452	30,518	109,934	360.23
Rochester, N. Y.....	133,896	89,366	44,530	49.83
St. Paul, Minn.....	133,156	41,473	91,683	221.07
Kansas City, Mo.....	*132,716	55,785	76,931	137.91
Providence, R. I.....	132,146	104,857	27,289	26.02
Denver, Colo.....	106,713	35,629	71,084	199.51
Indianapolis, Ind.....	105,436	75,056	30,380	40.48
Allegheny, Pa.....	105,287	78,682	26,605	33.81
Albany, N. Y.....	94,923	90,753	4,165	4.59
Columbus, Ohio.....	88,150	51,647	36,503	70.68
Syracuse, N. Y.....	88,143	51,792	36,351	70.19
Worcester, Mass.....	84,655	58,291	26,364	45.23
Toledo, Ohio.....	81,434	50,137	21,297	62.42
Richmond, Va.....	81,388	63,600	17,788	27.97
New Haven, Conn.....	81,298	62,882	18,416	29.29
Paterson, N. J.....	78,347	51,031	27,316	53.53
Lowell, Mass.....	77,696	59,475	18,221	30.64
Nashville, Tenn.....	76,168	43,350	32,818	75.70

FIFTY PRINCIPAL CITIES IN 1890 IN THE ORDER OF THEIR RANK—Continued.

CITIES.	POPULATION.		INCREASE.	
	1890	1880	No.	Per Ct.
Scranton, Pa.....	75,215	45,850	29,365	64.05
Fall River, Mass.....	74,398	48,961	25,437	51.95
Cambridge, Mass.....	70,028	52,669	17,359	32.96
Atlanta, Ga.....	65,533	37,409	28,124	75.18
Memphis, Tenn.....	64,495	33,592	30,903	92.00
Wilmington, Del.....	61,431	42,478	18,953	44.62
Dayton, Ohio.....	61,220	38,678	22,542	58.23
Troy, N. Y.	60,956	56,747	4,209	7.42
Grand Rapids, Mich.....	60,278	32,016	28,262	88.27
Reading, Pa.....	58,661	43,278	15,383	35.54
Camden, N. J.....	58,313	41,659	16,654	39.98
Trenton, N. J.....	57,458	29,910	27,548	92.10
Lynn, Mass.....	55,154	38,274	17,453	45.60

* Includes 13,048 population which by recent decision of Missouri state supreme court is now outside the limits of Kansas City.

The Serious Problems of Government in Large Cities.

1. The Dangers That Threaten American Liberty.—

The danger that threatens American liberty comes largely from the foreign population in our large cities. The cities are increasing rapidly and most of the present unrest and discontent of the people comes from our cities. The most serious problem that the American people must soon be called upon to solve will be the settlement or adjustment of the discontent in our large cities. One of the greatest safeguards is to encourage every laborer to secure a home of his own. As soon as he secures some property his interest in the government and law will be materially changed. The dangers of the American cities are the foreign population which are rapidly controlling every form of municipal government.

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AFTER ELECTION—PAYING THE ELECTION BETS.

2. The Growth of American Cities Twice as Rapid as That of the Whole Population.—It is not to be denied that many who can not be suspected of want of zeal for the success of Democracy in the United States are thrown into grave doubts as to the future of our system by its imperfect success in our large cities. The lesson of history in the past has been that great cities are among the chief dangers of Democracy. I am no alarmist. My business is not agitation. But I confess that I consider this lesson of history as to democracies, when put side by side with the facts that we are and are to be a nation of great cities, something that should bring thoughtful men to a pause. We hear daily enough, and more than enough, of the corruptions of our great cities. But it is not so commonly noticed that population increases in our cities with vastly greater rapidity than elsewhere.

3. Predominate in Influence.—If it were perfectly certain that half of the civilized world was henceforth to live in cities and large towns, it would not be uncertain which half of the world would predominate in influence over the other half, the part in the towns or the part out of the towns. It would not be uncertain either, that the management of large towns would become a problem of the first importance in civilization. Nor would it be uncertain that the management of the towns on the Democratic principle would have extraordinary difficulties. Now, I believe it capable of being made very probable that the tendency of the application of the discoveries of the railway and the telegraph to create centers and facilitate intercommunication, must cause a vastly increased percentage of the civilized world to live henceforth in cities and large towns.

4. Much as Cities do for Virtue They do More for Vice.—It is evident that the problem of the perishing and dangerous classes must grow in importance with every increase of the growth and numbers of great cities. Such has been the entire experience of modern as of ancient civilization. I do not forget for an instant that the massing of men gives greater opportunities to virtue. Heaven forbid that we should fail to remember, in view of the perilous future, any part of the influence of the tendency of men in cities to stimulate the press, the pulpit, and the school. Here is the place, as we pass from point to point, of this walking on the summits of present history in order to discern our duty to the immediate future, for this audience to pause solemnly, and with our fathers' graves beneath our feet, and as in the sight of Almighty God, to emphasize the tremendous moral responsibility of school, pulpit, press,

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parlor, and law in our great cities, and to the land's end of every rural district as well; for, as the streams that supply the sea with unpolluted waves are supplied from the far fresh mountains, so the moral vigor of cities can be kept up only by the inflowing streams from the far fresh mountains that send unsullied life to the coasts.

5. **Stern Truth of History.**—But it is the notorious, stern truth of history that much as cities do for virtue, they do vastly more for vice. You doubt this? Would that the proof were not so near home! One-half the criminals of Massachusetts, for example, are found in Boston. Mr. Phillips has shown that for ten years the returns proved that 42 per cent. of the population of the county was arrested for crime, while in other counties the number was only 1, 2, or 3 per cent. This is the result of massing up here property and population. It is a part of the operation of the inevitable laws of human nature in the present state of human culture, and in the present arrangements of philanthropic endeavor. Boston has one-half the criminals of Massachusetts, and yet only one-sixth of the population.

6. **Bad Politics.**—There are not two cities on the continent of over 200,000 inhabitants in which the local elections are not in the control of the perishing and dangerous classes. Consider, secondly, the power of a corrupt city population to subsidize the city press and thus poison the fountains of political influence for the country at large. Let fall here the light of the Gorgon's head.

7. **New York City.**—New York City is not an American city. For over 50,000 voters there of native birth there are 70,000 of foreign. No American city could be managed as New York is. What is true of New York City is true of our other large cities in the United States, they are largely being ruled by the foreigners, people who have little regard for the social, political or religious institutions of the country. They hold the balance of power and largely rule every American city. In many of the riots of 1894 there were hardly enough American born citizens to act as interpreters for the rioters.

8. **Power of the Whiskey Ring to Control City Elections.**—Nor, in the fourth place, need I pause upon the proof that the chief perils from the perishing and dangerous classes in great cities arise from intemperance and its associated vices. When the subject of a municipal police was first brought before the Massachusetts Legislature this proposition was discussed in a scholarly way, and Mr. Phillips repeatedly presented this single point in a popular way. He was hissed for going so far as to assert that for twenty

years the mayor and aldermen of Boston have been but a committee of the places for gambling and of the liquor shops of the peninsula. The year 1900 will not hiss Wendell Phillips.



Discussing the Temperance Question.

The Gothenburg Temperance System.

The Gothenburg plan was a distinct discovery in social science and has been successful. In Gothenburg, Sweden, a committee authorized by law was formed who were bent upon giving the new system a fair and unprejudiced trial. Bartenders were not entitled to compensation. Every saloon was stripped of its attraction, its gaming tables, free lunches and bureaus for sporting news. No loafing was allowed. Bartenders were allowed to profit by the sale of

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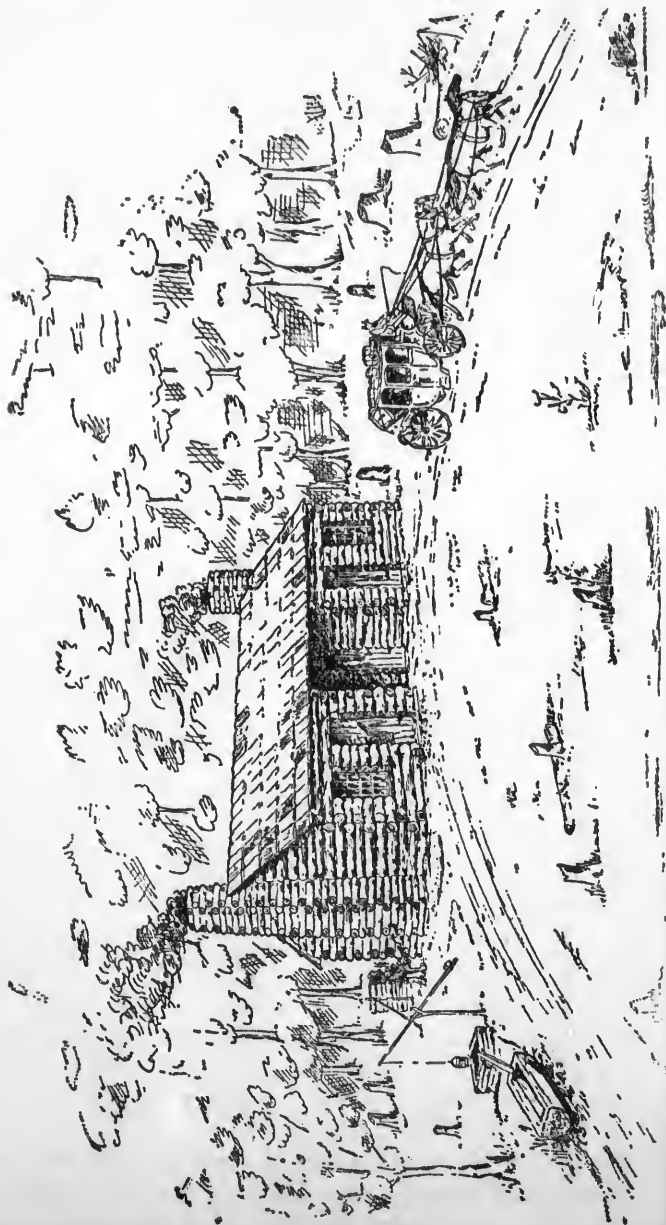
coffee, chocolate, rolls and light refreshments. No saloon could be opened before 8 o'clock in the morning, between 12 and 12:30 in the afternoon, and after 8 at night. By degrees the strength of liquor sold was diminished, and the price raised. Since 1874 the per capita consumption in Sweden has been reduced from fourteen to six quarts; in Norway the consumption in 1878 was six to seven quarts, and now is less than three quarts per capita. Prohibitionists opposed the system because it actually dealt with liquor. No man could get a drink oftener than every three hours. It is a sort of a business system that commends itself to the business world, and is a great improvement upon any of the present American plans now in operation. Absolute prohibition is to be desired, but when it is not possible, any restriction is better than none at all.

Our Country—Its Greatness, Growth, and Resources.

1. The Youngest but Greatest Nation of the Earth.—

Of all the nations of the earth which have grown into political eminence and influence none have shown such unprecedented growth and development. Rome, in the days of her martial greatness, though the growth of centuries, never possessed the resources, the military strength, nor the national prosperity characteristic of the United States. Of all the nations of the past none have ever risen with such immense strides of industrial growth with which our country has marched to the front.

2. **The Marvel of Nations.**—The organization of our republic was a new departure from the old forms of government; it was an untried experiment; a government unlike any other government. Its success has surprised the world and made every European ruler tremble upon his throne. Owing to the fact that people of all nations love religious and civil liberty, our country was rapidly populated. The American people have set the example of independent self-government, and millions of the oppressed have rushed to our shores for liberty and protection, and they have not been disappointed. No other country has ever grown like it, and no other country has ever given to its people such a wide range of industrial and



THE FIRST HOTEL IN BOSTON.

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political opportunity. America is truly what a certain statesman has said, "a country in which every voter is a sovereign and every woman a queen."

3. A Knowledge of the Government.—A knowledge of the nature and operation of the government under which we live is necessary for the successful prosecution of the business of life, and to secure the happiness of ourselves and of those dependent upon us. In a Republican government the importance of such knowledge is still greater, because the citizen not only is amenable to the laws, but also has a voice in electing those who make and execute them.

4. Ignorant of Their National Government.—Until within the last few years, Americans have been lamentably ignorant of their national government, both as to its history and its operation. The war of the rebellion, which could hardly have occurred had the whole people understood the true relation of the states to the national government, has had the effect of directing attention to governmental questions.

5. The New Empire of the West.—Little over a hundred years ago our fathers crystallized with their blood the liberties which we now enjoy as a nation. A hundred years is a brief period in the life of a nation. Ancient Rome, the most notable of them all, at the age of a hundred years was scarcely known outside a few provinces of Italy; but the fame of this new empire of the west, ere fifty years had lapsed, had encircled the earth, exciting the wonder and envy of aged and stagnant kingdoms of the land.

6. How It Began.—It began with a very small settlement of earnest men, who, fleeing from the religious intolerance of the Old World, occupied a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast. They overcame famine and survived the tomahawk and scalping knife of the lurking savage; they built homes, developed farms and built cities. Now, a mighty nation with all its vast expanse of territory stretching from ocean to ocean and from regions almost arctic on the north, to regions almost as torrid on the south, embracing more habitable land than Rome ever ruled over in her palmiest days after more than seven centuries of growth, the United States holds a position of independence and glory that is second to none among the nations of the earth.

7. Foreign Emigration.—The sound of this new nation has gone into all the world. It has reached the toiling millions of Europe; and they are swarming to our shores to share its blessings. It has gone to the islands of the sea; they have sent their living contributions to swell its busy

population. It has reached the Orient, and opened, as with a password, the gates of nations long barred against intercourse with other powers; and China and Japan, turning from their beaten track of forty centuries, are looking with wonder at the prodigy arising across the Pacific to the east of them, and catching some of the impulse which this growing power is imparting to the nations of the earth.

8. A Great Nation.—Precisely one hundred and twenty years ago, with about three millions of people, the United States became an independent government. It has now a population of over sixty-five millions of people and a territory of more than three and a half millions of square miles. Russia alone exceeds this nation in these particulars, having thirty millions more people and, including the vast and dreary regions of Siberia, nearly five millions more square miles of territory. Of all other nations on the globe whose laws are framed by legislative bodies elected by the people, Brazil, which has the largest territory, has but little more than three millions of square miles; and France, the most populous, has not by many millions so great a number of inhabitants as our country. So that in point of territory and population combined, it will be seen that the United States now stands at the head of the self-governing powers of the earth.

9. The Seven Wonders of American Government:

1. No nation ever acquired so vast a territory in so quiet a manner.

2. No nation ever rose to such greatness by means so peaceable.

3. No nation ever advanced so rapidly in all that constitutes national strength and capital.

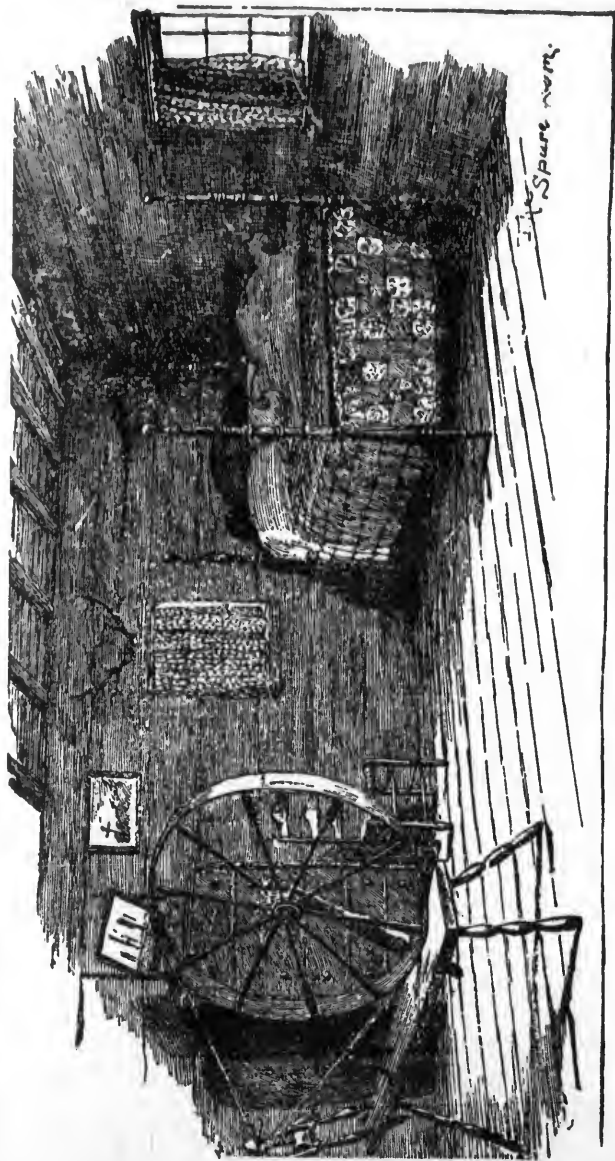
4. No nation ever rose to such a pinnacle of power in a space of time so incredibly short.

5. No nation in so limited a time has developed such unlimited resources.

6. No nation has ever existed the foundations of whose government were laid so broad and deep in the principles of justice, righteousness and truth.

7. No nation has ever existed in which men have been left so free to work out their own fortune, and to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

10. Our Resources.—Let us look at the history of our own nation. The Mediator, long ages ago, prepared this land as the home of civil and religious liberty. He made it a land flowing with milk and honey. He stored our mountains with coal, and iron, and copper, and silver, and gold. He prepared our fountains of oil, planted our forests, lev-



The Spinning room.

THE HOME OF OUR GRANDMOTHER.

eled our plains, enriched our valleys, and beautified them with lakes and rivers. He guided the Mayflower over the sea, so that the Pilgrim Fathers landed safely on Plymouth Rock. He directed the course of civilization, so that we have become a great nation.

11. Early History.—Two hundred and seventy-five years ago, December 22, 1620, the Mayflower landed one hundred of these voluntary exiles on the coast of New England. "Here," says Martyn, "New England was born, and this was its first baby cry—a prayer and a thanksgiving to the Lord." Another permanent English settlement was made at Jamestown, Va., thirteen years before this, in 1607. In process of time other settlements were made and colonies organized, which were all subject to the English Crown till the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

12. National Independence.—The population of these colonies amounted to 262,000; in 1749, to 1,046,000; in 1775, to 2,803,000. Then commenced the struggle of the American colonies against the oppression of the mother country. In 1776 they declared themselves, as in justice and right they were entitled to be, a free and independent nation. In 1777 delegates from the thirteen original states—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—in Congress assembled, adopted Articles of Confederation. In 1783 the war of the Revolution closed with a treaty of peace with Great Britain, whereby our independence was acknowledged, and territory ceded to the extent of 815,615 square miles.

13. The Constitution.—In 1787 the Constitution was framed, and ratified by the foregoing thirteen states; and on the first day of March, 1789, it went into operation. Then the American ship of state was fairly launched, with less than one million square miles of territory, and about three million souls.

14. Our Territorial Growth.—Our territorial growth since that time has been as follows: Louisiana, acquired from France in 1803, comprising 930,928 square miles of territory; Florida, from Spain in 1821, with 59,268 square miles; Texas, admitted into the Union in 1845, with 237,504 square miles; Oregon, as settled by treaty in 1846, with 380,425 square miles; California, as conquered from Mexico in 1847, with 649,762 square miles; Arizona (New Mexico), as acquired from Mexico by treaty in 1854, with 27,500 square miles; Alaska, as acquired by purchase from Russia in 1867, with 577,390 square miles. This gives

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a grand total of three million, six hundred and seventy-eight thousand, three hundred and ninety-two (3,678,392) square miles of territory, which is about four-ninths of all North America, and more than one-fifteenths of the whole land surface of the globe.



LORD AMHERST.

The Two Canadas, 1791-1867.

1. The Constitutional Act of 1791, as already stated, divided "Old Canada" into *two provinces*, Upper and Lower Canada. As it gave each an elective Assembly, it was the *first step* of the Canadas towards *responsible* government. Its provisions, however, could never afford more than this *first step*, and after being in existence fifty years, a further Act was required to carry these provinces the remaining distance upward to the full possession of a government *responsible* to the *elective* branch of parliament.

The Act of 1791 contained fifty clauses, the gist of which may be given under four heads :

(1) *A parliament*, consisting of the three units, Governor, Legislative Council and House of Assembly, was given to each province. The Council for Lower Canada was to be composed of fifteen life-members, selected by the Governor, and the Assembly of fifty members elected by the people for four years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor. In Upper Canada, these bodies were to have seven and sixteen members respectively, chosen in the same way and for like tenure of office as in the Lower Province.

(2) *Laws*.—The laws and ordinances which had been

introduced under the "Quebec Act," were to continue in force until altered by the new parliaments. In future, lands in Upper Canada were to be granted under the freehold tenure of English law. In Lower Canada, the land laws were to be those of the "Civil Code," regarding which the Legislature could make certain modifications. English criminal law was to prevail in both provinces.

(3) *Clergy Support*.—The rights of the Roman Catholic Church in relation to tithes, as stated in the "Quebec Act," were confirmed. Provision was also made for the support of a Protestant clergy by *reserving*, for that purpose, out of all grants of public lands in both provinces, an allotment "equal in value to the seventh part of the lands so granted." The rents and profits arising from these clergy grants were to be applied wholly to the object for which these lands were *reserved*. Out of such funds, the Governor had power, upon the advice of his Council, to build rectories, grant endowments therewith, and appoint to them clergymen of the Church of England.

(4) *Taxation*.—The British Parliament gave up its claim to the right of taxation in the two provinces, except the right to impose "such duties as may be expedient for the regulation of commerce." These duties, however, were to be collected and expended by the provincial governments, in the same way as other duties or taxes are ordinarily applied. The provinces had the power of internal taxation for such purposes as public works and education.

2. *Hereditary Titles*.—There was one clause of the Act which may be of interest to the curious reader, although it was never acted upon. This clause made provision for the granting of *hereditary* titles of honor, under letters patent, whenever the King might think proper. It was also provided that the holders of such titles should have the right to sit in the Legislative Council. Had this portion of the Act been carried into effect, there would have been laid the foundation of a Canadian Senate, after the model of the House of Lords. The second provision, however, became sufficient reason why no governor ever recommended a title under this Act. The clause itself evinces the desire, from the first, to mark appreciation of public service in Canada by an act of Royal grace. This policy has been carried out ever since, as the list of titled Canadians shows.

3. *Responsible Government*.—By the Act of 1791, the Canadians were placed upon the same footing as the Man-

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time Provinces in regard to form of constitution. The next step in political development to be reached by them would be *responsible* government. In their progress towards this goal, the conditions of race, language and sentiment were alike in all, with the exception of Lower, or "Old," Canada, where the influences born during the past thirty years were to continue their action. In point of age, Upper Canada was the youngest of the competitors, for 1791 was her birth-year, as a province.

4. **Powers of Governors.**—The governors acted under authority derived from the Royal Instructions, which had special reference to the carrying out of the provincial constitutions, as set forth by Act of Parliament :

(1) Each Governor was instructed as to the selection of the Executive Council, with which he was to advise, not only during the sitting of parliament, but also during the interim of the sessions.

(2) The Governor and his Executive Council were made a court of appeal.

(3) The Governor-in-Council also administered the Clergy Reserves and Crown Lands.

(4) It was his duty to forward to the Secretary of State, bills reserved for the King's pleasure, also copies of the Acts of Provincial Parliament. The latter were subject to be disallowed by the King within two years.

(5) The Governor was given power to dissolve parliament whenever he might deem it expedient to take such a step.

5. **General View of the New Constitution.**—The constitution of 1791 was a transcript of that enjoyed by the other provinces, but having special reference to the circumstances of Canada. It was described, at the time, to be "an image and transcript of the British Constitution." An image it certainly was, for in form it followed the model of the English parliament. There was a representative of Royal authority in the person of the Governor. The Provincial Parliament was composed of two bodies, standing for the two Houses of the Home Parliament; there was also a Council—the Executive Council—selected to advise the Governor, and which was intended to resemble the Cabinet, or body of advisers, who formed the Council of the Monarch.

The House of Commons and the Provincial Assembly were both *elective* bodies, the one *representative* of the rate-payers of Great Britain, the other of the ratepayers of a province.

Here ended the likeness of the Provincial to the British Constitution. Here their divergence commenced.

6. Two Essential Features were wanting to make the former the counterpart of the latter. These were, the *responsibility* of the Crown's advisers, and the *powers* of the *elective* body of parliament.

(1) In England, the Cabinet is made up largely of members of the House of Commons, and must command the confidence of the majority of that House. Under the Constitution of 1791, no member of the Assembly could be a member of the Executive Council, which was selected by the Crown from the Legislative Council, the judges, or others, none of whom were responsible to the Assembly.

(2) The House of Commons possessed *three powers of control*: First, of legislation; second, of the executive measures advised by the Cabinet; and third, of the expenses of government, and the sources of revenue to meet such expenses. The control of revenue was the guarantee of its powers.

The exercise of these powers by the *elective or representative* body of parliament, is what constitutes RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

All these powers were withheld from the provincial assemblies. They were not given *responsible* government in their early days. Nothing less, however, than the full privileges of their birthright would content them.

Having, therefore, even under limitations, the principle of representation conceded to them, the provinces were able, by legitimate means, to acquire constitutions, any one of which was not merely an *image*, but an exact counterpart of the British Constitution in all the features mentioned.

7. The Reasons for the limited nature of the early constitution are to be found, in the very exceptional circumstances belonging to the formation of new provinces. Settlements were scattered, and the people found full occupation for their time, energies and resources, in reducing the difficulties which a forest country presented to the acquirement of home and comfort. Old Canada, although an organized government for many years, had yet to learn self-government.

It was therefore thought, that an EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, composed of men selected for their known intelligence and experience, and holding office at the pleasure of the Crown, would be more serviceable, under such circumstances, both to the governors and the provinces, than a provincial cabinet

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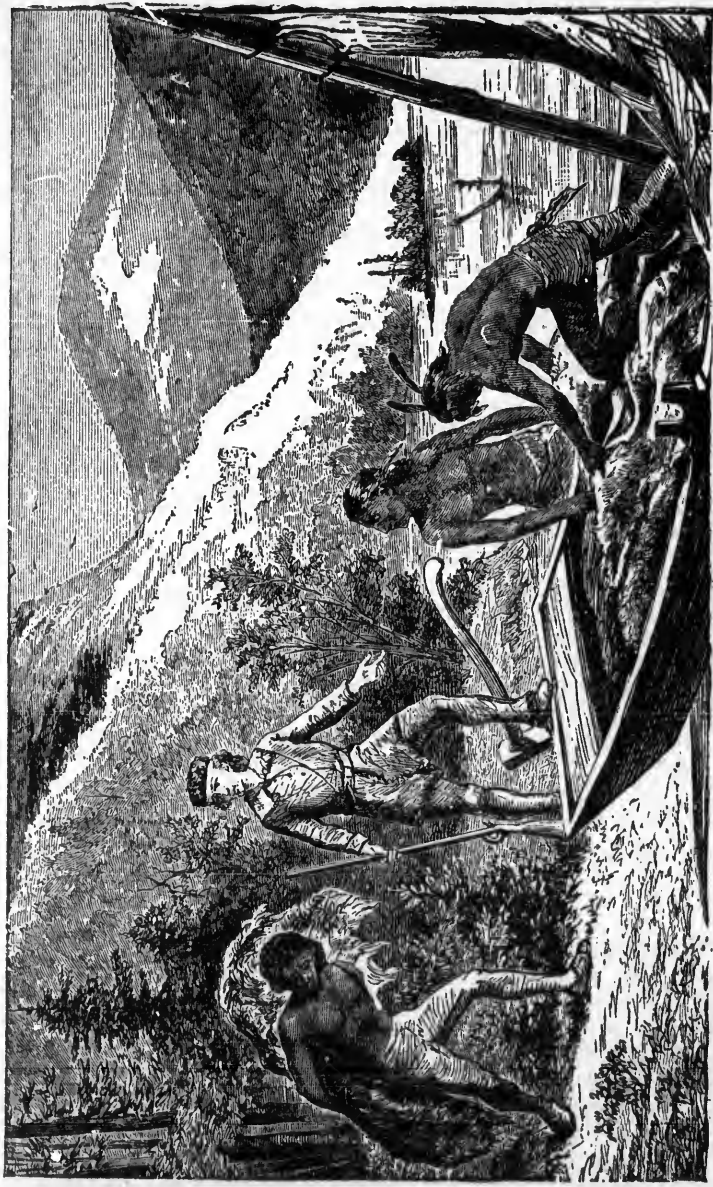
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subject to the vicissitudes of narrow majorities in small assemblies.

As to REVENUE, it would be some time before the provinces would be in a position to undertake the taxing of themselves, for more than the maintenance of roads and local improvements. In the matter of *duties* upon imports, these were devoted to the payment of the expenses of government, and, if not sufficient, the lack was made up by the Home Government. The motive of the Act, on the part of Great Britain, was evidently a *maternal* one.

8. **The First Parliament** to meet under the Act of 1791, was that of Upper Canada. It was opened on the 17th of September, 1792, at Newark (Niagara), by the Governor, Colonel Simcoe, with as near an approach as possible to the old-world formalities usual on such occasions. "Mighty things from small beginnings grow," is a saying oft quoted. It depends, however, upon the character of the "beginnings," what the importance of the "things" to grow shall be.

The "beginnings" on that summer day were small indeed. The little parliament, whose members of all estates only numbered twenty-four, represented a population of not more than twenty thousand. The "halls of legislation" were within the walls of a building of rough-hewn logs. The capital was a small village. The lofty, swaying forest trees on one side; on the other, the river with its strong, whirling currents and the never-ceasing boom of its steep cataract a few miles distant; or, even the great lake in front, whose distant expanse the horizon kissed, only made the beginnings of civilization's trespass upon nature seem the more diminutive.

But the few legislators of that first parliament had a large purpose regarding the work before them. They had the instinct of their race for law and order, and the schooling of an experience in which constitutions had been weighed. There was a short session of five weeks, during which eight bills were passed, but each one was a stone well and truly laid in the foundation of the social structure of their province. English law, civil and criminal, was made the law of the land, trial by jury was established, and the districts and counties were outlined for judicial and municipal purposes. In the following year, an Act prohibitive of *slavery* was passed, ten years before Lower Canada recorded a similar bill, and forty years earlier than the Emancipation Act was passed in England.

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In 1796, York (made the city of Toronto in 1834) was chosen as the seat of government. The legislation of the first twenty years was of a practical character, relating to the material welfare of the Province. Roads and bridges were built and schools encouraged. Population was coming in rapidly, and the consequent activity brought its attendant prosperity.

9. In Lower Canada, the first Parliament in its history met on the 17th of December, 1792, in the city of Quebec, and was opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, in the absence of the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester (formerly Governor Carleton).

It is worth while to compare the surroundings of *this* first parliament with those of the one whose first session had just closed in the new West. In what contrast had nature prepared these two spots—Quebec, Newark—on the banks of the same great waterway, and which civilization afterwards marked in succession for her historic and monumental purposes. Newark, the forest village, fit place for starting the infant constitution on its way. Quebec, upon its lofty eminence, with all the quaint features of a walled city of the old time, suggestive in every detail of the unchanging old world system of laws and customs, within whose intrenchments it was now proposed to find a home and working space for representative institutions with their reconstructive forces.

The Province had a history peculiarly its own, in the course of which, Quebec, now nearly two hundred years old, had passed through an experience unique in story. Then there was but one race, one language, one law, one faith. Now, there were two races, two languages, two laws, two faiths. Already these had been at issue in a legitimate way. The desire was that they should work together as one, for their common weal. The question was whether representative institutions would accomplish this happy result. Time alone would tell, and it is still recording the progress of the work, slowly but surely.

10. In 1792, the French-Canadian, for the first time, debated upon the floor of a legislature, and exercised liberty of speech in relation to matters of government. Out of the fifty members who composed the House of Assembly, only fifteen were of British origin. The question of the laws of the Province was already fixed by the "Constitutional Act," and did not engage the attention of the Assembly, which

made its first business to decide which language should have the precedence. It was agreed that either language might be used in debate, but that all records should be kept in both languages. Bills were discussed in relation to education, finance, the abolition of slavery, and the toleration of Quakerism. An Act favoring the last was passed, but that regarding slavery was defeated. The session had occupied three months.

Although the oldest of the Provinces, there was much need of practical legislation and a large demand for public improvements, and attention was largely engrossed in supplying these wants. Before ten years had passed, however, the old issues began to come into view, and furnish motives for attack upon the special features of the "Constitutional Act." Newspapers in both languages were coming into existence, and through their agency public opinion became sharply divided upon public questions.

II. The difficulties which grew out of the operation of the Act were those which belonged to the preponderance of influence given the irresponsible executive and legislative councils over the Assemblies in all matters of government. At the passing of the Act by the British Parliament it had been predicted that conflict was sure to arise between the elective and life branches of the Legislatures, and that it could be only a matter of time in the growth of the Provinces when such conflict must commence. The prediction was fulfilled, Lower Canada and New Brunswick leading off in political agitation for more extended powers in the Assemblies, Upper Canada being the last to enter the lists. The evils complained of were alike in all the Provinces, the sum of them being the constitution and power of the executive councils, making them irresponsible bodies. As years went on, therefore, the *tendency* of things was that the principal offices in the gift of the governments should be filled by those who were within the circle of intimate acquaintances of the members of the councils.

In Upper Canada and Nova Scotia these offices became monopolized by a few families to such an extent that the governments became a byword, and public affairs were said to be under the direction of a "family compact." Powerful in their possession of financial control, it is evident these councils would not surrender their position without a constitutional struggle. What added to the strength of that position was the personal ability and integrity of those whom





OLD AND NEW CANADA.

the Crown had appointed to the Executive Councils. The question, however, was not one of the personal integrity of the Executive Council, but of the irresponsible character of its functions.

The sources of revenue which have been referred to, were: (1) the duties levied upon imported goods, (2) those called "casual" and "territorial," arising from the sale of Crown lands, the lease of mines, and other exceptional sources, such as the timber trade in New Brunswick and the management of the Jesuit estates in Lower Canada.

As population increased, there was a corresponding growth in the revenue derived from duties and crown lands. For instance, in the Canadas, in 1795, the import duties yielded only \$25,000, while, in 1800, the income was \$104,000; and, in 1809, the revenue from this source amounted to over \$220,000. The expenses of civil government, or the "civil list," as it was called, kept pace with the increase of revenue, and gave additional importance to the demand of the Assemblies for the control of the finances of their respective provinces. Their opportunity would come when the governments should call upon them for an increased vote of money to meet a deficiency between expenses and revenue. Such an opportunity occurred in Lower Canada as early as 1809, when the Governor called on the Assembly for an appropriation to meet the deficiency in the "civil list." The Assembly replied that it was prepared to assume all such expenses if the revenues were given into its control. The Governor and Council, however, declined the offer. At the same time the Assembly passed an Act to disqualify the judges from holding seats in either of the Councils. The Governor refused to sanction it until the Home Government instructed him to do so.

12. The American Invasion, during the years 1812, '13, and '14, interfered with the busy prosperity of the Canadas, and the early bickerings in the Lower Province. The implements of industry and the pen of the scribe were at once laid aside for the musket and the sword. Instead of the debate there was the awaiting the word of command. Upon the Canadas fell the brunt of the invasion and the shock of battle; and the larger share of these came to the Upper Province—the youngest, the weakest of all, with its population all told of less than 80,000. Her whole frontier was exposed from Kingston to Amherstburg. There were only 4,500 regulars between Queber. and Little York, while there

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was not sufficient equipment for the militia of even this small population, of which only 2,000 could be called out in 1812. The people of Lower Canada were the sons of men who had shown their mettle in the old strife of the conquest. The sons now came forward and formed their companies of *voltigeurs* and *chasseurs*. But the Upper Province was yet



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK.

in its infancy when it was called to receive its baptism of blood. It was the opportunity, however, of the Canadas, in the repulse of repeated invasion, to commence a roll of honor for heroic names and brave deeds. Many spots were made memorable—a few by defeat the more by victory—the former fought and borne as intrepidly as the latter.

Queenston Heights, Stony Creek, Chrysler's Farm, Chateauguay, Lacolle Mill, and Lundy's Lane, are the places of events which are matters of honorable pride to all Canadians. To them no names speak of more valiant deeds than those of Brock, Macdonell, De Salaberry, Secord, Drummond, Tecumseh, Vincent, Harvey and Murray.

The Maritime Provinces had no such experience. They feared no land invasion; privateers hovered along their coasts to cut out a fishing fleet or a trading vessel. But Halifax was the rendezvous for the British fleet, which not only gave security against an enemy, but brought with the pomp and circumstance of war the expenditure of much money for supplies and re-fitting. The Peace of Ghent brought this ill-advised war to an end with the close of the year 1814.

13. The condition of things after such a national crisis as war are necessarily much disturbed. *After war, famine*—is a saying to which the combatants on both sides proved no exception. In the Canadas, this was owing to the fact that husbandry became neglected, during the absence of the yeomen of the country "at the front." The Governments acted promptly, however, and voted large sums for immediate relief and the purchase of seed grain. They also proceeded at once to redeem their "army bills," issued during the war in lieu of coin. The relative effects of the war upon the Canadas and the United States were shown in the estimation in which such "money" was held in the two countries. While in Canada the army bills passed for their face-value, in the States their treasury notes, of the same nature as army bills, became greatly depreciated in value, and brought upon that country the evils of a "double currency."

To the Maritime Provinces, where there had been an absence of the "actual horrors" of invasion, peace brought distress in another form. There was no longer the large expenditure of money for naval purposes, that had been necessary during the past three years. The Royal dockyard at Halifax was not now required, and the city, after having enjoyed an unnatural prosperity, which induced much extravagance, now experienced a serious re-action, from which it only slowly recovered in after years.

To the Canadas, and especially to the Upper Province, peace brought reaction in another form. Even peace, however, can never bring back former conditions. The people

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return to their avocations, trade seeks to resume its channels, and the pendulum of government marks time to the interests of peace ; but other feelings, both of personal and national import, have entered into the public life, which must tend either to deterioration or future advancement. The latter was the outgrowth in the Canadas. There, where the strain had been the most severe, the re-action became naturally the more marked, the impulse forward the more continued.

14. Material Progress, 1816-1841.—Of this, the increase in population in those early days furnishes good evidence. In 1820, Upper Canada had 95,000 and Lower Canada 335,000 ; in 1831, these numbers had grown to 236,000 and 553,000 ; and in 1841, to 455,000 and 697,000, respectively.

Public Works.—Nearly all this population entered Canada by way of Quebec and Montreal. The problem during that period was how to transport and locate that large and continuous influx of inhabitants into a new country. The impetus, moreover, was to push westward, which added to the problem, for the rapids of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa barred these waterways. The answer to the problem is found in the steady growth ever since of that large portion of the public debt of Canada, which is charged to Public Works. It is found, also, in the magnificent system of canals, by which Canada has opened direct water communications from the Atlantic to Lake Superior.

Parallel in time with the canals, has run the public enterprise in opening up the country by means, first, of public roads ; next, of steamboats ; and then, in succession, of railways and telegraph service. A few dates will suffice to mark the progress of these great works. The first steamboat in Canada was the *Accommodation*, built by Hon. John Molson, in 1809, to run between Montreal and Quebec. The first canal opened for service was that of Lachine, in 1825. The first railroad was opened from Laprairie to St. John's, in Quebec, in 1836. Telegraph communication was made between Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto, in 1847. To-day is seen the wonderful development of all these several lines of progress, bearing evidence to the energy and progressiveness of the Canadian people.

Commercial development grew apace with the construction of the means of transportation. Banks were opened for its accommodation, those of Montreal and Quebec, in 1817. Shipbuilding was a large and growing industry during this

period, New Brunswick and Quebec taking the lead. An evidence of the growth of commerce was the dispute between Upper and Lower Canada regarding the former's increasing share of the duties collected at Quebec and Montreal, the principal ports of entry at that time. Upper Canada's original share of one-eighth had been made one-fifth, owing to growth in population, and still she claimed arrears of revenue, which were accorded, in 1822, by the Canada Trade Act, to the amount of £30,000.

Education was early a demand of the growing provinces. It was left to a later period to take up the importance of a primary or public school system, but grammar schools, the forerunner of the present high schools, were the objects of encouragement by the young legislatures. Next came the establishment of colleges, which developed into the well-equipped universities of the Dominion.

15. Political Agitation, 1816-1837.—In Lower Canada the anxieties in connection with the war events of 1814 were not adequate, to postpone the renewal of the political and constitutional agitation which has been already outlined. In that year an impeachment was commenced against certain judges for their part, as members of the Executive Council, in advising the Governor to action contrary to the claims of the House of Assembly. The impeachment in the end was not successful, but it evinced the temper of the Assembly. No sooner, therefore, was peace concluded, and the Assembly had loyally provided for the obligations of the Province, growing out of the defence of the country, than the contest was resumed for the control of the revenues and the civil lists, the election of Legislative Councillors—in fact, the independence of Parliament. Along these lines ran the growing opposition of parties, which covered twenty years, and became at last totally irreconcilable. The former means of agitation were employed, namely, petitions, deputations to England, and even the stopping of "supplies," so far as the Assembly was competent to do so. However legitimate the subjects of conflict, or the means employed for their acquisition, the conflict developed into one between the races as to whether the British-Canadian minority of the Province should retain the control which it possessed in a majority of seats in the two Councils, or the French-Canadian majority should gain the ascendancy by the Legislative Council being made elective, and the Assembly securing control of the Provincial finances. It is worthy the student's

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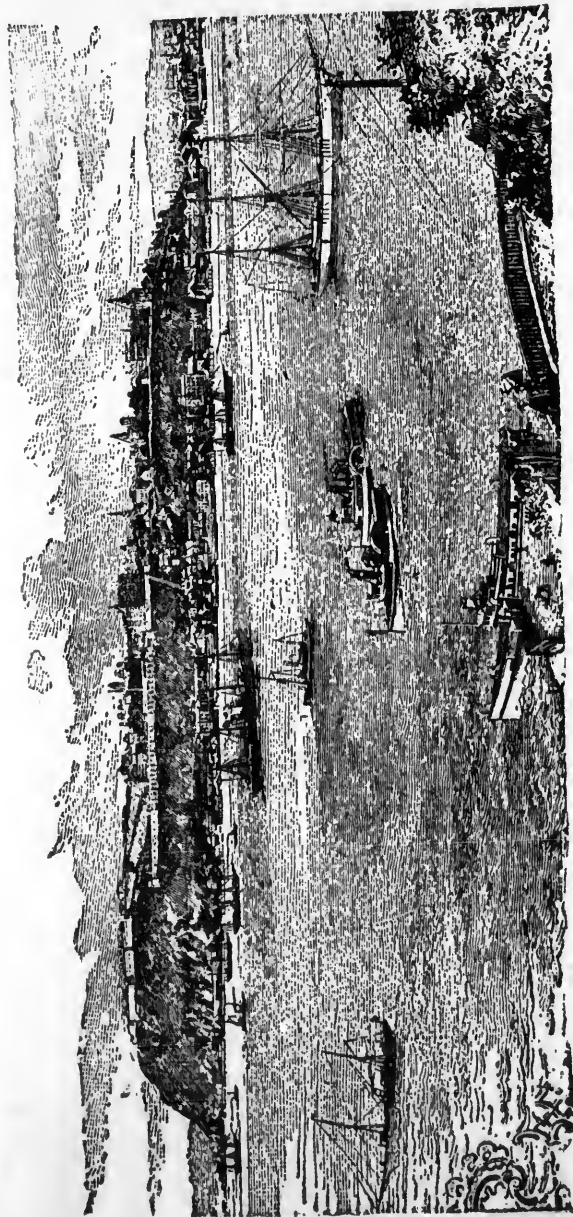
attention to note that from their "platform" the French-Canadians omitted the "responsibility" of the Executive Council or Advisers of the Governor. Whereas, in Upper Canada, the agitation during the same period was especially for this distinctive feature of Constitutional Government. The omission of it in Lower Canada marks the stage at which the French-Canadian leaders had arrived in the operation of representative institutions. Had they obtained, early in their agitation, the two things they sought, they would soon have discovered that a responsible Executive Council was necessary to the harmonious working of the other two essential features.

The Governors in Lower Canada were in no enviable position. Being frequently changed, they had in succession to depend upon the interested advice of the Executive Council, and however well-meaning the action taken might be, the result was more frequently to aggravate existing differences. The political and racial animus which the contest was continuously acquiring was intensified in 1827, when Lord Dalhousie refused to recognize Hon. Louis J. Papineau as the Speaker of the House of Assembly. The occasion was a crisis, for Mr. Papineau was eloquent, the popular leader of the French-Canadian party for a quarter of a century, who had presented their case in England, and been received courteously, who had in his speeches described British rule as a blessing to Canada. He had, however, made adverse reflections in public upon the course pursued by the Governor-General. The latter, no doubt, thought to produce a wholesome effect, and check both the Assembly and its leader. His action, however, was the point at which matters became irreconcilable, and culminated in the crisis of ten years later. Mr. Papineau felt the personal reflection cast upon him, and was antagonized. The Assembly was taken by surprise. It was the most direct way in which it could be attacked in regard to its privileges. It refused to elect another Speaker, and, after three days, was prorogued. Public feeling on both sides became intense. The French press did not spare the Executive, and prosecutions for libel followed. A monster petition, bearing eighty-seven thousand names, of which only nine thousand were personal signatures—the others were "marks,"—was forwarded to England. The committee of Parliament to which it was referred reported favorably upon it. Lord Dalhousie was made Viceroy of India, where he performed distinguished

services. Sir James Kempt took his place in Canada, stopped the prosecution of the press, accepted Mr. Papineau as Speaker, called several French members to the Councils, and intimated the disposition of the Imperial Parliament to meet the requests of the Assembly. This was in 1829; two years later further concessions were made. It was to no purpose, success only made the Assembly and its leaders more clamorous. The over-crowding of immigration at the ports of entry, in 1831, induced cholera of a malignant type, which spread all over the country. French agitators publicly charged its ravages to the British. Serious riots occurred in Montreal the following year, and the military being called out, fired on the mob, killing three persons. The act was charged against the Executive. An English land company was formed for settling the eastern townships. This provoked jealousy. The feeling, in fact, was so intense that every action of the authorities for the order and well-being of the Province was only made a cause of suspicion and a fresh grievance. Concession followed concession on the part of the English Government, so that the Assembly was inclined to meet the Government. It was then that Mr. Papineau became alarmed lest his influence should depart, excited distrust in the Assembly, and rendered abortive the efforts for conciliation. During the late disaffection an organization had grown up which had publicly advocated a "North-West Republic," in which he hoped for a leading position, if the opportune time should ever come. In 1836 he was still Speaker of the Assembly, and maintained a correspondence of "sympathy" with Mr. Bidwell, the Speaker of the Assembly in the Upper Province.

In Lower Canada matters had now arrived at that unfortunate point where suspicion and distrust give place to overt acts of rebellion, and the Imperial Government prepared for contingencies by making Sir John Colborne, a man of few words and prompt action, the Governor of the Province.

16. Upper Canada. 1816-1837.—The Assembly at its first meeting after the war voted £1,700 towards the erection of a monument at Queenston Heights, in memory of Sir Isaac Brock. After this expression of loyal feeling the Legislature devoted itself to those measures which would be beneficial to the building up of the Province, and its social and material development. Immigration was desired, and assistance offered, but it was specified that only those of "good



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character" would be assisted. In 1816, common schools were established by law, and a considerable sum granted towards payment of salaries. It was not much in comparison with the munificent amount expended at the present day by Ontario for the same object, but it was as large, perhaps, in proportion to ability, and evinced the existence of the same public conviction that intelligence is the surest foundation of a country's prosperity. Agriculture was also aided, and the successive sessions of the Legislature produced various measures of a very practical character. Here there was no jealousy of race, as in the lower province. Of one race, one language, and a common purpose to make comfortable homes for themselves, the people in Upper Canada did not borrow trouble regarding questions of government for the mere object of political agitation. The attention of the Assembly was fully occupied for several years with the important subject of opening up the country, for the location of the large immigration coming into the province. It was in pursuance of this duty that the Upper Canada Assembly first came into collision with the Executive and Legislative Councils. In 1817, the Assembly devoted much of the session to the consideration of the state of the Province, and discussed the policy of the Executive in reference to immigration, the postal service, and the delay in the granting of lands to the militia who had seen service in the late war. The matter which was esteemed especially an obstacle to the welfare of the Province was the management of the Crown Lands and Clergy Reserves, which, by the Act of 1791, were to be administered by the Governor-in-Council. The Governor, Sir Francis Gore, prorogued the House in the middle of its discussions, and thus intimated to the Assembly that it had no business even to discuss the latter question. The purpose for which the CLERGY RESERVES were set aside in the "Constitutional Act" has already been stated, namely, the support of an *Established Protestant Church in Canada*, while the control of the lands was in the hands of the Executive Council, which had commenced to appropriate any proceeds from them for the sole benefit of the Protestant Church as established in England. The greater number of the people in the Province were adherents of other Christian bodies, whose clergy performed their duties at great sacrifices among the scattered population. The people were therefore opposed to an Established Church

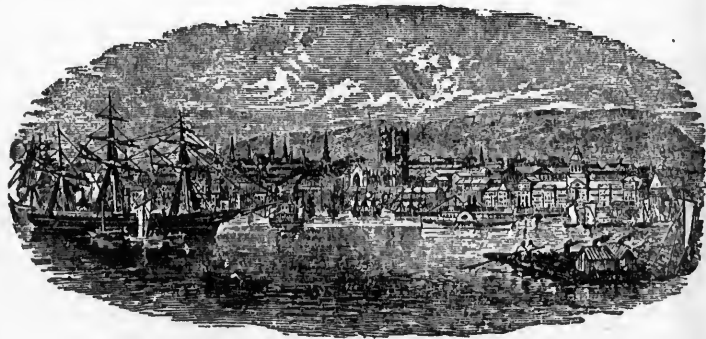
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in Canada. The distribution and management of the Crown and Clergy Lands were, moreover, not in the interests of thrifty settlements. The Clergy Reserves alone were more than two millions of acres, consisting of every seventh lot in the surveys, while the Crown Lands were seven lots in every two concessions. It is readily seen therefore that, in its curt treatment of the Assembly, the Executive Council put itself at issue with the majority of the Province upon two practical questions. The proroguing of the House, instead of shutting off discussion, placed a grievance in the hands of the people, and gave cause for an agitation which lasted over thirty years, and resulted in the unallotted Clergy Reserves becoming secularized in 1854 in both Canadas, and devoted to education.

17. Political remonstrance in Upper Canada did not at once take the form of *agitation*. The people were more surprised than alarmed at the action of the Government, and waited for time to rectify any wrongs. Public attention was, however, drawn to the constitution of the Executive Council, and to the absolute power which was placed in its hands. In 1821, the Rev. John Strachan, afterwards first Bishop of the English Church in the Province, was given a seat in the Council, a fact which drew the public attention still more to the Clergy Reserves, and awakened a fear lest an Established Church might be set up in the Province. The Assembly, therefore, passed an Act that no tithes nor church rates of any kind should ever be levied in Upper Canada. At the same time the other religious denominations sought to share from the Clergy Reserve Fund. The Executive Council had now been in existence for thirty years, and, by means of its immense powers, so intrenched itself in the administration of affairs as to have fully acquired its appellation of "Family Compact." Up to this time there had been no newspaper, as in Lower Canada, through which grievances could be given a public airing, but, in 1822, William Lyon Mackenzie established the *Colonial Advocate*, as a declared opponent of the Government.

These several causes, two years later, so influenced the public mind, that the general election returned an Assembly with a majority antagonistic to the Government. The first session began an era of *stormy debates*, which marked the sessions of the following twenty years, and produced the organization of the opponents of the "family compact" into a party of protest against the "Constitutional Act of 1791."

Following the curt dismissal of the Assembly, in 1817, for discussing the "Clergy Reserves," the Executive, by its arbitrary administration of affairs, alienated the Assembly still more. It was led to maintain this course of conduct by the fact that the revenue of the Province, derived from duties and the sale of public lands, was more than sufficient for the expenses of government, so that it was independent of the people's House. The result was, that within ten years, the protest regarding *one* grievance, in 1817, had widened out to embrace a demand for control of the Provincial revenues, and the exclusion of the judges and salaried officials from seats in Parliament. The attitude of the Government party had in the same time become one of decided



Montreal, from the Harbour.

animosity towards its opponents, led by Mr. W. L. Mackenzie. This feeling was fully reciprocated, and the conflict on both sides was marked by the rancour and invective of a personal quarrel. There were, however, on both sides, men of more moderate views, who deprecated the extreme language of the times. One of these was Mr. Robert Baldwin, elected to the Assembly in 1829, who, while no friend to arbitrary government, was no extremist in opposition methods. He it was who first proposed a *responsible Executive Council*, as a solution of the political difficulties of the Province. From his advent upon the floor of the Assembly, he became the leader of that large section of the party of protest which desired reforms by constitutional

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means, and which became the foundation of the present REFORM PARTY of the Dominion.

Under Mr. Baldwin's guidance, his party was able to procure concessions. The control of the revenues was given to the Assembly, in return for a permanent salary-list to the Governor and chief executive officers. In 1834, the judges were made independent of the Government, and appointed for life. There was, however, no approach to reconciliation between Mr. Mackenzie and the Executive. Their war became more and more personal. In the Assembly, his scathing denunciations of those opposed to him, led to his expulsion on three occasions by the vote of the House, only to be returned each time by his constituency. He was elected the first Mayor of the City of Toronto, in 1834, and had many sympathizers throughout the country. A change of Governors, by which Sir F. B. Head was appointed to Upper Canada, did not mend matters. The Governor, instead of keeping aloof, took an active part in the politics of the Province, and personally influenced the elections to the Assembly. The result was intense public excitement. Mr. Mackenzie, with other reformers, was defeated. Sensitive to his position, he at once forsook every middle course, and, through his paper, advocated independence for Canada. Here Mr. Baldwin and the constitutional reformers could no longer go with Mr. Mackenzie. The latter, and his immediate followers, had now reached the same ground as Papineau in Lower Canada, and the two men, with abilities for better things, took the fatal step of REBELLION.

This lamentable crisis in Canadian story extended from the Fall of 1837 to the Spring of 1839. Its engagements in both Provinces were skirmishes, several of them severe, which were sufficient to identify those who had resorted to armed resistance against the Government. Too many lives were lost in these actions, or upon the scaffold, in penalty for their rashness, who would have lived under other circumstances for the well-being of the country. Many suffered imprisonment or banishment. The leaders, having escaped from the Provinces, were included under the latter form of punishment, the ban of which was removed twelve years afterwards. The leaders, Papineau, Nelson, Mackenzie, Rolph, and others, returned and became useful citizens. Some of them obtained seats in the Assembly, a circumstance which indicates that however unjustifiable the armed resistance to authority was, the irritating causes preceding

it were hard to be borne. The darkest stain of all upon the leaders was, that having fled the Canadas, they sought to stir up the citizens of the neighboring Republic against their own country, a course of conduct which had no palliation, but was forgiven in the final amnesty under which they returned.

18. **The British Parliament**, upon the first outbreak of rebellion, sent out Lord Durham, as Governor-General and High Commissioner, to inquire into the causes of Canada's troubles, and their possible remedy. Lord Durham arrived at Quebec in May, 1838, obtained his information by means of several committees appointed to gather exact data on as many lines of the country's affairs, and, in November of the same year, returned to England. His report as High Commissioner was, however, very complete, and of great benefit to the Home Government in rectifying the evils existing, not only in the Canadas, but the other Provinces also.

19. **A Union of all** the British American colonies was suggested by Lord Durham as a remedy of their existing evils; or, if that should be impracticable, that the TWO CANADAS should be joined in a legislative union.

20. **The United Canadas**, or "Province of Canada," 1841 to 1867. The larger suggestion of Lord Durham's report was not found practicable at that time. The second proposal regarding the Canadas, owing to their late disturbances, was freely canvassed both here and in England, and the various interests of the two Provinces carefully considered. Their Governments having assented to Union, an Act was passed for that purpose by the British Parliament in July, 1840, which came into effect in Canada on the 10th of February, 1841, when it was duly proclaimed.

21. **The terms of the Union** formed another change in the Constitution of Canada, by a distinctive Act of the Imperial Parliament. These terms, while they retained the same *units* of government, added that one feature, so long asked for, a *responsible Executive Council*, or Ministry, the one means by which the British system of parliamentary government and those patterned after it are made, as it were, self-adjustable, and capable of harmonious working.

These terms were: One Parliament for the "Province of Canada;" the Legislative Council, of not fewer than twenty members, to be appointed by the Crown; and the Assembly of an equal number of members from each Province (at first

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forty-two, afterwards sixty-five), elected by the people. The Executive Council was to consist of eight members, responsible to the Assembly. The Assembly received the control of all the revenues and expenditures of the Provinces, and agreed to grant annually £75,000 as a permanent civil list. It will be seen, therefore, that the *Union Act* granted everything which had been sought through many years of agitation, with the sole exception of an *elective* Legislative Council.

Under this revised system of responsible government all those other questions, such as "Clergy Reserves" and "Seigniorial Tenure," peculiar to the Provinces, were now capable of being dealt with by the Union Parliament. The first Parliament under the new Act met at KINGSTON, on the 14th of June, 1841. The Seat of Government, or Capital of the Provinces, under the Union, became a movable one. It remained at Kingston until 1844, when it was changed to Montreal, and continued there until the burning of the Parliament buildings by a mob, in 1849. It was then removed to Toronto, and, in 1852, to Quebec; it assembled again at Toronto, in February, 1856, and in February four years later it opened its sessions again at Quebec. Ottawa had, meantime (1858), been selected by Her Majesty as the permanent Capital of Canada. The Seat of Government was, therefore, retained at Quebec until the completion of the necessary buildings at Ottawa. Parliament met at the permanent Capital, in June, 1866.

22. The first responsible Ministry for the Canadas, under the Union Act of 1841, was composed of the following honorable members: *For Upper Canada*—Robert Baldwin Sullivan, President of the Council; William Henry Draper, Attorney-General; Robert Baldwin, Solicitor-General; Samuel Bealey Harrison, Provincial Secretary; John Henry Dunn, Receiver-General; and Hamilton Hartley Killaly, without portfolio, afterwards head of Public Works. *For Lower Canada*—Charles Richard Ogden, Attorney-General; Charles Dewey Day, Solicitor-General; Dominick Daly, Provincial Secretary,

The above is interesting to note for the larger representation given to the Upper Province, and for the absence of any representation of the French-Canadians, except through the three British-Canadians from the Lower Province. This, however, was very soon changed, and the next year the offices were equally divided between the two Provinces, and

the names of Messrs. Lafontaine, Aylwin, and Morin, appeared upon the list of Ministers.

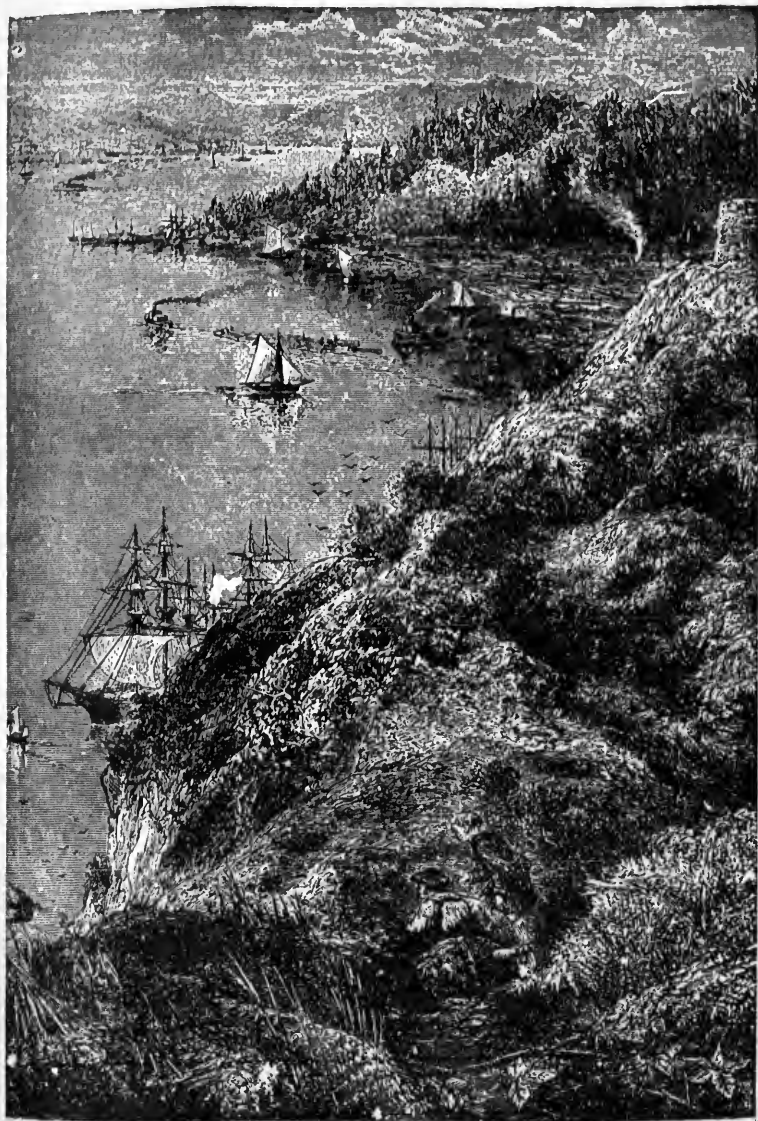
Although the Executive Council was now *responsible* to the Assembly for the conduct of the general affairs of the "Province of Canada," there was one important part of administration which was not yielded for several years by the early Governors after the Union. This was the matter of PATRONAGE, or the appointments to public offices and places of emolument under the Government. The Governors continued to exercise the *privilege* of appointment, without special reference to the Ministry. The latter was, therefore, in an unsatisfactory position when questioned in the House as to appointments, for it was obliged under *responsible government* to assume the acts of the Governor, as if performed upon the advice of his Ministers. On this point, Hon. Robert Baldwin and his colleagues resigned office, in 1843, when Sir Charles Metcalfe was Governor. It was conceded, in 1848, by Lord Elgin, when the Baldwin-Lafontaine Ministry returned to power. The constitution of the Canadas was now completed.

23. **The Maritime Provinces**, as already referred to, had no rebellion, in order to secure the amendment of their constitutions. With that exception, however, they passed through all the vicissitudes of political agitation, and received in much the same order of time the same concessions as the Canadas, not as in the case of the latter, by distinct constitutions under Acts of the Imperial Parliament, but by the administrative action of the Secretary for the Colonies, or "Colonial Office."

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had their leaders of reform, JOSEPH HOWE in the former, and LEMUEL ALLAN WILMOT in New Brunswick, who, from 1832 to 1848, led and controlled the popular forces through periods of political excitement of peculiar stress. Both were men of brilliant eloquence, and possessed of that forbearance which could overlook personal annoyance in discharging the public responsibility laid upon them.

24. **From 1848**, therefore, is to be dated the acquisition of full *Responsible Government*, in *theory* and *practice*, by all the Provinces of British North America. Thereafter they had nothing more to acquire in the way of constitution, for the Imperial Parliament had nothing more to give. The colonial constitution had been worked out to be not merely an "image and transcript," but the substance and possession





WOLF'S COVE ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

of the British constitution. Any future change in their relations to the Home Government, or to one another, would be, so to speak, one of convenience for the promotion of their material and social advancement.

Meanwhile they were able to give undivided attention to this very matter. Their hindrances seemed to be all removed about the same time. Whatever international friction had existed between them and the United States over the boundary lines was removed by the ASHBURTON TREATY, of 1842, which fixed the boundaries from the Atlantic to the Pacific as they exist to-day. Again, in 1854, England, on behalf of the Provinces, concluded a RECIPROCITY TREATY with the United States, by which there was to be *free trade* in natural products for ten years. The Provinces were all consulted in the negotiations leading up to this treaty.

Under these favoring conditions internal development moved rapidly. Municipal institutions received careful attention, and the Canadas, in 1841, wholly remodelled these, and put the present system of Local Government upon a permanent basis. Higher education had, from the first, been the recipient of much fostering care, but the Canadas led in the matter of a system of public schools, and, from 1844 to 1847, laid the foundations of her present system, which has attained high efficiency, and become a model in all its departments to the very countries from which it obtained the principles upon which it was constructed. The St. Lawrence canals were completed in 1848, and the fifties formed a decade in which railway enterprise was stimulated by provincial and municipal aid, and several of the longer or main lines were pushed to completion in all the Provinces. Such projects as the Chignecto Canal and the Intercolonial Railway were seriously considered. The settlement of the vexed questions of the *Clergy Reserves* and the *Seigniorial Tenures*, in 1854, were of great importance to the opening up of the country. Agriculture and commerce were profitable, and much new land was brought under cultivation. At the first World's Fair, held in London, in 1851, the Provinces made a favorable impression by their exhibits.

25. **The Royal Visitor, 1860.**—Previous to this date, only two members of the Royal Family had seen the shores of British America. In 1787, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., as commander of the man-of-war *Pegasus*, had been at Halifax. During 1792-95, Edward,

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Duke of Kent, the father of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Our Queen, as commander-in-chief of the military forces, was stationed at Quebec and Halifax. In his honor, the Island of St. John received the name of Prince Edward Island. He made a tour of the Provinces, and was entertained by Governor Simcoe at the village capital of Newark. In replying to addresses, in Lower Canada, he deprecated the distinction of "old" and "new" subjects, asserting that Canadians were all British subjects. This Prince died in 1820, when his daughter Victoria was only one year old.

In 1859, the Canadian Parliament took advantage of the double occasion, of the completion of the Victoria Railway Bridge at Montreal and the proposed erection of the Parliament Buildings at the permanent capital, Ottawa, to pass an address to the Queen, inviting Her Majesty to visit Canada. The Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, conveyed the regret of Her Majesty at not being able to accept the invitation of her Canadian Parliament, but that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would visit Canada in the following year, and represent Her Majesty at the ceremonies intimated. Many people to-day can recall the enthusiastic loyalty with which the Prince was welcomed from city to city and town to town of the Provinces, from his landing at St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 24th of July, to the 20th of September, when he crossed the Detroit River, with his suite. During the next month he passed from city to city of the United States, and was accorded a welcome magnificent in its details. On the 20th of October he embarked at Portland, and, escorted by the Royal fleet, returned to England. As one writer has said, "the visit of the Prince to America was like a burst of sunshine before the closing of the clouds in storm."

26. **The Civil War** in the United States, 1861-65, was the storm referred to in the last paragraph. Slavery was the burning question between North and South, which ultimately set the Republic in a blaze. There were four years of civil war without a parallel in national history, but the Union was preserved, and slavery abolished. The British Provinces—the Canadas, especially—were too near not to be affected in many ways by the war. Thousands of Canadians joined the side of the North, a fewer number that of the South. As the strife advanced, the Provinces became markets for the purchase of large quantities of supplies. They also became a land of refuge for such as sought to

escape the Northern "drafts" for military service, and for Southern prisoners who had given their "parole" to the Northern army. During the last two years of the war Southern agents also caused much anxiety to the Canadian Government, by seeking to organize raids of their people in Canada against the North. To guard against these "raiders" involving Canada in trouble, Parliament called out 5,000 militia for duty along the frontier. The "Trent affair" and the "Alabama claims" were international complications between the British Government and that of the United States, growing out of incidents of the Civil Wars, and had their effect in Provincial anxiety. The Canadas, in '866 and '70, underwent the experience of the "Fenian raids," an after-effect of the same war, the raiders being chiefly disbanded soldiers.

27. **The Idea of Provincial Union** was one of very gradual growth. An ambitious national sentiment, and perhaps statesmanship frequently suggested it, but history shows that it has never taken form in fact, except when demanded by the exigency of some crisis in Provincial affairs. Yet when the crisis has come, and the fact been achieved, the sentiment uttered many years before has seemed almost a prophecy of the fact. Union was suggested to the old Atlantic colonies, but they only learned it in various degrees as a means of defence or aggression against French Canada and Acadia. They employed it afterwards to throw off allegiance to the Motherland. Then they consummated their Union as a national requirement, and have since worked out a successful career as the Republic of the United States.

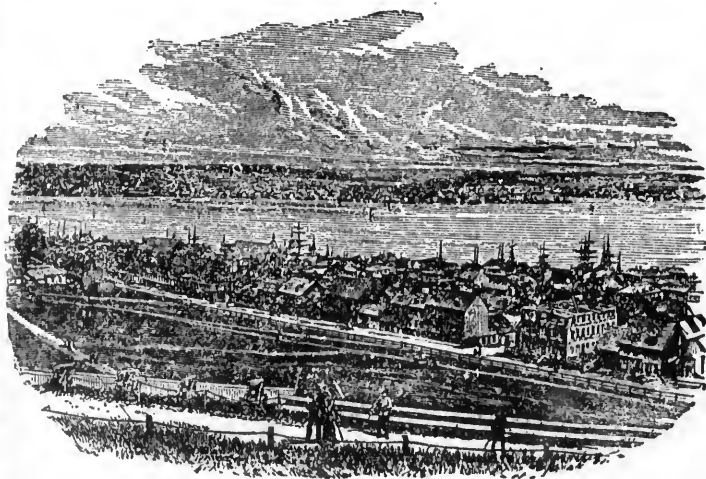
The fact of an intimate Union of individual Provinces, as exemplified in the Republic, no doubt emphasized the suggestions of Union that were made from time to time by official and unofficial parties to the remaining British Provinces. The suggestions, however, availed nothing until the crisis of the rebellion of '37 obliged the Canadas to form their legislative Union of 1841. Following this last event, upon several occasions, the larger bond of "Confederation" was proposed to the Provinces, but it found no favor with them until their individual exigencies led them to look for a remedy in a general organic Union. In the thirty years since Confederation there has developed a sentiment for a wider Union of British colonies and their closer bond with the Motherland. Shall Imperial Federation follow the precedents just mentioned, and have to await some national exi-

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gency to force the parties necessary to its compact to take the first step, or will they unite in the time of their full strength and prosperity? Will some one in the future say that the present sentiment was a prophecy of Imperial Federation? If so, it will be interesting to learn that in 1766, one hundred years before Confederation, an anonymous pamphlet, published in England, contained an ingenious proposal for a federation of Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies, with representation in a common parliament, and a basis of contribution by each to expenses.



Halifax, N. S.

28. Causes Leading to Confederation.—There were two principal considerations which produced Confederation. The *first*, which was under discussion for years, originated in the anxiety of the British Government regarding the *defence* of the Provinces. The *second*, and immediate cause preceding Confederation, was the *tension* of affairs in the Provinces themselves.

(1) The *first* was the project of a military road over British ground, connecting the Maritime Provinces with the Canadas. In 1842, the idea of a well-made waggon-road was changed to that of the *Intercolonial Railway*. From

that date, until it was embodied as a condition of Confederation, this project was before the Provincial Governments. Surveys were made by Royal Engineers, and conventions of Provincial delegates would meet at Halifax, or Toronto, or London, England, as the interests of the scheme suggested, but no agreement was ever reached. The Provincial motive found no sufficient grounds for the expense demanded, and for twenty years, the Intercolonial Railway project served no other purpose than to form a common topic of intercourse between the eastern and western sections of the Provinces.

(2) The *tension* of Provincial affairs, which formed the immediate cause leading to the formation of the Dominion, was upon different ground in the Maritime Provinces and the Canadas. In the former it was *financial*. Ten years of large expenditures in railway building, and too much machinery of government, entailing together an expense, which overran revenue from ordinary sources, led New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, as early as 1860, to think of a legislative Union among themselves.

It was in the CANADAS, however, that the definite crisis took place. It has been pointed out that the principle of their legislative Union, in 1841, was an Assembly containing an *equal representation* of the two Provinces, and that there was also a double set of offices in the Cabinet, one for each Province. It was necessary for a Ministry to have the support of a majority from each Province, or a "double majority," as it was called, in order to be strong enough to direct wholesome legislation. From these facts it is seen that the "Union" was scarcely more than one in name. Although it was named the "Province of Canada," the two Canadas were in fact distinct in their influence upon legislation. Moreover, by the census of 1851, it was found that the Upper Province was outstripping the Lower in number of population, and that under the principle of *equal representation* the former had not a proportionate influence in the Assembly. The difficulties to arise from this state of things were early foreseen, and as a remedy the Reform Party adopted the "plank" of "*Representation by Population*." This was, of course, resisted by the large majority of the Lower Province, which feared the loss of its "autonomy" in the Government, and the Conservative Party, by holding to the Constitution as under the Act of 1841, retained the support of that majority. The leaders of the Conservative Party, in the fifties, were Messrs. John A. Macdonald,

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George E. Cartier, and Sir E. P. Taché, while those of the Reform Party were Messrs. George Brown, A. A. Dorion, Francis Hincks, J. Sandfield Macdonald, and Oliver Mowat. To balance the Conservative majority in Lower Canada, the Reformers had a large majority in the Upper Province. The result was, that the *tension* between the parties became so great that the vote of the Speaker was sometimes necessary to preserve a Ministry in power. This condition of *dead-lock* was arrived at in 1864, and no Ministry of either party could be formed strong enough to carry a bill in favor of the *Intercolonial Railway*, which, at that time, had come up again as the question of the day. It was evident that unless the leaders of the two parties should come to an arrangement upon the point of their main difference, the business of Government could not go on.

At this juncture, Mr. George Brown, for the Reform Party, intimated to Mr. John A. Macdonald, that he was willing to join forces for a *Federal Union* of the Canadas, instead of the *Legislative Union* of 1841. Following this proposition, a select committee of Parliament was appointed, with Mr. Brown as chairman, which reported in favor of a *federal union* of all the provinces, if possible, and if not, a *federal union* of the Canadas. A coalition ministry of the leaders of both parties was formed to carry out the findings of the committee.

Having obtained the approbation of the Home Government to the scheme, Lord Monck, the Governor-General, communicated with the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces. The result was two conferences of provincial delegates, one at Charlottetown in September, and the second at Quebec on the 10th of October, 1864. Thirty-three representatives from the Canadas, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, composed the Quebec Conference, who are spoken of as the "Fathers of Confederation."

The sittings of this Conference extended over seventeen days. UNION was the one sentiment, and the seventy-two resolutions which it passed formed the basis of the Constitution of the DOMINION OF CANADA.

29. Final Action.—In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick quite a lively opposition was made to some of the terms, and it seemed for a time that the new ship of State would never be launched. The wish of the Imperial Government was, however, a powerful influence in overcoming this opposition.

and after two years they were willing to proceed. Another "Conference," composed of four delegates from each of the four great Provinces, met in London, in December, 1866, and, in consultation with the Colonial Office, prepared a bill embodying the original basis of the Quebec Conference.



Clearing the First Farm in New England.

What the Americans Have Done.

1. **A Hundred Years Ago.**—A hundred years ago the agricultural interests of our country were mostly in the hands of uneducated men. Science was not applied to husbandry. A spirit of improvement was scarcely known. The son copied the ways of his father. He worked with no other implements and pursued no other methods of cultivation; and he who attempted a change was regarded as a

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visionary or an innovator. Very little associated effort for improvement in the business of farming was then seen. The first association for such a purpose was formed in the south, and was known as the "South Carolina Agricultural Society," organized in 1784. A similar society was formed in Pennsylvania the following year. Now there are state, county, and even town agricultural societies in almost every part of the Union.

2. Agricultural Implements.—Agricultural implements were rude and simple. They consisted chiefly of the plow, harrow, spade, hoe, hand-rake, scythe, sickle, and wooden fork. The plow had a clumsy, wrought-iron share with wooden mould-board, which was sometimes plated with tin or sheet-iron. The rest of the structure was equally clumsy; and the implement required in its use, twice the amount of strength of man and beast that the present plow does. Improvements in the construction of plows during the past fifty years save to the country annually, in work and teams, at least \$12,000,000. The first patent for a cast-iron plow was issued in 1797. To the beginning of 1875, about four hundred patents have been granted.

3. Seed was Sown by Hand.—A hundred years ago the seed was sown by hand, and the entire crop was harvested by hard, manual labor. The grass was cut with a scythe, and "cured," and gathered with a fork and handrake. The grain was cut with a sickle, threshed with a flail or the treading of horses, and was cleared of the chaff by a large clamshell shaped fan of wickerwork, used in a gentle breeze. The drills, seeders, cultivators, mowers, reapers, threshing machines, and fanning mills of our days were all unknown.

4. Iron Manufacture.—Now iron is manufactured in our country in every form from a nail to a locomotive. A vast number of machines have been invented for carrying on these manufactures; and the products in cutlery, firearms, railway materials, and machinery of every kind, employ vast numbers of men and a great amount of capital. Our locomotive builders are regarded as the best in the world; and no nation on the globe can compete with us in the construction of steamboats of every kind, from the ironclad war steamer to the harbor tug.

5. Copper, Silver and Gold.—In the manufacture of copper, silver and gold, there has been great progress. At the close of the Revolution no manufactures of the kind existed in our country. Now, the manufacture of copper-ware yearly, of every kind, and jewelry and watches, has become a large item in our commercial tables.

6. **A Lust for Gold.**—A lust for gold, and the knowledge of its existence in America, was the chief incentive to emigration to these shores. But within the domain of our republic very little of it was found, until that domain was extended far toward the Pacific ocean. It was unsuspected until long after the Revolution. Finally, gold was discovered among the mountains of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and in Georgia. North Carolina was the first state in the Union to send gold to the mint in Philadelphia. Its first small contribution was in 1804. From that time until 1823 the average amount produced from North Carolina mines did not exceed \$2,500 annually. Virginia's first



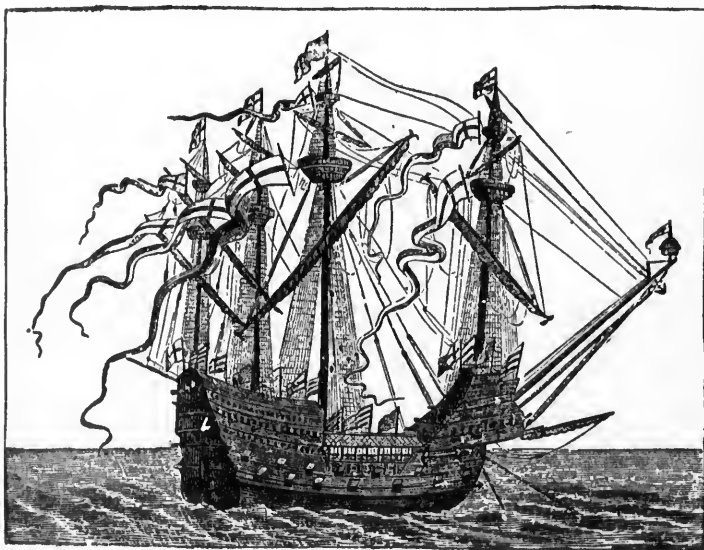
Sutler's Mill, California, where Gold was Discovered in 1848.

contribution was in 1829, when that of North Carolina for that year was \$128,000. Georgia sent its first contribution in 1830. It amounted to \$212,000. The product so increased that branch mints were established in North Carolina and Georgia in 1837 and 1838, and another in New Orleans. In 1848 gold was discovered in the American fork of the Sacramento river in California and soon afterward elsewhere in that region. A gold fever seized the people of the United States, and thousands rushed to California in search of the precious metals. Within a year from the discovery nearly 50,000 people were there. Less than five years afterward,

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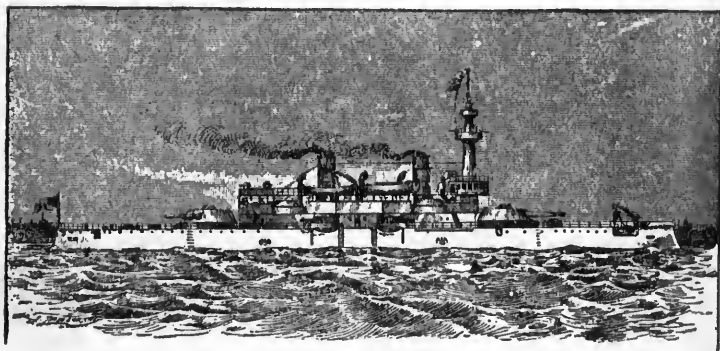
California, in one year, sent to the United States mint fully \$40,000,000 in gold. Its entire gold product in this time is estimated at more than \$800,000,000. Over all the far western states and territories the precious metals, gold and silver, seem to be scattered in profusion, and the amount of mineral wealth yet to be discovered there seems to be incalculable. Our coal fields seem to be inexhaustible; and out of the bosom of the earth, in portions of our country, flow millions of barrels annually of petroleum, or rock oil, affording the cheapest illuminating material in the world.



The First Warship.

7. **Mineral Coal.**—Mineral coal was first discovered and used in Pennsylvania at the period of the Revolution. A boat load was sent down the Susquehanna from Wilkesbarre for the use of the Continental works at Carlisle. But it was not much used before the war of 1812, and the regular business of mining this fuel did not become a part of the commerce of the country before the year 1820, when 365 tons were sent to Philadelphia. At the present time the amount of coal sent to market from the American mines, of all kinds, is equal to full 30,000,000 tons annually.

8. **The First Canals.**—The first canals made in this country were two short ones, for a water passage around the South Hadley and Montague Falls, in Massachusetts. These were constructed in 1792. At about the same time the Inland Rock Navigation Companies, in the state of New York, began their work. The Middlesex canal, connecting Lowell with Boston harbor, was completed in 1808, and the great Erie canal, 363 miles in length, was finished in 1825, at a cost of almost \$8,000,000. The aggregate length of canals built in the United States is 3,200 miles.



The Modern Warship.

The first railway built in the United States was one three miles in length, that connected the granite quarries at Quincy, Mass., with the Neponset river. It was completed in 1827; horse power was used. The first use of a locomotive in this country was in 1829, when one was put upon a railway that connected the coal mines of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company with Honesdale. This was for freight only. The first passenger railway was opened in 1830. Now railways form a thick network all over the United States east of the Mississippi, and are rapidly spreading over the states and territories beyond, to the Pacific ocean. To these facilities for commercial operations must be added the electro-magnetic telegraph, an American invention, as a method of transmitting intelligence, and giving warning signals to the shipping and agricultural interests concerning the actual and probable state of the weather each day. The first line, forty miles in length, was constructed between

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Baltimore and Washington in 1844. Now the lines are extended to every part of our Union, and all over our civilized world, traversing oceans and rivers, and bringing Paris and New York within one hour's space of intercommunication.

9. Improvement of the Schools.—As the nation advanced in wealth and intelligence, the necessity for correct popular education became more and more manifest, and associated efforts were made for the improvement of the schools by providing for the training of teachers under the respective phase of teachers' associations, educational periodicals, normal schools and teachers' institutes. The first of these societies in this country was the Middlesex County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools, established at Middletown, Conn., in 1799. But little of importance was done in that direction until within the last forty-five years. Now provision is made in all sections of the Union, not only for the support of common schools, but for training-schools for teachers. Since the civil war, great efforts have been made to establish common-school systems in the late slave-labor states that should include among the beneficiaries the colored population. Much has been done in that regard.

10. Free Schools.—Very great improvements have been made in the organization and discipline of the public schools in cities within the last thirty years. Free schools are rapidly spreading their beneficent influence over the whole Union, and in some states laws have been made that compel all children of a certain age to go to school. Institutions for the special culture of young women in all that pertains to college education have been established within a few years. The pioneer in this work is Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which was first opened in the year 1865. Besides the ordinary means for education, others have been established for special purposes. These are law, scientific, medical, theological, military, commercial and agricultural schools, and seminaries for the deaf, dumb and blind. In many states school district libraries have been established. There are continually enlarging means provided for the education of the whole people. Edmund Burke said, "Education is the cheap defense of nations."

11. Newspapers.—The newspapers printed in the United States at the beginning of the Revolution were few in number, small in size, and very meager in information of any kind. They were issued weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly. The first daily newspaper issued in this country was the *American Daily Advertiser* established in Phil-

adelphia in 1784. In 1775 there were thirty-seven newspapers and periodicals in the United States, with an aggregate issue that year of 1,200,000 copies. In 1870 the number of daily newspapers in the United States was 542, and of weeklies, 4,425. Of the dailies, 800,000,000 were issued that year; of the weeklies, 600,000,000; and of other serial publications, 100,000,000; making an aggregate of fully 1,500,000,000 copies. To these figures should be made a large addition at the close of 1895. There are now about forty newspapers in the United States which have existed over fifty years.

Our National Greatness.

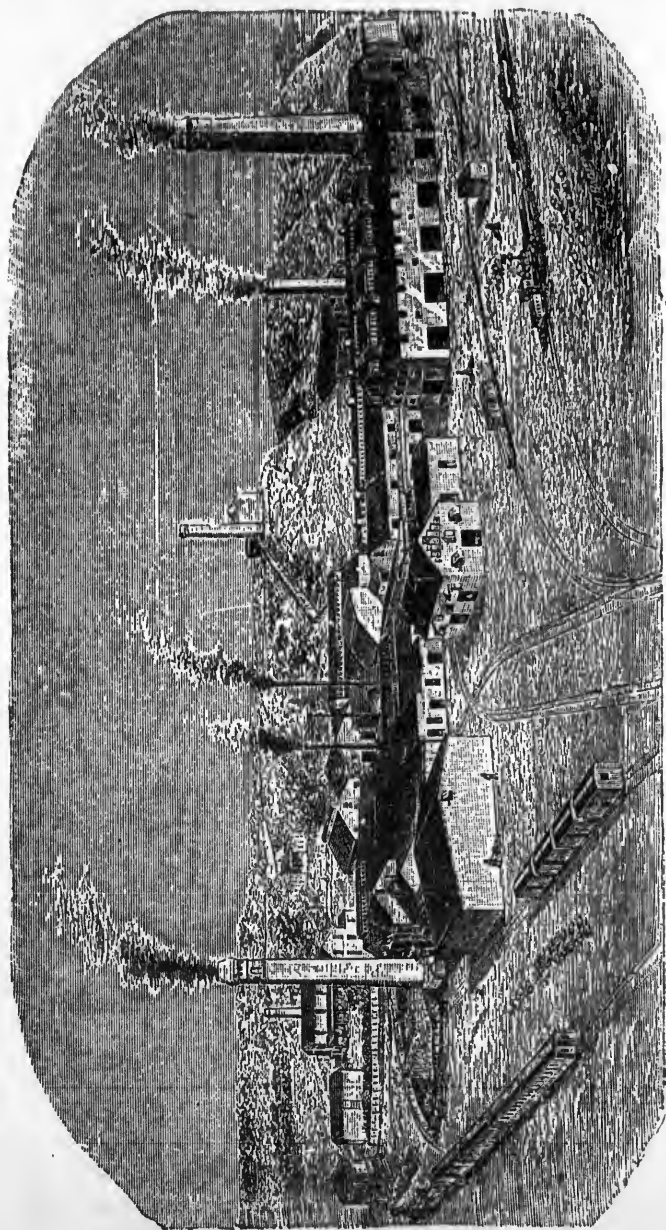
1. Greece and Rome.—Why is not Greece today mistress of the world, as once she was? There is the same soil, the same bending skies, the same murmuring seas and sentinel islands, the same atmosphere. Why is not Rome what she was? The seven hills remain, the affluent earth, the melting firmament, the balmy atmosphere and the yellow Tiber. Why the decay of Egypt? The soil is just as alluvial now as then, the territory as vast and the Nile as majestic. France has not changed geographically or meteorologically or topographically. Why this flight of power from Persia to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to France, from France to Britain, and from Britain to America? Is it not enough to say, with Bishop Berkely: "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

2. The Greatness of a Nation.—We are slow to learn that men, not territory, constitute the greatness of a nation, and that among men character, not numbers, constitute strength. We are living in an age of materialism. This is an era of statistics. Greatness is proved by arithmetic. Which is the greatest nation? The modern catechism answers, "The Biggest." Who is the greatest man? "The richest." What is the source of power? "Numbers." What folly! Did not Alexander take Macedon, smaller than West Virginia, and conquer the world?

3. America.—The United States has occasion for profound gratitude. Our heritage is rich beyond measure. Where will you find under one flag so many truly great men? Where so many whose native air sweeps down from the summits of moral and intellectual Mätterhorns? Where more unique, compact, full-orbed, yet disciplined, sanctified



THE LAST OF THEIR RACE.



PUEBLO SMELTING AND REFINING COMPANY.

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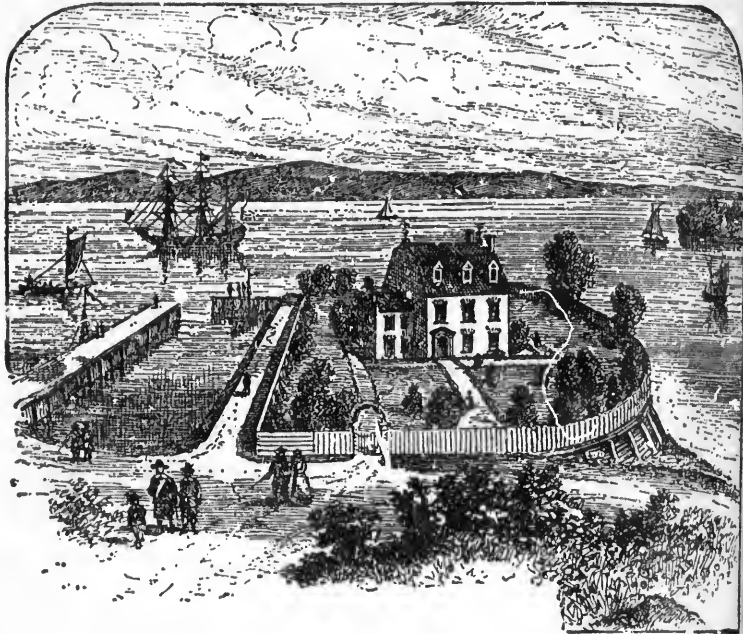
and consecrated individualities than in "the land of the free and the home of the brave?" Let the magnificent procession pass in grand review, while the nations of the earth uncover. Well may the earth tremble and reverberate with loudest acclamations, and heaven even send down her choicest congratulation.



Gen. Washington's Official Carriage.

4. **Our Constitution Guarantees Liberty.**—Our creed declares that "all men are created free and equal," that they are "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It has passed into adage that ours is a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." Hence, in the United States, every man is a Cæsar, a sovereign, a king, not by decrees of men, but by letters patent from the court of Heaven, and by the authority of Almighty God. How glorious our heritage! How enviable our lot!

5. **Ignorance and Slavery.**—Education and liberty go hand in hand. Ignorance and slavery are common bed-fellows. Whoever strikes at our educational interests,



The First Governor's House in New York.

strikes at our government. He who proposes to Romanize our common schools, proposes to revolutionize our institutions—to revolve them backward—Rome-ward, slaveward and deathward. He who says, "Divide the public funds: that we may educate our children as a foreign, un-American, anti-republican pontiff dictates," is guilty of treason; and he who says: "Away with your American educational institutions," is an assassin in intent, and levels his sword at Columbia's heart. God preserve our educational institutions!

6. **American Ingenuity** is the marvel of the world. We talk by lightning and walk by steam. We delve the mountains, bridge the oceans, and lasso the stars. Our patent office reports of inventions is as difficult of apprehension to foreigners as the report of John's apocalyptic visions. Tourists from the old world stand or ride a-gape and a-stare, from ocean to ocean.

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Second: Our progress in science. Our Franklins and Moses, Sillimans and Pierces, Proctors and Edisons, are tall enough to be seen around the world. Even provincial Britain and Germany do us homage here.

7. **Our Progress in Philanthropy.**—Here again we challenge, not simply the intentions, not simply the admiration, but the astonishment of the oldest governments of the earth. Now, where is official charity so boundless, private philanthropy so open handed, and secret beneficence so constant and abundant as in the land of the victorious free? What asylums for the blind, deaf, dumb, and the mind-benighted! What refuges for the aged! What orphanages, and homes, and retreats for abandoned or unfortunate youth or aged! What hospitals for the receptions of the sick and maimed! What associations for the recovery and uplifting of fallen men and women! We do not say that other nations are unphilanthropic; but we do claim that, in open-handed and munificent philanthropy, the land of light and liberty, and the cultured heart, leads the world.

8. **Our Inheritance in Our Men, Our Constitution, and Our Institutions.**—Our inheritance in our men, our Constitution, and our institutions, how great! Only the tongue of an angel could tell it; only the pen of an archangel could record it. And yet we are only in our babyhood. What prophet can arise and tell us what the possibilities of the future are, when we shall have attained to national, educational, moral, and spiritual maturity? Let us hallow the memory of our ancestors, from whom we have inherited so much. Let us cherish, with loving fidelity, and with unwavering patriotism our inheritance.

The Story of the First Sewing Machine.

1. **Elias Howe, Jr.**—It would be impossible to follow Mr. Howe through all the details of his varied experience during his early years. Suffice it to say, that it was at Boston, when in his twentieth year, and after he had learned the rudiments of his trade in one of the machine shops of Lowell, and subsequently in Cambridge, working side by side with Nathaniel P. Banks, that the thought of sewing by machinery was first suggested to his mind.



ELIAS HOWE, INVENTOR OF THE SEWING MACHINE.

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2. **The Origin.**—In the year 1839 two men in Boston, one a mechanic and the other a capitalist, were striving to produce a knitting machine, which proved to be a task beyond their strength. When the inventor was at his wits' end his capitalist brought the machine to the shop of Ari Davis, to see if that eccentric genius could suggest the solution of the difficulty, and make the machine work. The shop, resolving itself into a committee of the whole, gathered about the knitting machine and its proprietor, and were listening to an explanation of its principle.

Among the workmen who stood by and listened to this conversation—and in this instance at least the old adage concerning listeners appears to have been reversed—says Parton, was Howe; and from that time he was in the habit, in his leisure moments, of meditating devices for sewing by machinery. Having inherited a constitution hardly strong enough for the work of a machinist, and burdened even in his opening manhood with the care of a growing family, his attention was more and more concentrated upon the project of building a machine which would furnish him a livelihood more easily earned. In December, 1845, upon a small capital provided by the generosity of an old friend, he shut himself up in a garret at Cambridge and set himself seriously to the task of inventing a sewing machine.

3. **Six Months of Incessant Labor.**—After about six months of incessant labor and reflection he produced the first machine that ever sewed a seam, and he was soon the wearer of a suit of clothes made by its assistance. This first machine, which is one of great beauty and finish, is still in existence, an object of peculiar interest to the curious who inspect it; and it will sew ten times as fast as a woman can sew by hand.

4. **Begging a Shilling.**—Having patented the machine, and finding the tailors of America averse to its introduction, he went to England, where he succeeded in selling two machines; but found so little encouragement that he would have starved to death but for the aid of friends, and he resolved to return home or at least to send his family. So pinched was he while in London, that he frequently borrowed small sums of his friend, Mr. Inglis—on one occasion a shilling, with which he bought some beans, and cooked and ate them in his own room, and through him also obtained some credit for provisions.

5. **Conspicuous Object of Public Attention.**—Arriving home after an absence of about two years, he found that the sewing machine was a conspicuous object of public attention; doubt had been succeeded by admiration of its qualities;

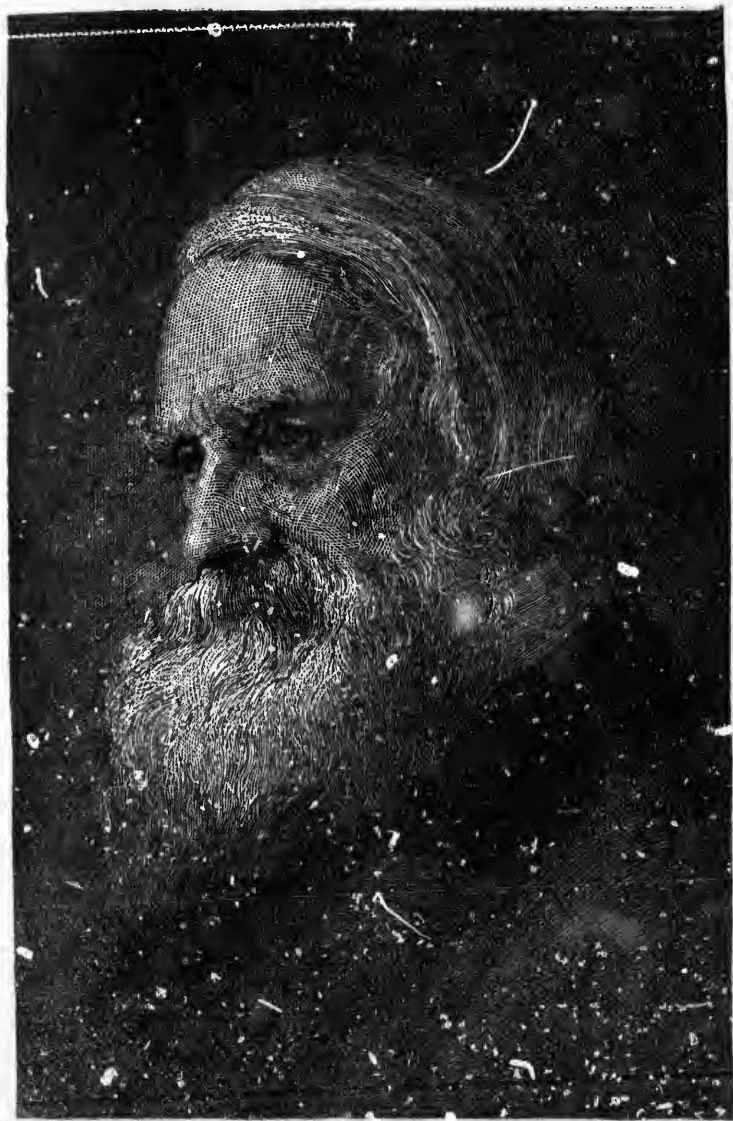
and several ingenious men having experimented, had finally improved upon the machine as originally constructed. A war of litigation ensued, and, after several years, Mr. Howe's claim to be the original inventor was legally and irreversibly established, the judge deciding that "there was no evidence which left a shadow of doubt that, for all the benefit conferred upon the public by the introduction of a sewing machine, the public are indebted to Mr. Howe." To him, therefore, all other inventors, or improvers had to pay a tribute. From being a poor man, Howe, became in a few years one of the most noted millionaires in America; and his bust executed by Ellis, shows a man of marked personal appearance and striking natural endowments.

Prof. Morse's Trial.

Prof. Morse was a man of remarkable ability and perseverance, and was largely respected in his profession as a teacher. When he took up the subject of the study of electricity, and began to discuss his discoveries with friends, they soon began to shake their heads with doubt, and question his sanity. But, like all other inventors, he was poor, and his ideas gained but little favor or consideration among his friends. He was ridiculed, denounced as a lunatic and a "crank;" but he was an American, and had inherited, with his inventive genius, the true American spirit of push and pluck. He persevered, and bravely trampled down the taunts and jeers heaped upon him, and when the grand day of triumph came all were ready to do him honor. The friends who had refused to assist him—the friends who had laughed at him and scorned his friendship—were now the first boasting his praise.

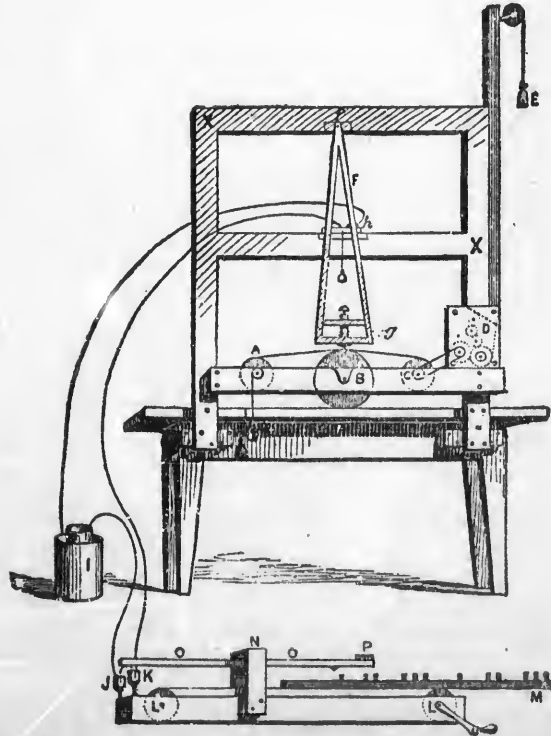
Prof. Morse went to Europe, and begged of the European authorities to consider his proposition, patent his invention, and receive the benefits of its wonder-working service. But he was turned away without encouragement; he returned home to his native land, and only at the last moment did Congress favorably consider his proposition, and finally recognized his wonderful invention which has revolutionized the business of the world.

Prof. Samuel Morse, LL. D., was the eldest son of Rev. J. Morse, D. D., born at Charlestown, in 1791. He was a graduate at Yale college. In 1810 he went to England to study painting, and in 1813 received a gold medal for his first effort in sculpture. He returned to New York in 1815 and became president of the National Academy of Design, and



PROF. SAMUEL F. B. MORSE,
The Inventor of the Electric Telegraph.

was soon appointed professor of the arts and designs in the University of New York. He did not give his entire attention to art, but was interested in chemistry, and especially in electrical and galvanic experiments, and on a voyage from Havre to New York, in 1832, he conceived the idea of a magnetic telegraph, which he exhibited to Congress in 1837, and vainly attempted to patent in England. His claims to priority of invention over Prof. Wheatstone, in England, have been the subject of considerable controversy. He struggled on with scanty means until 1843, when, as he almost yielded to despair, Congress, at midnight, and at the last moment of the session, appropriated \$30,000 for an experimental line between Washington and Baltimore. For his important telegraphic invention, Dr. Morse was rewarded by testimonials, honorary orders of nobility and wealth. The magnitude of his discovery being acknowledged universally, several European States joined in presenting him a purse of 400,000 francs; and splendid banquets were given him in London and Paris. He died in New York, April 2, 1872.



The First Telegraph Instrument—1837.

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The House where the First Telegraph Instruments were Made.

The Story of the First Electric Telegraph.

Samuel F. B. Morse of New York, during a voyage home from France in 1832, conceived the idea of making signs at a distance by means of a pencil moved by an electro-magnet and a single conducting circuit, the paper being moved under the pencil by clockwork. He constructed a working model of his invention in 1836, and ex-



**THE FIRST RECORDING TELEGRAPH
INSTRUMENT—1837.**

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hibited it to several persons the same year, but not publicly until 1837. Several years were devoted to improving the invention and endeavoring to interest the public in the project. It was not until 1844 that the first public line was completed between Washington and Baltimore (40 miles), and the first message transmitted May 27 of that year. Within a few years, however, lines were extended to the principal cities of the United States. The Morse telegraph was introduced in Germany in 1847, whence it has spread all over the Eastern hemisphere, and may now be said to be the universal telegraph of the world.

The Laying of the Atlantic Cable.

The success of this undertaking at once revived the suggestion of laying a cable across the Atlantic ocean from Ireland to Newfoundland. In 1854 the attention of Mr. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, was directed to the subject, and mainly through his efforts a company was formed, principally of English capitalists, to undertake the enterprise. The first attempt was made in August, 1857, but it was unsuccessful, the cable parting 300 miles from shore. The following year the attempt was renewed, and the enterprise successfully completed August 5, 1858. The electrical condition of the cable was faulty at first, but signals and communications were exchanged with more or less facility until September 1, when the cable failed altogether. During this time 366 messages, containing 3,042 words, were interchanged between Europe and America. Several attempts to pick up and repair the cable were made without success, and this disastrous result discouraged further enterprise in the same direction for a number of years. The experience gained, however, was of the highest value, and the success of the Malta and Alexandria (1861), Persian Gulf (1864), and other deep sea cables, led to the renewal of the attempt to cross the Atlantic in 1865, which again resulted in the breaking of the cable after 1,186 miles had been laid out. The following year, however, a new cable was successfully submerged, being landed at Newfoundland in perfect working order July 27, 1866, and the great problem was thus at last definitely solved. In September following the lost cable of 1865 was picked up and completed. From that date such rapid progress has been made in the extension of telegraphic cables that at the present time no isolated system of telegraphs is to be found throughout the world.



JUDGE STEPHEN VAIL,
The First Manufacturer and Improver of Telegraph
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Different Submarine Lines.

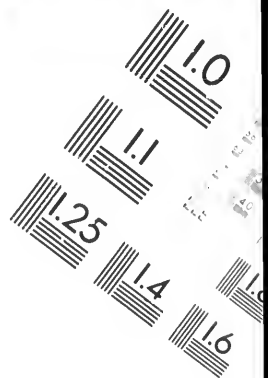
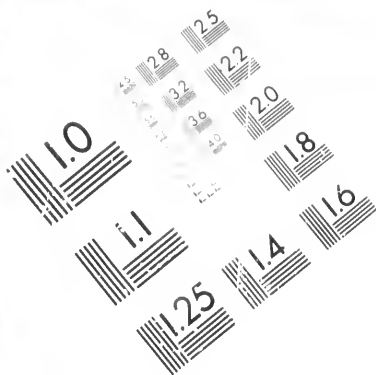
The first submarine lines were simply ordinary iron wires coated with gutta-percha to a diameter of half an inch. In the cable laid between Dover and Calais in 1851, four gutta-percha coated conducting wires were wrapped with hemp and enclosed in a wire rope for protection. This general plan has been followed in all cables since constructed. The Atlantic cables are composed of a copper strand of seven wires, forming the conductor, surrounded by four layers of gutta-percha and covered by a serving of jute; outside of this is a protecting armor of ten wires of homogeneous iron, each enveloped in fine strands of manilla hemp. In shallow waters, where cables are exposed to injury from anchors, the armor is often made enormously thick and heavy, sometimes weighing as much as twenty tons per mile.

Printing Telegraphs.

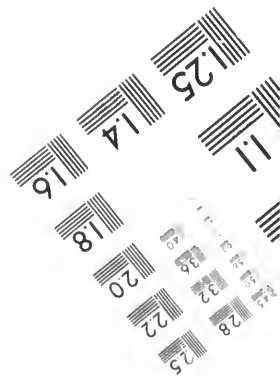
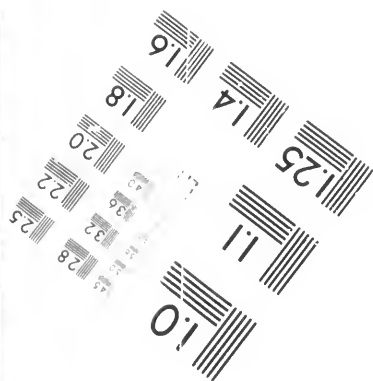
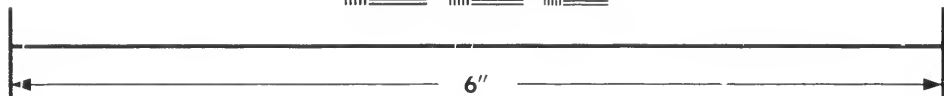
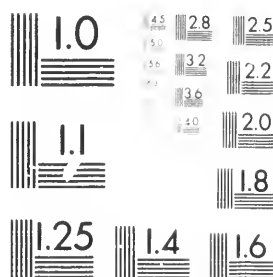
The idea of a telegraph which should record messages in printed Roman letters is due to Alfred Vail, of New Jersey (1837). The first model of such an instrument was made by Wheatstone (1841). (a) House's Telegraph.—This was the earliest practical printing instrument. It was introduced in 1847, and largely used in the United States until about 1860. It is simple in principle, though somewhat complicated in construction.

The Story of the First Railroad.

1. **Business Changes.**—Perhaps no invention of the present century has produced such widespread social and business changes as that of steam locomotion on railways. Not only have places that were formerly more than a day's journey from each other been made accessible in a very few hours, but the cost of traveling has been so much reduced, that the expense has in a great degree long ceased to operate as a bar to communication by railway for business or pleasure, and the usual channels of trade have been most profitably abandoned or superseded, with the greatest benefits to every interest involved.

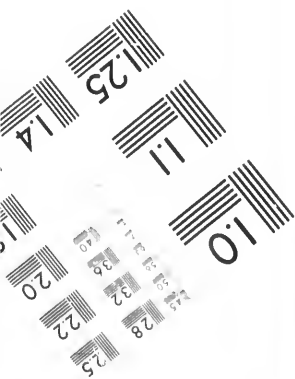
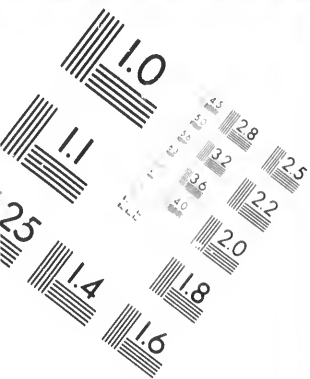


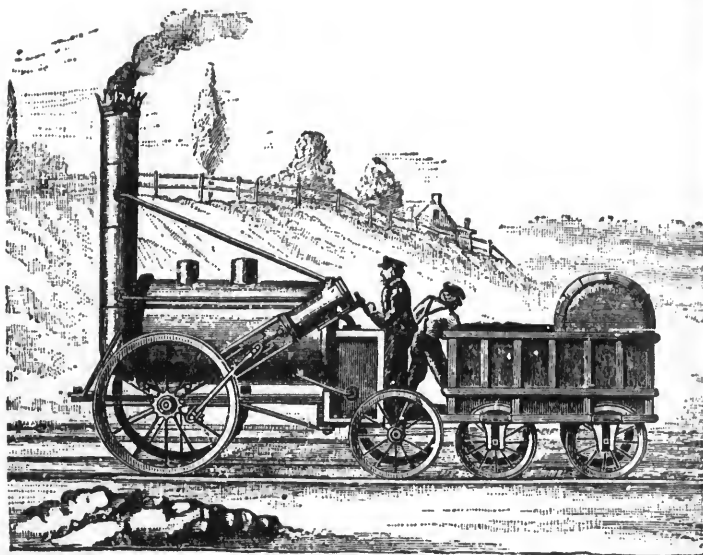
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The First Railroad Engine—1829.

2. **The History of Railways.**—That the history of railways shows what grand results may have their origin in small beginnings, is no less true than that the power of capital is seen in this as in all other great material enterprises. In evidence of the former truth, Dr. Lyell, mentions the interesting, though of course, well-known, fact, that, when coal was first conveyed in the neighborhood of Newcastle-on-Tyne, from the pit of the shipping place, the pack horse, carrying a burden of three hundred weight, was the only mode of transport employed; as soon as roads suitable for wheeled carriages were formed, carts were introduced, and this first step in mechanical appliances to facilitate transport had the effect of increasing the load which the horse was enabled to carry, from three hundred to seventeen hundred weight.

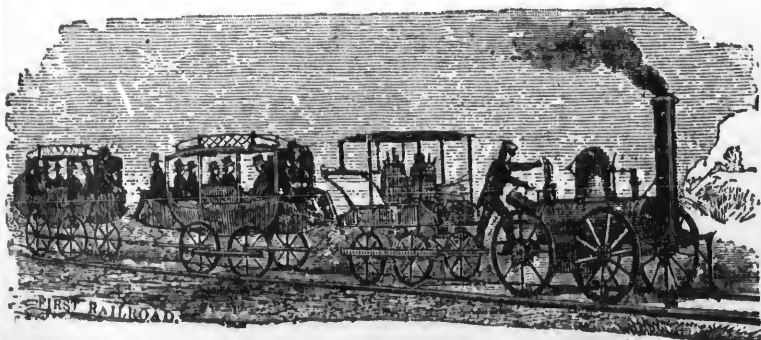
3. **Wooden Bars or Rails for the Wheels.**—The next improvement consisted in laying wooden bars or rails for the wheels of carts to run upon, and this was followed by the substitution of the four-wheeled wagon for the two-wheeled cart. By this further application of mechanical

principles, the original horse load of three hundred weight was augmented to forty-two hundred. These were indeed important results, and they were not obtained without the shipwreck of many a fortune.

4. **Attachment of Slips of Iron.**—The next step of progress in this direction was the attachment of slips of iron to the wooden rails. Then came the iron tramway, the upright flange of the bar acting, in this arrangement, as a guide to keep the wheel on the track. The next advance was an important one, and consisted in transferring the guiding flange from the rail to the wheel, an improvement which enabled cast iron edge rails to be used.

5. **Iron Rails.**—Finally, in 1820, after the lapse of many years, from the first employment of wooden bars, wrought iron rails, rolled in long lengths, and of suitable sections, were made and in time superseded all other forms of railways, coming finally to the superb steel rails of later days. Of the locomotive engine, which makes it possible to convey a load of hundreds of tons at a cost of fuel scarcely exceeding that of the provender which the original pack-horse consumed in conveying its load of three hundred pounds an equal distance, it may justly be called one of the crowning achievements of mechanical science.

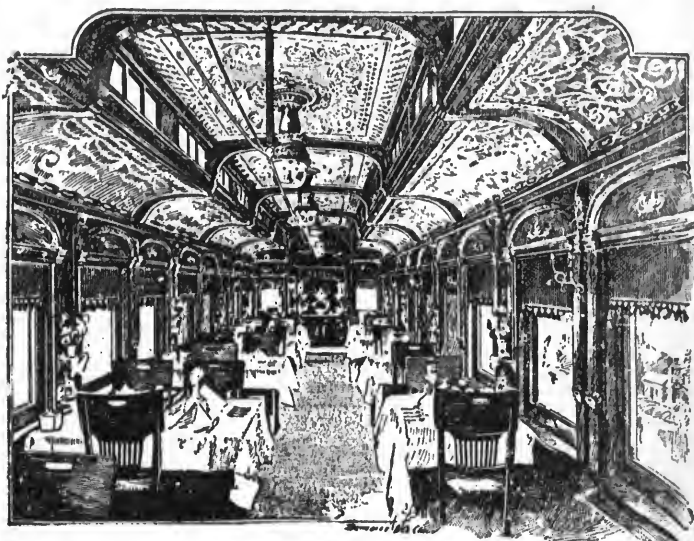
6. **The Locomotive Engine.**—No sooner is a road formed fit for wheeled carriages to pass along, than the cart takes the place of the pack-saddle; no sooner is the wooden railway provided, than the wagon is substituted for the cart; no sooner is an iron railway formed, capable of carrying heavy loads, than the locomotive engine is ready to commence its wonderful career, and so on *ad infinitum*.



The First Railroad Train.

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Modern Dining Car.

7. **The First Railroad.**—The characteristic enterprise of Americans did not fail them in this era of transformation and advancement. The first railroad attempted in the United States was a crude and temporary affair in Boston—a double-track arrangement for removing gravel from Beacon Hill, and so contrived that, while one train descended the hill with its load, the empty train would thereby be hauled up for loading. A more positive effort in this line, and more really deserving the name of railway, and consequently honored by historians with the term of priority, was that constructed in Quincy, Mass., for the purpose of transporting granite from the quarry at that place to the Neponset River, a distance of about four miles; it was a single-track road, with a width of five feet between the rails, the latter being of pine, covered with oak and overlaid with thin plates of wrought iron; and the passage from the quarry to the landing, of a car carrying ten tons, with a single horse was performed in an hour. This was completed in 1827, and the affair created much interest.

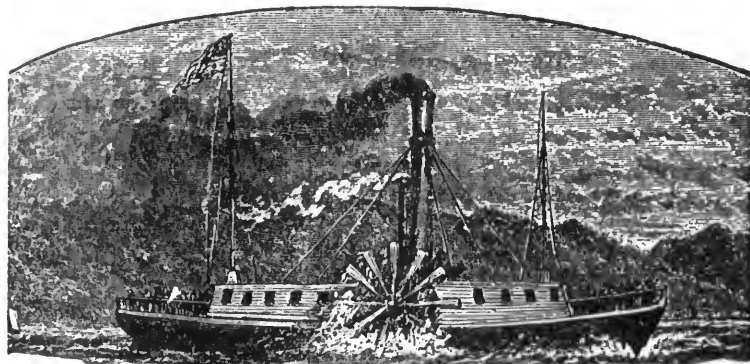
8. **The First Use of a Locomotive.**—The first use of a locomotive in this country was in 1829, and was used on

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the railroad built by the Delaware & Hudson Company. From this fairly dates, therefore, American railway travel, with steam as the locomotive power. So popular was this means of transit, however, that, in thirty years from the time of its small beginning, more than 30,000 miles of the iron road traversed the country in different directions; this number of miles increasing to some 80,000 in 1879, with nearly 15,000 locomotives, and a capital of rising four and a half billions



The First Steamboat.

The First Steamboat.

1. **Robert Fulton.**—At what time Mr. Fulton's mind was first directed to steam navigation is not definitely known, but even in 1793 he had matured a plan in which he reposed great confidence. No one previous to Mr. Fulton had constructed a steamboat in any other way, or with any result, than as an unsuccessful experiment, and although many have disputed his right to the honor of the discovery, none have done so with any semblance of justice.

2. **Mr. Livingston.**—The Legislature, in March, 1798, passed an act vesting Mr. Livingston with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the state of New York, for a term of twenty years from the passing of the act, upon condition that he should, within a twelve-month, build such a boat the mean of whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour.

3. Interesting Circumstances.—According to Mr. Livingston's own account of these most interesting circumstances, it appears that, when residing as minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, he there met with Mr. Fulton and they formed that friendship and connection with each other to which a similarity of pursuits naturally gives birth. He communicated to Mr. Fulton his views of the importance of steamboats to their common country; informed him of what had been attempted in America, and of his resolution to resume the pursuit on his return, and advised him to turn his attention to the subject. It was agreed between them to embark in the enterprise, and immediately to make such experiments as would enable them to determine how far, in spite of former failures, the object was attainable. The principal direction of these experiments was left to Mr. Fulton.

4. Building a Boat.—On the arrival at New York of Mr. Fulton, which was not until 1806, they immediately engaged in building a boat of—as was then thought—very considerable dimensions, for navigating the Hudson. The boat named the Clermont, was of one hundred and sixty tons burden, one hundred and thirty feet long, eighteen feet wide and seven feet deep. The diameter of the paddle-wheels was fifteen feet, the boards four feet long and the drippings two feet in water. She was a queer looking craft, and, while on the stocks, excited much attention and no small amount of ridicule.

5. She Was Launched.—When she was launched and the steam engine placed in her, that also was looked upon as being of a piece with the boat built to float it. A few had seen one at work raising the Manhattan water into the reservoir back of the almshouse; but, to the people at large, the whole thing was a hidden mystery. Curiosity was greatly excited. Nor will the reader be at all surprised at the statement made by an eye-witness and narrator of these events, that when it was announced in the New York papers that the boat would start from Cortlandt street at six and a half o'clock on Friday morning, the 4th of August, and take passengers to Albany, there was a broad smile on every face, as the inquiry was made, if any one would be fool enough to go?

6. She Started.—When Friday morning came the wharves, piers, house-tops from which a sight could be obtained were filled with spectators. There were twelve berths, and every one was taken through to Albany. The fare was \$7. All the machinery was uncovered and exposed to view. The after-part was fitted up in a

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ROBERT FULTON.

ough manner for passengers. The entrance into the cabin was from the stern, in front of the steersman, who worked a tiller, as in an ordinary sloop. Black smoke issued from the chimney; steam issued from every ill-fitted valve and crevice of the engine. Fulton himself was there. His remarkably clear and sharp voice was heard above the hum of the multitude and the noise of the engine; his step was confident and decided; he heeded not the fearfulness, doubts, or sarcasm of those by whom he was surrounded. The whole scene combined had in it an individuality, as well as an interest, which comes but once and is remembered forever.

Everything being ready the engine was set in motion, and the boat moved steadily but slowly from the wharf. As she turned up the river and was fairly under way there arose such a huzza as ten thousand throats never gave be-

fore. The passengers returned the cheer, but Fulton stood upon the deck, his eyes flashing with an unusual brilliancy as he surveyed the crowd. He felt that the magic wand of success was waving over him, and he was silent.

7. **The Complete Success.**—The complete success attending steam navigation on the Hudson and the neighboring waters, previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western waters; and in the month of April, of that year, Mr. Roosevelt, of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. Mr. Roosevelt surveyed the rivers from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable it was decided to build a boat at the former place. This was done under his direction, and in the year 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the New Orleans.

8. **Rapid Growth.**—From the date of Mr. Fulton's triumph in 1807 steam navigation became a fixed fact in the United States, and went on extending with astonishing rapidity. Nor could a different result have been rationally expected in such a country as America.

The Invention of the Electric Light.

1. **American Genius in the Line of Electric Lighting.**—The evident priority of American genius in the line of electric lighting, it is safe to assert; though not alone in this country, but in Europe as well, electricity has been successfully employed in lighting cities, assembly halls, factories, depots, streets, parks, lighthouses, etc., and its adaption for marine purposes, as exhibited in the accompanying illustration, is looked upon as likely to mitigate the perils of night and of fogs, and increase the facilities of ocean enterprise.

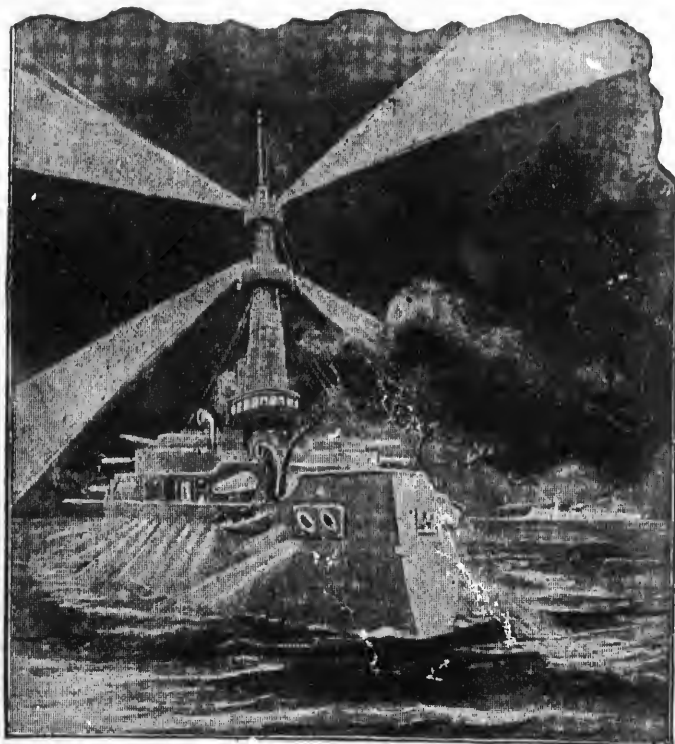
2. **Mr. Edison.**—The inventions claiming to realize the best results in this direction are very numerous and constantly accumulating. Acknowledging, as do all men of science, the practicability of the thing when applied on a large scale, and especially out of doors, the chief importance has seemed to be in application to indoor service. That this was accomplished by Prof. Farmer, in his home in Salem, Mass., in 1859, is abundantly demonstrated. To realize this object conveniently, agreeably, abundantly and inexpensively, many contrivances have been brought for-



The



THOMAS A. EDISON.
The Greatest Inventor of the Age.



Use of Electric Lights on Warships.

ward, foremost among which may be said to be those due to the wonder-working brain of Mr. Edison.

3. **Electric Illumination.**—Already in this country and in Europe the various arrangements of electric illumination which have seemed the most practicable have been put into operation, with the highest degrees of success, and in the case of large enclosures or areas, there appears to be no doubt as to its superiority.

4. **Electric Power.**—The street cars moved by electric power have superior advantages over every other system. Electricity will soon run most of the city elevators and no doubt to a large extent displace the steam engine in the factory. The time is liable to be very near when all the passenger traffic will be transferred to the electric railway and only heavy freight carried upon our present railroads.

The Discovery of the Telephone.

1. **Prof. A. G. Bell.**—We come now to the telephone, the patent for which wonderful device was taken out at Washington, in March, 1876, by Prof. A. G. Bell, affording fresh evidence of the versatility of American inventive genius. Though habitually sensitive to the honor and claims in this direction of its own countrymen, the London *Westminster Review* frankly admits that, of all modern inventions connected with the transmission of telegraphic signals, the telephone has deservedly excited the most widespread interest and astonishment, an instrument which undertakes not only to convey intelligible signals to great distances without the use of a battery, but to transmit in fac-simile the tones of the human voice so that the latter shall as certainly be recognized when heard over a distance of hundreds of miles as if the owner were speaking to a friend at his side in the same room. The telephone—as the tens of thousands now in use show—does all this.

2. **Marvelous Little Apparatus.**—This marvelous little apparatus produces, as already remarked, cheap and instantaneous articulate communication, that is, by direct sound, neither battery nor moving machinery, nor skill being required but merely the voice of ordinary conversation and attentive listening. It conveys the quality of the voice, so that the tone of the person speaking can be recognized at the other end of the line; it enables the manufacturer to talk with his factory superintendent, and the physician with his patient; establishes instantaneous intercourse between the main and the branch office, the home and the store, the country residence and the stable or any part of the grounds, the mouth of the mine and its remotest workings, in fact, between any two points miles apart.





Whitney's Cotton Gin, 1793.

The Cotton Gin.

The Cotton gin is a machine for freeing cotton from its seeds, which adhere to the fibre with considerable tenacity. Originally, the cotton gin was an apparatus in which the cotton was passed between two rollers revolving in opposite directions. This, the "roller gin," is still used for ginning sea-island or black-seeded cotton, which is quite easily freed from its seeds. But green-seeded, upland or short-staple cotton, the species most generally grown, cannot be ginned by such simple means. In 1793 Mr. Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, resident in Georgia, invented the saw gin, consisting of a hopper, one side of which is composed of parallel wires, between which revolve circular saws, the teeth of which drag the fibre through the wires, leaving the seeds behind. This invention, which brought Mr. Whitney small profit and much litigation, has immensely increased the cotton industry of the world. The United States leads the world in inventive genius, and the vast cotton industry, which has so wonderfully cheapened the production of cotton cloth, is largely due to the pluck and perseverance of American skill.

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bicycle made in this country was made of two and resembles the modern bicycle in many par grew from that rude construction of cart wheels e-wheeled cushion tire; then the modern safety s invented. Some modern improvements have and no doubt some will be made.



The First Bicycle. 1816.

ny bicycle is one of the revolutionizing inven- age, and it is in its way destined to accomplish t social results as the electric street railway. exceptional, its use has become common, and common it now bids fair to become well-nigh Where the roads justify, workingmen have appreciate the fact that the wheel relieves them ty of living near the shop. So great is its speed even ten miles is not a prohibitive distance me and work. The young doctor in the lso in the country, where the roads justify,

visits his patients on his wheel. Even the clergyman—again, where the roads justify—combines exercise and business by wheeling his round of parish calls. The wheelmen have taken the lead in demanding good country roads, and the construction of proper roads will remove one of the chief objections to country residence. Well-graded, smooth roads, properly drained and well cared for, are a public interest that demands universal attention. They are a prime factor of civilization. The churches should join in the chorus for highways made broad and smooth, in accordance with numerous Scripture injunctions. Good roads in a rural county mean better schools, better churches, better markets, higher prices for land, and better times every way. When the good roads are secured, the long-distance travel on bicycles will become something very considerable, as it already is in Great Britain. By the way, it is to be hoped that competition may avail very materially to reduce the price of bicycles. If the makers would but reduce their prices by one-half, they would so greatly multiply the army of riders who would clamor for good roads that nothing could resist the demand; and the good roads would in turn so stimulate the demand for bicycles that the manufacturers would make more money than ever.



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JOHN STEPHENSON.

The Story of the First Street Car.

John Stephenson, who has just died at his home in New Rochelle, Westchester county, N. Y., had a career that is another instance of the business capacity, untiring energy and thrifty shrewdness of the people of the Scotch-Irish race. He was brought to this country when he was two years old, and though of foreign birth he was nevertheless in sentiment and training thoroughly American. A sketch of his life would be a history of the American street car—the first one of which he designed and built from the introduction of such carriages to the present time, when they are to be seen in every civilized and modern city of the world. And what is more, the cars actually designed and built by him are now in use wherever street railroads have been adopted.

At seventeen he was taken from school and put in a shop, but before two years had passed his father saw that his mechanical tastes and ingenuity were going to waste behind a counter, and he was taken away and apprenticed to a coachmaker whose shop was in Broome street, where, by the way, the carriage business still flourishes. When his apprenticeship was over, which was more than sixty years ago, he was invited by Abram Brower, who kept a livery stable opposite Bond street, on Broadway, to open a shop next the stables and keep his vehicles in repair. Mr. Brower at that time ran a stage line in Broadway from Bleeker street to Wall street, the fare being one shilling. As a general thing, money went further in those days than it does now, but this did not apply to stage rides.

The stages then were in the old post-coach style, the coaches resting on leather thorough-braces. The seats were crossways of the coach, and the entrances on the sides. At the outset Mr. Stephenson endeavored to improve on this old style, and shortly there appeared from his shop the first vehicle known as an "omnibus." The advantage of this style of stage was soon seen, and they were built as fast as the old coaches needed replacing. So important were these new stages considered that they were named as ships are, and the first three constructed were called Minerva, Mentor, and Forget-me-not. The custom obtained for a long time, and still prevails to some extent in southwestern cities, where the railway companies run omnibus lines for the purpose of gathering up and delivering passengers.

A year after Stephenson's independent career began, his shop and Brower's stable were destroyed by fire, and, being without insurance, his entire capital was wiped out. He soon opened another shop, and in it he built his first street car, in 1832. The New York & Harlem Railroad was chartered in 1831, and the first street-car line was opened in the Bowery in November, 1832. It ran from Prince to Fourteenth street.

The car which Stephenson designed and built was named for the president of the road, John Mason, who was also president of the now rich and famous Chemical Bank. The opening of this road was a great civic event, and the mayor and common council of the city, with the officers of the road, made the first journey over the road, riding in Stephenson's car.

The great success of the first American street car was heralded all over the United States. Orders from the Harlem company for other cars soon followed, and in the same year came orders for the new style of cars from Paterson,

N. J., Brooklyn and Jamaica, L. I., and from the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company (now the Pennsylvania Railroad Company). Orders also came from Tallahassee, Fla., and from Matanzas, Cuba. These first cars were four-wheelers, and all of them were used on railroads except in case of the Harlem company, which were used in the streets. When Ross Winans, of Baltimore, introduced the eight-wheel car Mr. Stephenson's shop in Elizabeth street was too small for the work he had to do, so in 1836 he built a new factory in Harlem, at Fourth avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street. There he did a much enlarged business and built regular railway cars of all styles. His business now rapidly outgrew his capital, and the panic of 1837 found him unprepared to meet his obligations, when his debtors, chiefly railroad companies, could not meet theirs. He was compelled to go into bankruptcy and paid 50 cents on the dollar. His Harlem property was sacrificed and his Harlem railroad stock brought only 18 per cent. of its face value.

As he was only twenty-six years old at the time of this disaster he was not discouraged. By 1843 he had collected enough money to resume business. He bought at that time the site on Twenty-seventh street, near Fourth avenue, where the Stephenson shops are still located. He paid what was then considered a high price, \$400 a lot. These lots are now worth at least \$25,000 each. That is a very handsome advance; or, as Mr. Henry George would say, a considerable "unearned increment." Though excused by law from recognizing the debts which had been compounded, Mr. Stephenson paid them all off as soon as he was able. One of his creditors, Jordan L. Mott, refused to accept payment, saying that the failure was an honest one, and had been legally and morally wiped out by the bankruptcy proceedings. Some time after this refusal Mr. Mott ordered a truck to be made. When it was finished Stephenson delivered it with the bill, endorsed, "Received payment by the bankruptcy debt; John Stephenson." Mr. Mott tried to pay for the truck, but Stephenson firmly refused, so Mr. Mott had the truck draped in gay bunting, and drove it through the streets of New York, with this legend, in large, white letters on both sides of the vehicle: "This is the way an honest bankrupt pays his debts; his name is honest John Stephenson." All of the profits of the new establishment for seven years were needed to pay these debts.

After the Harlem failure, Mr. Stephenson for several years devoted himself entirely to building coaches and omnibuses, and he continued building the latter till they

were entirely superseded in use by street cars. Street car roads were not profitable at first; but in 1852 they became more popular, and many new lines were built. In that year the Second, Third, Sixth, and Eighth avenue horse-car companies were chartered in New York, and Mr. Stephenson received the order to build the cars that were needed. From that time to the present his works have pretty nearly always been run to their full capacity, and his cars were sent all over the world.



Killing Cattle at Armour's

How 5,000 Cattle are Killed and Dressed in a Day.

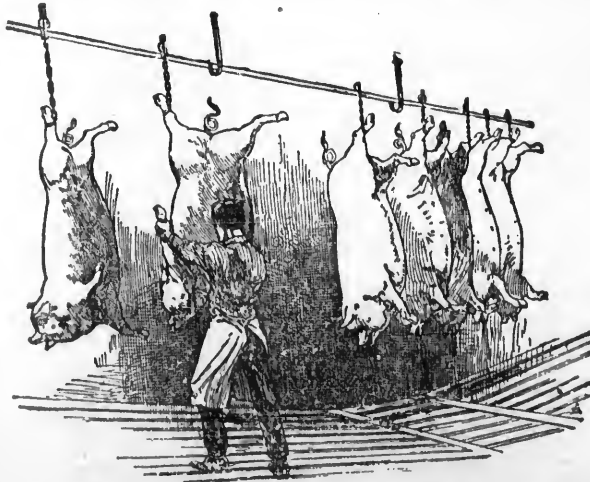
The killing and dressing of beef will prove of much interest to all. Usually the cattle are left in the pens adjoining the beef house twenty-four hours after having been driven from the yards. This insures an even, cool tempera-

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ture. They are then driven into narrow passageways beside the pens, each compartment being only large enough to hold one animal. Over head is a plank whereon walks the grim executioner. The cattle are killed either by shooting or by the stroke of a large hammer; sometimes by means of a heavy spear the spinal column is severed at its junction with the skull. In whatever way administered, death is immediate. Directly opposite the steer, as it falls, is a sliding door which is lifted and the animal is drawn onto the dressing floor by a chain attached to the horns. He is then raised automatically, by his hind quarters and suspended from a rail, and busy hands attack him. The head is cut off and the tongue removed by one man, the feet stripped by the next, the entrails are removed by another, the hide stripped off by one, and a general finishing touch given by another.

The killing and dressing process is over. The steer still hangs suspended from the rails, on which it is now moved past the weighmaster, who records its weight and nature, and then it is slid along on the rail to the chill room. Here the air, by means of cold air machinery, is kept constantly near the freezing point. Here the carcasses are allowed to hang from forty to eighty hours, and then, still suspended from the rails, are run out to the loading platform, divided in fore and hind quarters, carefully inspected and transferred to the refrigerator cars standing ready to receive them, and in them distributed to all parts of the country.



Sticking Hogs at Armour's.

How Hogs are Killed and Dressed at the Rate of 16 a Minute.

Hog-killing and the subsequent treatment of pork products offer a most interesting and, indeed, unique field of observation. It would seem as if this department had been brought to a state of absolute perfection.

The hogs are driven from the yards up elevated roadways into pens adjoining the slaughter house, and after a sufficient delay to permit them to cool off, they are driven into the building 100 or 200 at a time. Running directly over the slaughter basin, where stands the blood-bespattered butcher, are rails with wheel and pivot attachments. Nimble boys deftly pass a chain over one hind leg of each animal. The chain is quickly wound up and the hog lifted completely from the floor. The rail on which the pivot wheel rests is on an inclined plane, and in a moment the hog is brought right in front of the executioner, who with a quick and dextrous stroke administers the death thrust. The blood drains off into a reservoir below, to be afterward dried, pulverized and used for fertilizing.

The hog is then brought over an immense vat of boiling water, into which it is plunged, left there a few moments and then by means of a huge gate, connected by revolving pivots at the sides, swung onto a table. Passing through the center of the table is an endless chain with hooks attached, one of which is fastened into the nose of the hog, and by this means the animal is carried along through the scraping machine.

This machine is made of huge steel blades, mounted on inverted cylinders, and so constructed that contact is easily made with every portion of the body as it passes through. In less than ten seconds the hog, which previously presented an unclean and disheveled appearance, comes forth sleek and clean. The bristles are saved and sold to brush makers; the hair falls into a receptacle on the floor beneath, and is dried, cleaned, and readily sold to curled hair manufacturers. Emerging from the machine the hog is thoroughly washed by a strong stream of water from a hose. The gambels are then cut, and by them the hog is once more suspended from the rail.

A sharp knife in a dextrous hand disembowels him. The head is severed almost entirely from the body, the intestines are carefully separated, the leaf lard is removed at the next table, and the head is entirely taken off at the next. The tongue is removed, the cheeks are singed, and

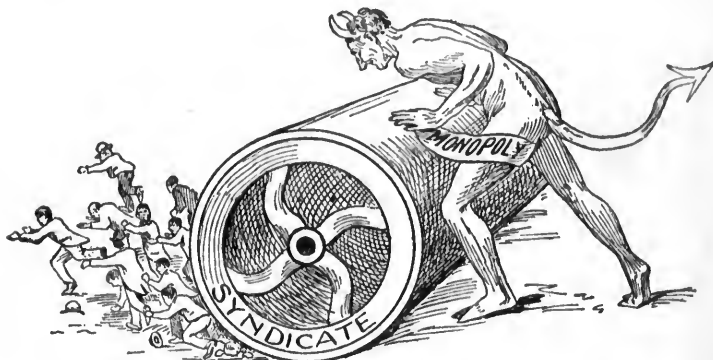
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The Old Style.

Mr. hog, minus his head, glides gracefully down the inclined plane to the hanging floor. The sanguinary nature of the operation is lost sight of in the mechanical and speedy way in which it is performed. Sixteen hogs a minute are operated upon, so that little time is left for reflection.

To the hanging floor, where the hogs are suspended in rows to cool and become firm, the descent is easy and rapid. Here the sides are severed, each still suspended from the rail, and are pushed down parallel alleyways and there left to cool. Here they are generally allowed to remain twenty-four hours. An even temperature is maintained in the cooling room all the year round. In summer vast stores of ice overhead contribute to that end. From the cooling room the sides are run on the rails to the cutting table.



The Effects of Monopoly.

Shall the Government Own the Railroads?

1. This question is considerably agitated and various opinions are held, and there are many strong points on both sides.

2. **Agitation for Government Ownership.**—The agitation for government ownership for railroads has always been, in this country, more active and general. The demand has recently been repeatedly made by the national state conventions of the Populist party. There are now representing that party in Congress thirteen senators and representatives. There are many people also outside of this organization that would like to see the government own and control all the railroads of the country.

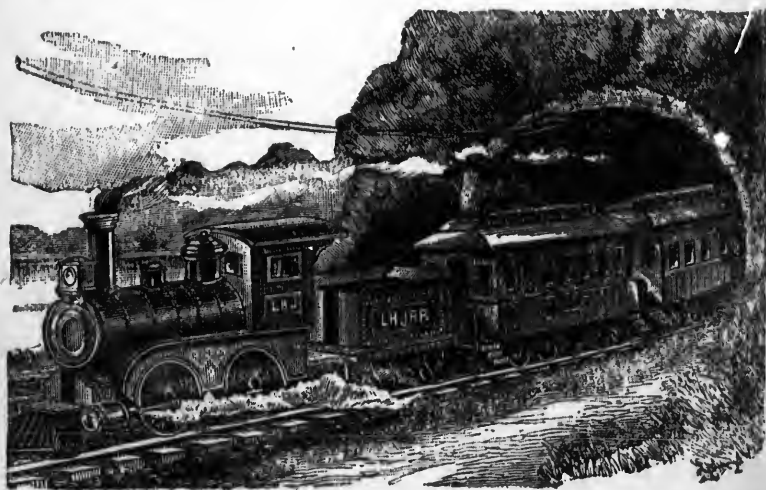
3. **A Surprising Fact.**—It is a surprising fact that in most countries of the world that states own and operate their own railroads. Great Britain, United States and Spain, Switzerland and Turkey are the only countries where railroads are not owned and operated by the government. Railroads in all the other countries are owned, controlled and operated by the government. In countries where the government owns the railroads, it is claimed they have not as good accommodations for the public as where they are owned by private corporations, as government ownership destroys all competition. In answer to this we say that our mail system is the best in the world, and it is entirely beyond competition, as it is exclusively a government enterprise.



**The Old Stage Coach that Ran from Boston to New York
in Washington's Time.**

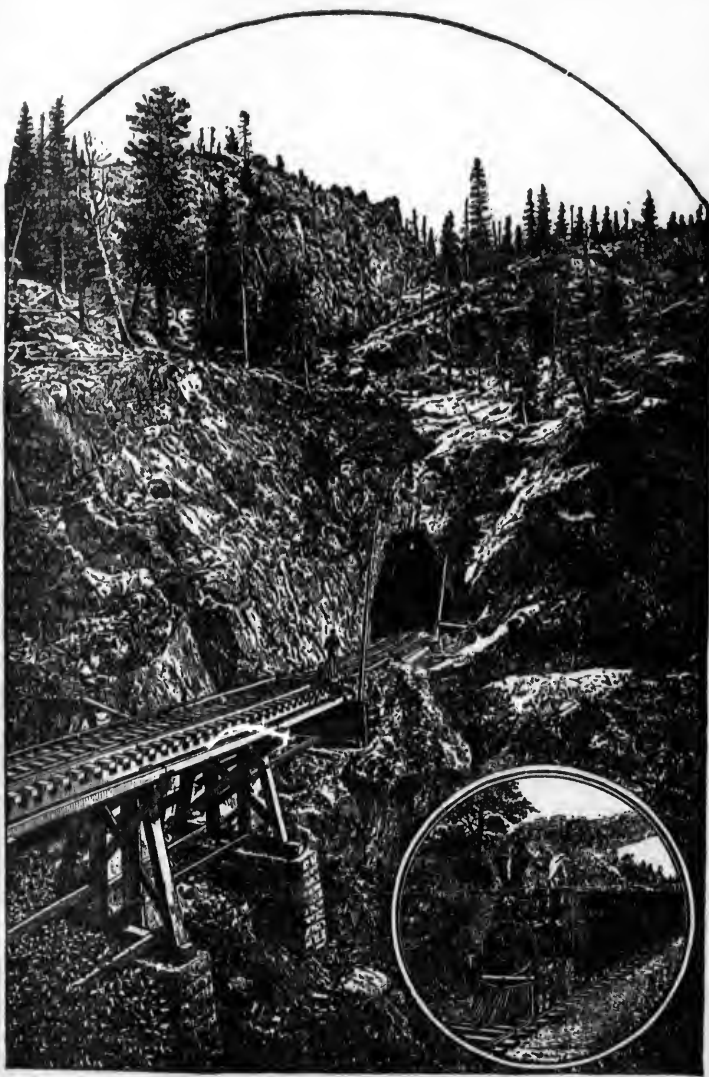
4. **Private Enterprises.**—It is admitted on all hands that railroads are not purely private enterprises. The companies which own them have received valuable privileges from the public—the right to buy land whether the owner did or did not wish to sell, the right to cross highways, and a certain monopoly of the public travel. States, counties and cities have burdened themselves with debt in order to provide themselves with railroad communication.

5. **Great Britain.**—Great Britain differs from its own colonies in this regard, for in nearly all of the British dependencies the governments own the railways. But no country—not even in England and the United States, where the railroads are freest from public control—is the principle fully admitted that the government may decide what is for the interest of the public, and may require the railroad corporations to conform thereto.



The Great Tunnel.

6. **How Much Control?**—Since, then, government may, must and does assume some control of the railways, the only question left is, How much control? When our legislators come to answer this question they are confronted with the fact that they cannot, if they would, do what the lawmakers of France or Germany do.



MONUMENTS OF AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.

7. Confusion to Our Home Commerce.—It is agreed that only confusion would result to our home commerce from the ownership of the railroads by the separate states. Has Congress power to buy them up? If it has the power could the government safely assume the cost of purchasing them? They were capitalized at the latest estimate at over ten billions of dollars.

8. Individual Enterprise.—It is urged by the advocates of private ownership that this system not only is the sole system that is adapted to our political and social principles, which leave individual enterprise as free as possible from government control, but that it has, both in the United States and England, resulted in a more convenient, ample, cheap and expeditious service of the public than is usual in countries where railroads are owned or operated by the state.

9. Competition.—They urge that those who have to compete for the business of the people will, from self-interest, do all they can to serve the people well, and they maintain that pooling arrangement and trusts which might neutralize this competition are already prevented by legislation, even to the extent of making their business unprofitable. They also urge the great political danger of adding the vast army of railway employes, who numbered eight hundred and seventy-three thousand in 1893, to the civil service of the government.

These are the two sides of the question. It is a very large question, incapable of settlement in any brief or summary way; it involves a great number of practical and commercial considerations, as well as considerations of government and statesmanship.

Right of Government to Control Railways.

1. The Constitution.—When the Constitution gave to Congress the exclusive power of regulating commerce between the states, the stage-coach, the road-wagon and water-craft were the only vehicles used in carrying on traffic between the citizens of one state and those of another.

2. First Assertion of Authority.—Many years after railways had replaced the stage-coach the government began its first assertion of authority over these steam high-

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ways. That assumption of authority was made necessary by the wide development of the railway postal service, and also by the use of some of the railways as military highways. These were roads which had received land grants and other government aid.

3. **Examples of the Extension of the Power.**—Our national history is full of examples of the extension of the power of the general government in ways which the framers of the Constitution could not have foreseen. Robert Fulton's assumption of the monopoly of the Hudson river for his steamboats was followed by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, giving to the government exclusive control of all navigable waters. Thus it was that our great rivers and lakes became free water highways, subject only to the laws of the United States.

4. **Discriminating Taxes.**—The refusal of a commercial traveler to pay a license demanded by the authorities of one of the southern cities brought forth after long litigation, an opinion from the Supreme Court which put an end to all attempts by the citizens of one state to make discriminating taxes against those of another state.

5. **Authority Enlarged.**—In many other cases decided by the Supreme Court the authority of the nation has been seemingly enlarged, although the judges have frequently asserted that there is no power in the courts to enlarge the powers of the government. The Supreme Court can only determine with precision those powers.

6. **Pullman Strike.**—It is under decisions of the United States judges that the government in the Pullman strike asserted its authority to call out Federal troops thereby to prevent interruptions to the commerce between the states, which is carried on mainly by the railway companies.

7. **Powers of the Constitution.**—Of course the powers of the Constitution could have had no specific purpose of giving the government such authority, since the first steam railway was not operated in the United States until nearly forty years after the Constitution was adopted. But the authority is a necessary one for the supreme government to exercise in the interest of the people, and it is inferred logically from the language of the Constitution.

8. **Right to Control Railways.**—The assertion of a right to control railways, which was the justification of the Interstate Commerce act, carries with it the idea that such lines of communication are essential to the public convenience, and, therefore, implies a duty to protect the roads themselves, if not the corporations which own them.

9. **Treason.**—Hence, the intimation by the President is well sustained, that those who so obstruct railways as to paralyze commerce between the states, are public enemies. And the short name of the offense of citizens who become public enemies is treason.

10. **Civil Service.**—The central authority now has control over more than 100,000 employes in the civil service. To increase that number by adding nearly a million servants might correct evils in railway management at the expense of the government itself. Moreover, if the government took charge of the railways it would hereby be compelled to bring the telegraph and express service under its control. That is a consummation which some men earnestly desire, but it is also one to which many far-seeing men look forward with sincere and deep solicitude.

The Origin of Political Parties in America.

1. **The Bitterness of Party Spirit.**—The bitterness of party spirit is never to be excused or defended, much less commended, yet the existence of parties seems unavoidable in the conditions of our people, and should not be regarded as necessarily an evil. They promote watchfulness on the part of the people, and render it next to impossible for those in power to betray their trust or to cherish abuses that imperil the nation.

2. **The Political Parties of the Colonial Period** were transplants from the mother country, with issues allied to those which represented the divisions of public sentiment on the other side of the ocean. The Tory was the loyalist party in England, which supported the prerogatives of the Crown, and defended its exactions and tyrannies, often at the hazard of the liberties and prosperity of the people.

3. **The Liberalists** of that day, both in England and in the colonies, were known as Whigs. They stood for the rights of the people, under constitutional government, against the aggressions of the Crown. In the estimation of the Tory, the people exist for the government; but in the estimation of the Whig, the government exists for the people.

4. **The Revolution.**—During the period of the Revolution the words Tory and Whig fitly expressed the sentiments of the parties in their relation to the mighty struggle;

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WALL STREET, NEW YORK—THE MEN WHO RULE AMERICA.

but, after independence, the word "Tory" became too obnoxious to loyal Americans ever to be used in this country as the name of a political party. The word "Whig" never incurred odium of any sort, but it lost much of its significance in the new conditions which followed the war, particularly under the Articles of Confederation.

5. The Federalist Party.—Those who favored the making of a constitution and secured its adoption, believing in a strong Federal government, were designated Federalists, while those who opposed it in the interest of larger powers for the states were called Republicans. These were the parties under the Constitution. The Federalists elected the first President, George Washington, and set the new government in operation. They interpreted the grants of power made in the Constitution quite liberally, assuming that the purpose of that instrument was to constitute the United States an independent sovereignty.

6. The Opposition Grew.—The Federalist party, after incorporating its essential principles in the government, and electing Washington twice and John Adams once, would seem to have had prestige and power enough to maintain itself and conquer opposition; but the opposition grew in intensity and virulence, and the party in power fell under odium through the unwise action of some of its adherents who, in its name, sought for enlargements of power not in the Constitution and never contemplated by the real founders of the government.

7. Democratic-Republican Party.—In the meantime the opposition, then known as the Democratic-Republican party, had acquiesced in the adoption of the Constitution, accepted its provisions, increased in public favor and gathered strength to gain control of the government by the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency. By this time the original issues between the parties had passed away, and new questions had arisen, so that "Federalist" and "Republican" had come to mean something widely different from the ideas which were attached to them in the earlier history of the parties.

8. The Party of Jefferson and Madison.—The party of Jefferson and Madison, the first competitor of the party which elected Washington and Adams, became the party of the government upon the accession of Mr. Jefferson, and, in the broadest sense, the National party, the events preceding and causing the war of 1812 contributing largely to the expansion of its principles, as well as to its triumph, in the complete overthrow of the Federalist party.

9. **Re-Elected Without Opposition.**—The people who supported Jefferson and Madison approved the enlargement of their ideas, carried the war to a successful issue, and elected Mr. Monroe to the presidency, leaving the remnant of the Federalist party scattered and powerless. Under Monroe's first administration the old issues became obsolete, and party organizations ceased to exist. He was re-elected substantially without opposition. In the fullest sense he was the President of the people. When his second term expired there were no organized parties to put candidates in the field, after the modern methods. The old Federalist party was dead; the old Republican party had outgrown itself as a party, had expanded its creed, possessed the government and lost identity as a party in successful administration. No existing political party can possibly antedate this epoch in our national history—an epoch distinguished in our political annals as the era of peace and good-will.

10. **The Democratic Party.**—Such was the creed of the Democratic party when it first became a party. That creed, like all creeds, was a growth. It never sprang matured from any man's brain. Its germinal ideas accorded with the principles which guided Mr. Jefferson's administration after his practical statesmanship had lifted him above the vagaries of his earlier years, and made his conduct of the government wise and vigorous. The real seed-thoughts of the party, however, were found in the administration of Andrew Jackson, or rather in the discussions excited by his acts while in office. The doctrines promulgated by his followers, which were afterward formulated into a creed for the party, were not made prominent in connection with pending questions, so as to be effective in his first election.

11. **No Political Organizations.**—When Mr. Monroe's successor was to be chosen there were no political organizations to nominate candidates. In this condition of affairs what might have been anticipated came to pass. Several statesmen of high character were brought forward by their personal friends as worthy to receive the electoral votes of the states. Adams, Jackson, Clay, Crawford and White became candidates, although the last two were scarcely recognized as such outside of their own states. The first three were the real competitors. They were all friends of the administration; their following was not partisan, but personal. The electoral votes were so divided that no choice was made and the election was carried into the House of Representatives. Jackson had the largest number of votes, but not enough to elect him.

12. John Quincy Adams.—The friends of Adams and Clay united their forces and gave the election to Adams, and Adams made Clay his secretary of state. This transaction had the appearance of barter and gave great offense to the followers of Jackson, who raised the cry of bargain and sale, and lost no time in determining to oppose the administration thus inaugurated. They rallied to the support of their chief, determined to elect him at the end of four years, a purpose they pursued with tireless energy till it was accomplished. This organized opposition to John Quincy Adams, in the interest of Andrew Jackson, was known as the Jackson party. The supporters of Adams were known as the Administration party.

13. The Whig Party.—It was inevitable that political parties so distinctly marked and openly struggling for success, should have distinguishing names. These were soon found. The Jackson party took the name Democrat, and became the Democratic party. As an organization it remains till this day. The other party took to itself the honored name of the party of the Revolutionary patriots, and became the Whig party. Adams was its candidate for reelection, but failed; Jackson was elected. He was the first Democratic President, using the term in its modern sense.

14. The Fate of the Whig Party.—The fate of the Whig party, coming as it did through complications with the slavery question, affords lessons of profound significance. As a party it comprised a large share of the intelligence and talent of the country. Its principles commanded the approval of the most gifted of the nation. Its methods were open and honorable; and, so far forth has it affected the legislation of the country, its influence was beneficial. A more patriotic party never sought the favor of the American people; yet its success was limited, as it never enjoyed the privilege of an unbroken administration of the government. It elected two Presidents, and both died in office. Its first President, General Harrison, died in a month after his inauguration, before his policy could be developed, and the Vice-President, on whom the duties of the presidency devolved, proved untrue to the party which elected him, and defeated the measures on which the hearts of the people were set.

15. The Abolition Party.—The downfall of the Whig party dates from its defeat in 1852. The influence of the "Third party" was something, but not a powerful factor in its overthrow. The assumption that it was a chief agency is not supported by the facts. In 1840 and in 1844 the abolition party cast an inconsiderable vote, which did not

amount to a disturbing element in the elections of those years. In 1848 the "Free-Soil" party was in the field with a broader platform and with a greater element of strength.

16. **Large Free-Soil Vote.**—The nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs alienated the Quakers and some other anti-slavery people from the Whig party; while the nomination of Lewis Cass by the Democrats offended many in that party, particularly in the state of New York, and prepared the way for the large Free-Soil vote cast that year—the largest ever cast. Martin Van Buren belted the nomination of Cass, and he and his special adherents expressed sympathy with Free-Soilism, probably as much to defeat his old competitor, General Cass, as to advance the cause of freedom. He was nominated by the Free-Soil party and accepted. His candidacy drew from the Democrats about as many votes as were drawn from the Whigs, and aided not in the destruction of the Whig party, but in the election of General Taylor. The Free-Soil vote of 1852 was much less than in 1848.

17. **The Know-Nothing Party.**—Then came the Know-Nothing furor, which swept the country like a tornado, disrupting party lines as nothing had ever done before. It was not a third party, but a movement of extraordinary character, forming an anomalous chapter in the history of American politics. The Whig party was already out of the field, and never again confronted its old competitor.

18. **The Republican Party.**—The Democratic party, though badly shattered, being in power, managed to survive as a party. Out of the debris came the Republican party, organized and drilled, ready for the fray, in 1856. Into it came the anti-slavery elements of all the old parties, including all the voters of the Free-Soil party, who were in it from principle. Pro-slavery Whigs went over to the Democrats. Thus after the culmination of the slave power, and after the sifting of the Know-Nothing storm, the lines of the parties were finally drawn upon the issues thrust upon the country by the aggressions of slavery. The practical question demanding settlement was the extension of slavery into the territories. The Republican party squarely accepted this issue; but, anti-slavery as it was, it proposed no interference with the institution in the states where it existed.

19. **Lincoln and Johnson.**—Looking backward from the present, the discovery that the Republican party has made mistakes is no evidence of superior discernment. It did not develop its own scheme of reconstruction. The death of Mr. Lincoln was followed by embarrassments through the defection of Andrew Johnson, that crippled its opera-

tions and forced contentment with half-way measures. With his unquestioned loyalty to the Union, Mr. Johnson was at heart a Democrat, and in the crisis of reconstruction his Democratic instincts asserted themselves, throwing into confusion the counsels of those who had given him power. In debate he was the peer of the strongest men of his times, and having the courage of his convictions his exercise of the veto power was prompt and vigorous. With less of kindness toward the south than Mr. Lincoln possessed, his sense of obligation to the whole country and to the future was dull in comparison with that which characterized his predecessor, the illustrious martyr. In these circumstances it was impossible for the party to carry into effect any measure that encountered his prejudices. Compromise in reconstruction was therefore inevitable.

20. **The Stamp of its Power.**—Nevertheless the Republican party has been a success and as such it will pass into history whether it shall ever elect another President or not. Its fundamental principles inherited from the Whig party, and those developed in the fires of its conflicts, have been wrought into the fabric of the government, so that no party will attempt their elimination. The stamp of its power is in the Constitution, in the established rights of suffrage, in the national currency, and in everything to the maintenance of the national honor at home and abroad.

21. **Other Parties.**—There have been other parties which have figured more or less in the political field. The Anti-Masonic party has had an ephemeral existence, but never reached the dignity of a national party, and exerted only an incidental influence in public affairs. The same is true of the Abolition and Free-Soil parties, previously named. There was an American party, the product of Know-Nothingism, which lingered for a while after the storm, and contributed to the confusion that reigned in political circles during the interval between the going down of the Whig party and the development of the Republican party. There was a "Union" party in the field prior to the war, known as the Bell-Everett party, from the names of the candidates; but it was only a temporary expedient, a sort of post-mortem wriggle of defunct Whigism, where the Republican movement was unable to obtain recognition. The Prohibition party came into the field at a later date, and exhibited greater persistency than some of the other "third parties," having under it a noble sentiment, and in it men of moral worth and philanthropic aim; but even this party never had the ghost of a prospect of reaching the goal of its ambition, and never made any direct contribution toward the destruction

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of political evils. Most of these "third parties" resulted from some sporadic outburst of moral sentiment, and all failed through lack of rooting in distinct constitutional principle. Some of them have served an admirable purpose in furnishing occupation for disgruntled politicians; some, as counter-irritants, drawing inflammation from the vitals of the other parties, and others in affording a stage on which amateur politicians might play at election campaigning.

22. People's Party.—The last experiment in this line, the so-called People's party, has puzzled and bewildered many astute manipulators of public sentiment, yet inspiring a high degree of hopefulness with regard to beneficial results.

The practical lesson deducible from this summary of political history is that there is no foundation for a political party to stand upon that is either broad enough or strong enough to give the slightest hope of achieving success in controlling the affairs of the nation, except some principle of construing the Constitution of the United States, which is sufficiently far-reaching to touch every department of the government and to determine the character and genius of our institutions.

Party Government.

1. The Purchased Vote.—Elections go by extremes; first one way and then the other. It is thus seen that a large proportion of the voting population is easily changed. In every national election thousands and millions of dollars are expended directly and indirectly in the purchase of votes. Large sums of money pass over the bars of the saloon at every election, left there by candidates or their friends, for this unrighteous purpose, and hence men are too often entrusted with an office because of their influence over the low and vicious classes rather than on account of their fitness and qualifications.

2. The Most Important Functions.—Among the most important functions of these organizations are the selection of candidates and the adoption of a platform or declaration of principles. These responsible duties are intrusted to conventions, composed of delegates chosen for the purpose at the party elections, known as the primaries.

3. Divisions.—Those who have so far conformed to the rules of a party as to be entitled to vote at its primaries may be divided into two classes, as follows: 1. Citizens who

have no special advantages to gain, and whose only motive for participation is their desire for good government. 2. Those who are actuated by personal ambition or hopes of securing office, contracts, or pecuniary benefits.

4. **Time and Labor.**—In order to carry the primaries a considerable amount of time and labor must necessarily be expended. The voters must communicate with each other; views must be compared and harmonized; candidates suggested, interviewed and agreed upon; tickets prepared and supplied, and concert of action secured.

5. **Trickery and Fraud.**—But the majority of citizens, engrossed as they are with private business and family cares, have neither time nor inclination for such tasks. And when their reluctance is overcome, as it occasionally is by their sense of public duty, they are likely to find that their opponents have no hesitation in resorting to misrepresentation, trickery, or fraud, in order to control the result. Under these circumstances a small but well-disciplined, energetic and unscrupulous minority can generally defeat the honorable and patriotic majority. It is therefore not surprising that honest and industrious citizens are apt to conclude that it is useless for them to take part in such contests.

6. **Party Leaders.**—Public offices, contracts and patronage are what they work for and what they must have, by fair means if possible, but if not, then by whatever means may be necessary. For this purpose they are obliged to combine among themselves and to submit to such leaders as may seem best able to direct their efforts and to secure and apportion among them the prizes they covet. Having once acquired complete control of a nominating convention, their natural desire is, of course, to nominate such candidates as will best serve their own personal interests, and in the absence of factional fights among themselves, the only real check upon this desire is their fear of losing enough of the more independent votes to turn the scale in the general elections.

7. **Candidates.**—This conflict between what they would like to do and what they dare to do, usually results in their nominating such men as have no more honesty and independence than may seem to be absolutely necessary for ultimate success. And if they can secure candidates who are generally believed to be able and honorable, but who will really obey and assist the spoilsmen, the temptation to nominate them, and thus deceive and outwit the people, can hardly be resisted.

8. **Party Platform.**—In the construction of a party platform the leaders are naturally governed by similar motives,

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Filling the Party Orator with Political Wind.

and, instead of publishing a frank statement of their real objects and intentions, they are disposed to adopt whatever may seem most likely to attract the voters. In their effort to do this they seek to treat almost every subject of public interest, but there are necessarily some points in regard to which even the members of their own party are divided, and it is one of the defects of party government that while many voters find sentiments which they disapprove in each platform, they can see no alternative but to cast their ballots for one or the other and thus seem to endorse and support ideas to which they are really opposed.

9. Vote for the Best Men.—It would appear, therefore, that our system of political parties must necessarily tend to place the selection of our candidates and the declaration of our principles in the hands of a small minority of comparatively selfish and unscrupulous men. It is therefore evident that in order to secure good laws and preserve our free institutions we must vote for the best men, regardless of party.

10. Candidate Belongs to a Party.—Under such a system, if a candidate belongs to a party which happens to be on the most popular side of some leading question, like the tariff or silver coinage, his lack of integrity or personal ability must be very glaring to prevent his election. And when he takes his seat in a legislative body, and it becomes his duty to make a careful study of some important question, to sift the evidence and reach a wise and just conclusion, he, who should be like an impartial judge or an unprejudiced jurymen, may find that he is only the bond-servant of the leaders of his party, a mere automaton for the registering of their decrees.

11. The Remedy.—The business and industrious classes will have to take more of an active part in the elections. The farmer must leave his farm for a few hours and the business man his store or office and meet in the primaries and caucuses and defeat the wardheelers and unprincipled politicians who are always on hand to advance the interests of some unworthy candidate. The time has come when men must take an interest in the government under which they live and to which they must look for liberty and prosperity; and the time must come when men must not vote for party, but for the best men; men who are honest and will fearlessly do their duty regardless of the party influences. A public officer must work for the interest of the people at large, and not solely for the party which placed him in power. The President of the United States, to be a good executive of the nation, must be a President of the United

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States in fact and not simply a president of the party which placed him in office—and the same principle should apply to every executive or legislative office in the gift of the people.

12. **The National Parties.**—The national parties as Macy in his Civil Government says, are the agencies which render it possible for millions of people to choose their rulers and express themselves on national questions. They are thoroughly organized. Each party has a national committee, a committee in each state, one in each county and often one in each township. They hold caucuses, primaries, and conventions; select candidates for office; formulate political doctrines; hold meetings, persuade voters and in various ways strive to secure a majority of the votes.

13. **Two Parties Only.**—It is desirable that the parties be only two in number. They are artificial agencies for obtaining majorities; and if there are more than two of them, this becomes more difficult. A third party may be organized for the purpose of advocating certain opinions, and of influencing the regular parties to adopt those opinions; but as soon as one of the parties may be induced to adopt the opinions of the third party, the latter should disband. If a third party attempts to keep up a separate organization after it loses its distinctive principles, it becomes a source of confusion and corruption to the voters.

14. **The Third Party.**—A third party may be organized for the purpose of displacing one of the old parties. Such a plan is almost sure to fail. We have in our history one notable instance: the Republican party displaced the Whig party; but the circumstances were peculiar. It would be a great waste of political energy to disband all the counties of the state, and then organize new counties in their place. It is likewise a waste of political energy to disband an old party and organize a new party to take its place. There must be peculiar circumstances to justify such a waste. It is not an easy task to make seventy millions of people acquainted with a new organization.





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Our National Dangers.

1. **Our Greatness.**—Our flag floats over a land that is more beautiful than any other. Behold her rivers, placid and turbulent, threading the prairies of the West. What other land has a city like Chicago, a thousand miles inland, with wharves where ships from all parts of the earth may e.

2. **Scenery.**—A ship starting from New Orleans and going up the Mississippi and through her tributaries will sail more miles, and go through a greater variety of scenery, with more that is truly beautiful, than is found in a voyage around the globe.

3. **Grand Western World.**—Fly over this grand western world and look on acres in rolling splendor, voiced with vegetation that blooms and blossoms like the rose.

Then turn to your mountain peaks where eternal snows crown their slopes and ice jewels their brows, and Switzerland will grow insipid and small. She might sit in all her Alpine splendor in the lap of Pennsylvania as a toy for her children. Then through your valley hasten east over mighty lakes to see the granite hills and mountains, scattered by an Omnipotent hand to beautify the landscape and for the use of man. This flag is the emblem of freedom. We are a free people, and no intelligent man lives among us who will attempt to defend a system of slavery of any kind.

4. **Equality.**—Once enrolled as a citizen of this country, we may go forth hoping to win any position in the gift of the nation with ten thousand agencies awaiting our coming, which offer their unsought counsel and energy to urge us on our way. With us success is privileged. The humblest child from the most obscure home under the flag of our Union has an equal right to that patronage which should make him great among men. Of us Lord Bacon spoke when he said: "It remaineth for God and angels to be lookers on." For in an American race every man has a right to lead and a chance to rule. Birth and age are ruled out. Votes bring in.

5. **A Land of Industry.**—This is emphatically a land of industry. Without work we cannot succeed. It matters not so much what a man does, so long as it be legitimate employment, and is well done. Here this lesson is taught as under no other form of government.

If the principles of the fathers be maintained, and the loyalty of the sons continue, the old flag is yet to float over wealth, honor and beauty such as history has never known.

6. Dangers.—What are the dangers that threaten the American republic most?

I should place as chief among the foes that of wealth. It requires no great study of history to see that abundance leads to luxury and extravagance, and that extravagance begets recklessness, idleness and vice. It was so with Greece and Rome. In the days of Marcus Aurelius, Rome became very wealthy and increased in riches until any governor could make himself rich in a year; but they spent their money in a way that led to vice, until the kingdom became corrupt and died of its own shame.

Our wealth is becoming so great as to attract the attention of the whole world. Our gold and silver mines produce \$100,000,000 annually; other mines and factories, \$500,000,000, while our railroads add \$250,000,000, and the agricultural interest more than \$7,256,000,000.

7. Every Sunrise Adds \$25,000,000 to Our Wealth.—Every sunrise adds \$25,000,000 to our wealth as a nation, and men who love money are hastening to our shores, where the opportunity for wealth exists.

It is said on good authority that we have wealth in our soil this side of Alaska, sufficient to feed 900,000,000 people and then export 5,000,000,000 bushels of grain annually.

8. America Holds the Future.—These facts are truly wonderful. Our property is valued at more than \$50,000,000,000, more than enough to buy the Russian or the Turkish empire, and the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, Denmark and Italy, together with Australia. Great Britain is by far the richest nation of the Old World, and yet our wealth exceeds hers by over \$5,000,000,000. This is found in material the quantity of which may be multiplied by hundreds of millions. Well may Mr. Gladstone say: "The United States will probably become the head servant and the great household of the world the employer of the employed, because her servants will be the most and ablest."

9. Our Second Great Danger.—Our second great danger is that of indifference to the claims of the government. As a general proposition, every man claiming home and protection in a republic should become familiar with the laws and institutions of his home and identify himself with their supporters. Suffrage to-day means more than it ever did before. The elements to be controlled and the influences to be directed were never so potent as to-day and yet this is no longer a government for the people or run by the people, but for the few to be run by the few, and in this is danger. Too many stay away from the polls, caucuses and conventions, and we are too largely guided by the thoughts

of a few leaders. These stay-away men are the curse of the land. They are not foreigners, but Americans, who complain that their convictions are not fairly represented or expressed: In 1880 the entire foreign vote was 1,200,000, while the registered voters who failed to appear at the poll numbered 4,000,000. Where were these men to be found? Eighty thousand of them in old Ohio, sons of the Buckeye state; 280,000 in New York; 195,000 in Pennsylvania. What an army of men to fail in time of duty, and the failure to appear in the preliminary caucuses is still worse. In New York City in 1885 there were 260,000 voters, only 25,000 of whom appeared in the preliminary caucuses, leaving 235,000 men who failed to appear in the hour of New York's emergency.

10. There is Still Hope for the Republic.—There is still hope for the republic; though evils exist, they are soon crushed. Anarchists are hanged, boodlers imprisoned, and our murderers though their deeds be perpetrated in high-sounding institutions, must flee or swing. The safeguards of the nation are to be strengthened by perpetuating our institutions.

That of our homes, which measure the nation's strength more largely than any other; they are institutions of learning out of which come the nation's guards. To-day we have the largest standing army on the face of the earth, because the work is done in the homes. I do not mean the regular army; I mean the standing army made up of 70,000,000 people, ready at a moment's call to spring into line for the nation's defence.

11. Destroy the Seeds of Socialism.—If you would destroy the seeds of socialism and anarchy, encourage the home-building associations of this country. For when a man has a home and owns his house, he is no longer a socialist or an anarchist. He believes in protection and law because he wants to be protected. Philadelphia, through the Home Building Associations, has helped 50,000 men to own their homes. What is the result? They have neither strikes nor boycotting.

"Man has many a passage through which he loves
to roam,

But the middle aisle is sacred to the old, old home."

12. Our Schools.—Let us see to it that our schools are well provided for. We must not simply look after the illiteracy of our country. Our public school system, guarded and protected, will remove all illiteracy, and

destroy the possibility of breeding hoodlums. I hope the day will soon come when every school shall be not only a hall of learning, but a center of patriotism, in which every boy and girl shall be so fully imbued with love of country as to become a true defender of the Constitution of the United States of America, cheerfully obedient to the laws of the land, encouraging purity and honor in public affairs, and loyally defending the flag. Then the 198,000 rooms into which are gathered daily more than 18,000,000 boys and girls, will become centers of power, forbidding the possibility of insurrection or rebellion.

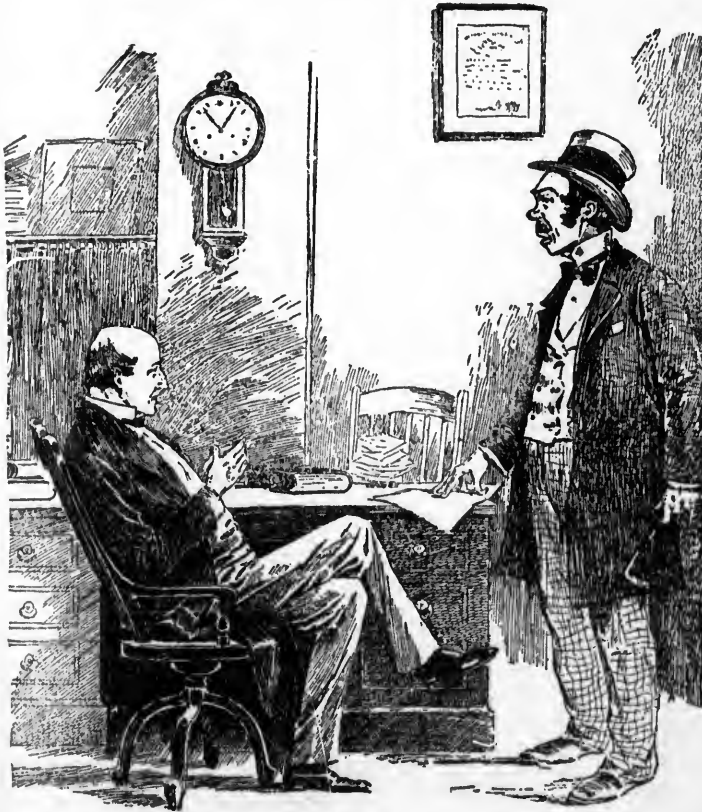
13. The Twentieth Century.—The camp-smoke of the pioneer flees before the burning rays of intelligence; dogmas no longer clog the feet of the racer, and the imaginary line no longer binds the thought of man. Then shall be builded a temple, whose dome shall shade the seas, into which shall be brought the achievements of art, science and religion. The twentieth century will develop the glories of a wonderful age of success and thrift, and genius of invention in the past century no doubt will be doubled in the next; and he who lives one hundred years hence will see the most wonderful age of human history. Let every young man gird on the armor of industry and help make the world better in the century to come.

The Spoils System in American Politics.

The election of officers are secured by the united action of the voters—not all the voters. Hence the persons elected ordinarily feel indebted to certain active men of the community and if they do not do all in their power as a public officer to reward their supporters, they are looked upon as ungrateful. Thus has grown up a system of vassalage, or a feudal tenure of office. In this way, after parties have come into power, their ability to dispose of patronage acts as a cement to keep the party together.

1. Loaves and Fishes.—As soon as a party succeeds in electing its candidate to office there are plenty within its ranks to look about for loaves and fishes. And the more power the officer has to distribute good things by creating or filling vacancies in minor offices, the more he is besieged and the more likely he is to serve his party rather than the

people in the administration of his office. The result of the spoils system is that many elections, involving no policy of government except the honesty and ability of the candidates, degenerate into desperate struggles between members of two parties for a means of livelihood. In any consideration of the spoils system it is important to examine its cloak.



The Ward Heeier Demanding a Contribution for Political Purposes.

2. **The Curse of National Politics.**—How absurd it is to drag national politics into local elections; to elect a mayor because he favors tariff reform or to defeat a candidate for

constable because he thinks the national government should enter upon the free coinage of silver. Such a practice cannot be excused except from a party standpoint. For it I can see but two motives: first, the securing of office and patronage as spoils and, second, the holding of voters together so that they can be relied upon when national issues do arise.

In this way many a person who would be the choice of the people to perform the duties of an office has been defeated, much to the detriment of the public service. The existence of these facts indicates a weakness in our election machinery which should not be overlooked by the voters of this free land of ours.

3. Old Style of Voting.—Originally, as you all know, the ballot was a ball, a shell or other symbol by which the voter indicated whether he was in favor of or against a particular proposition. That old style of voting is still popular and serviceable in clubs and societies for speedy action on simple questions. After the invention of printing came the printed paper ballot in various forms, until what is probably the most perfect form of ballot yet devised has made its appearance—the blanket ballot of the Australian system. There the names of all the candidates for a given office are arranged alphabetically on a single ballot, and the voter is allowed to mark the name of the person for whom he votes.



The Politicians Fixing up a Ticket.

4. Bribery and Corruption.—By the use of the Australian system of voting, the danger of bribery and corruption in elections has been overcome to a considerable extent. The secrecy enforced in voting is the point of safety.

By that simple device the would-be purchaser of a vote is deprived of the means of absolute certainty that the vender of a vote voted according to contract. But, notwithstanding the secrecy incident to voting, practical politicians assert that many votes are still bought. Probably the instruments now most conducive to the purchase and sale of votes are the separate party ballots and the paster ballot. But as these are already in much disfavor, it is to be hoped they will soon disappear.

5. Trading Votes.—"If you will vote my ticket for mayor, I will vote your ticket for governor." How often is such a proposition made and accepted between voters of good standing in the community, but of opposite politics! Such a transaction does not come within the statute relating to bribery; but I do not believe it can be defended from an ethical point of view. If as is generally conceded, the state can rightfully claim that it is the duty of citizens to vote, it necessarily follows that each voter is under obligations to pass upon each matter according to his best judgment. What would be thought of a judge if he should announce that he would decide a certain case upon the merits of some other? If judges cannot properly trade decisions, voters should not trade votes.

6. Parties as They are Managed.—Parties go on continuing because their members have formed a habit of joint action, and have contracted hatred and prejudices and also because the leaders find it to their advantage in using these habits and playing upon these prejudices. The American parties continue to exist because they have existed. The mill has been constructed and the machinery goes on turning, even where there is no grist to grind. But this is not wholly the fault of the men, for the system of government requires parties just as that of England does. These systems are made to be worked, and always have been worked by a majority. The majority must be cohesive, gathered into a united and organized body. Such a body is a party.

7. The Political Boss.—"The evil to be remedied is the dictation of the political boss. As parties are now constituted, nominations are made, not by the community or any considerable portion of it, but by a single man, who for the time being is in control of the party machine. No man can hold office except by the consent of such a boss, and when rebelled against it means defeat. I know of no remedy for this state of things because the public stand idly by and permit the dictation, and seem rather to enjoy the results of it. Education and intelligence have always been put forward as the proper antidotes for political evils, but my

observation leads me to think that the educated portion of the community is more apt to follow the machine than any other portion of it, because the uneducated can be purchased, while the enlightened are probably beyond the reach of that temptation."

8. The Remedy.—In order to make effective the remedy it seems to be necessary for citizens to devote not only a considerable portion of their time, but to do so in an employment which is not congenial to their tastes. That it is the duty of each citizen to give a reasonable amount of his time and to expend a reasonable amount of energy in securing proper nominations to public office all will admit. Each citizen undoubtedly owes this duty to the state, and owing to this duty to the state, the state in turn is obligated to furnish him with the means whereby the time and energy which duty requires him to give shall be expended in a manner that shall make his efforts felt in the result. It cannot justly require him to give up a large portion of his time and require him to study and practice what has become a profession in order that his influence shall be felt in making nominations. The state has also a duty to the citizen growing out of the fact that it prints the ballots. It should see to it that the names of candidates which it prints upon the ballots to be cast by the voter are not chosen through fraud and trickery. As it is useless for a single individual to go to the polls without prior organization in the hope of electing an independent candidate to office, it is the duty of the state to see to it that the organizations among voters, so far as they operate to place candidates in nomination, conform to fair and reasonable rules.

The Australian Ballot.

In the consideration of suffrage and the ballot our attention is drawn most naturally to the act of voting by means of the ballot. And we will endeavor to consider it from the practical rather than from the historical point of view.

Originally, as you all know, the ballot was a ball, a shell or other symbol by which the voter indicated whether he was in favor of or against a particular proposition. That old style of voting is still popular and serviceable in clubs and societies for speedy action on simple questions. After the invention of printing came the printed paper ballot in various forms, until what is probably the most perfect form of ballot yet devised has made its appearance—the blanket ballot of the Australian system. There the names of all

the candidates for a given office are arranged alphabetically on a single ballot and the voter is allowed to mark the name of the person for whom he votes. By the use of the Australian system of voting the danger of bribery and corruption in elections has been overcome to a considerable extent. The secrecy enforced in voting is the point of safety. By that simple device the would-be purchaser of a vote is deprived of a means of absolute certainty that the vender of a vote voted according to contract. But, notwithstanding the secrecy incident to voting, practical politicians assert that many votes are still bought. Probably the instruments now most conducive to the purchase and sale of votes are the separate party ballots and the paster ballot. But as these are already in much disfavor, it is to be hoped that they will soon disappear.

Filibustering or Legislative Obstructions.

1. **There are Many Good Things** in the law-making powers of our national government, and there are many things that can be greatly improved.

2. **Party Prejudices.**—When a party is in power it should have the right to make laws without serious legislative obstruction. The people have placed their representatives in power to make the laws and will hold them responsible. But the system of American politics is greatly in error as to the rights of the minority. The minority in our legislative bodies instead of recognizing the rights of a majority, do everything possible to defeat or obstruct legislation. If the majority has the right to rule, no minority has a right to obstruct or embarrass their work. If the people elect the majority to make laws, the minority has no right whatever to defeat the will of the people.

3. **Obstruction.**—All minorities practice obstruction more or less, and it is not easy to draw the line between proper and improper use of this weapon of defense. Men are apt to approve its use when it is employed by their own party friends, and to condemn it when used by the opposite party.

4. **The Right of Petition.**—On several occasions, half a century ago, John Quincy Adams stood almost or quite alone in the House of Representatives maintaining the

right of petition, and defying the majority to silence him. He once forced his opponents to abandon an attempt to pass a resolution of censure against him, by occupying nearly a week of the session in a speech of defence. Indeed, he seemed unlikely to close his "few remarks" in time to allow any business to be done. Perhaps in so doing he performed a useful service which could have been performed in no other way. At all events, those who admire "the old man eloquent" praise and do not censure him for his unyielding course of obstruction.

5. **Gag.**—There may be a question if, when the "gag" is applied by an arbitrary majority in disregard to all rights of debate, it is not justifiable to continue obstruction long enough to attract public attention to the matter; since in such a case that is the only method of protest left.

6. **Long Continued Obstruction.**—But, on a broad view of the subject, long continued obstruction is to be condemned severely, whether it is practiced by our friends or by our opponents. Of course an arbitrary refusal of the majority to allow the minority reasonable time for debate is equally to be condemned.

7. **Determined Minority.**—It has been shown by the recent events that a determined minority may block the business of the Senate indefinitely. It was only when the minority became divided on the policy of obstruction, and a few only were disposed to continue the struggle, that a vote was reached.

8. **Majority Should Govern.**—Since it is the business of a Legislature to pass laws, and since in every free nation the majority should govern, it is simply common sense to say that a system of rules which permits a minority to frustrate the will of the majority is not a good system. This is neither a partial nor a partisan opinion. If it works against one party to-day it will work in that party's favor when it obtains a majority.

9. **The Caucus.**—The caucus is an American institution, and is unknown outside of the United States, except in a modified form in England and Canada. The nominating convention, made up of delegates chosen in primary party meetings, does not exist except in this country. And while parties are known all over the world, it is only in some parts of this country that they have a recognized standing. In Massachusetts, and perhaps in other states, party caucuses are conducted according to a specific act, and the law protects those who have rights in a party meeting from those who, without right, might try to control it.



HEADQUARTERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—ARRANGING THE SECRETS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

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10. Popular Initiative.—We can hardly suppose that the machinery of government has even yet been perfected. There is a proposition to introduce here the systems in vogue in Switzerland known as the referendum and the "popular initiative." By the first of these systems a law passed by the Legislature is, under certain circumstances, referred to popular vote. Of course a law ratified by the people has more force and is less liable to repeal than one not ratified.

11. Decision of the People.—The "popular initiative" gives to a certain number of voters asking for it the right to demand a popular vote upon a law. In Switzerland, when thirty thousand citizens petition for a vote upon the revision of the law, such a vote must be had, and the decision of the people is final. Fifty thousand citizens may require a popular vote throughout the republic upon a proposition to amend the Constitution. The principle of the popular initiative has always been a part of the New England town meeting system, but has never extended beyond it even to the county government.

12. Improvement.—And if those two principles should be adopted by and by, are we even then at the end? Certainly not. Let us suggest one direction in which an improvement may come. There seems to be no good reason why, in these days of quick communication, voting should not be done by mail instead of by the personal presence of the voter at the polls. Vast harm is done because men entitled to vote cannot do so or will not take the trouble. It will be easy to devise a system that will render voting by mail safe to the great advantage of good government.

Origin of Decoration Day.

On the 30th of May, thirty-three years ago, four women bearing flowers entered Arlington cemetery and decorated the graves of the dead soldiers. To-day countless thousands actuated by the same loving spirit will lay a nation's tribute at the feet of the nation's martyred sons.

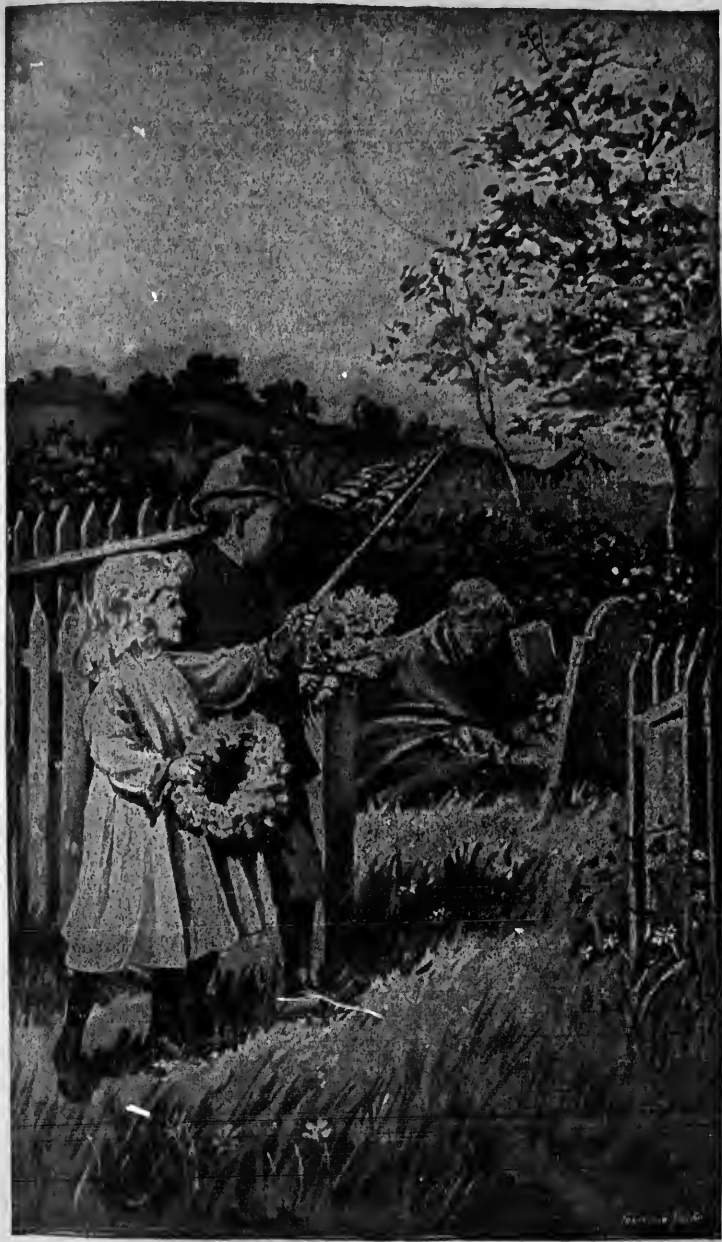
Among all America's treasured anniversaries there is no other which holds the gentleness and sweetness of Decoration Day. One year after the fall of Fort Sumter, the day had its origin. May 30, 1862, Mrs. Sarah Nichols, of Dubuque, Ia., accompanied by the wife and two daughters of Chaplain May, of the 2d Michigan volunteers, laid flowers on the graves of dead soldiers in the national cemetery

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**DECORATING THE GRAVES OF THE FALLEN
HEROES WITH FLOWERS.**

at Arlington. On the same day of the following year the same women observed the same beautiful service. The women of Fredericksburg took up the tradition in 1863, and until the year 1874 May 30 was continually observed in this manner, the custom in the meantime spreading. In 1874 Congress took cognizance of the day and set it apart as a national holiday.

The beautiful and impressive flower service to-day will perfume the atmosphere of every cemetery which holds the country's dead heroes in commemoration of one of the greatest struggles in the history of nations. But after more than a quarter of a century there is no bitterness in the observance. Even grief has become softened in the lapse of years.

Humanity's best sentiments become active on such an occasion as this, and the nation is the better for its influence.

The Political Landslides in American History.

1. **The November Election of 1894.**—The November election of 1894 resulted in an overwhelming Republican victory. Throughout the North the Republicans carried the states usually classed as doubtful by decided majorities; those which rank as Republican states gave majorities so enormous as to be compared with those only which were given during and just after the Civil war. In some cases the majorities were the largest ever recorded for the party.

2. **In the South.**—In the South the Democrats were much more successful than in the North. But even there large inroads were made upon their majorities, and one or two states gave Republican majorities for the first time since the days of "Reconstruction." It is not for us to express an opinion as to the particular cause of the surprising overturn in public sentiment that has apparently taken place in the past two years, but merely to chronicle it. Each party has its own explanation of the event. Each having in its time experienced both reverses and victories, understands that what now seems a most emphatic popular verdict may be reversed at the very next election.

3. **Not Uncommon in Our History.**—The result is called a "landslide." Although the word is new in that sense the

ELECTION RETURNS



A SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE ELECTION RETURNS.

thing itself has not been uncommon in our history. Jefferson was elected by a narrow majority in 1800. Four years later three states only gave electoral votes against him.

4. **Election of President by the House of Representatives.**—In 1824 the country was so closely divided that the election of the President was thrown into the House of Representatives. In 1828 more than five-sixths of the electoral votes outside of New England were for Jackson. The Harrison campaign of 1840 was followed by a memorable "landslide." No less than nine states which Van Buren had carried in 1836 voted for Harrison.

5. **General Taylor.**—General Taylor was elected by the Whigs in 1848 by a large plurality on the popular vote and by a majority of thirty-six of the electors. In 1852 Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate, had nearly a quarter of a million plurality of popular votes, and carried all the states but four. The vote of the electors was more than six to one in his favor.

6. **General Grant.**—Coming to more recent times. General Grant was elected President for a second term in 1872 by a popular majority of more than three-quarters of a million votes, and carried thirty of the thirty-seven states. In 1874 the Democrats were everywhere successful, and carried the House of Representatives by a large majority.

7. **Great Change.**—Then, in 1888, Harrison was elected President by sixty-five majority of the electoral votes; but in 1890 the Democrats carried Congress by almost three to one. Finally the present House of Representatives, elected in 1892, contains a Democratic majority of about eighty, and that which has just been elected will be controlled by the Republicans by a majority much larger than that, although the exact number cannot be stated at the time we write.

8. **Not Good for the Country.**—No one can think that the sudden and violent party changes to which the country is subject are conducive to its political health and its material prosperity; nevertheless we must expect them to occur occasionally.

9. **Changes of Political Issues.**—Changes of political issues, and the conditions incident to a large and increasing foreign element in the population, have something to do in producing them. The caprice of a large number of men who are not sufficiently well instructed to have decided views on the great financial questions upon which parties are now divided, cause the most of the shifting of votes from one side to the other.

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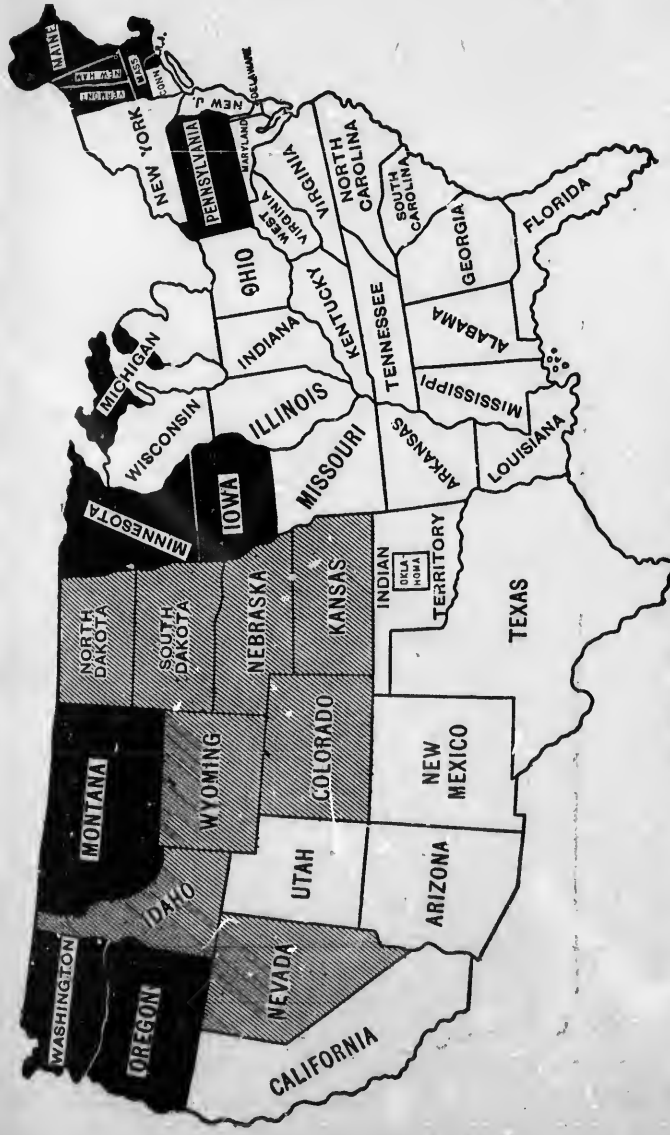
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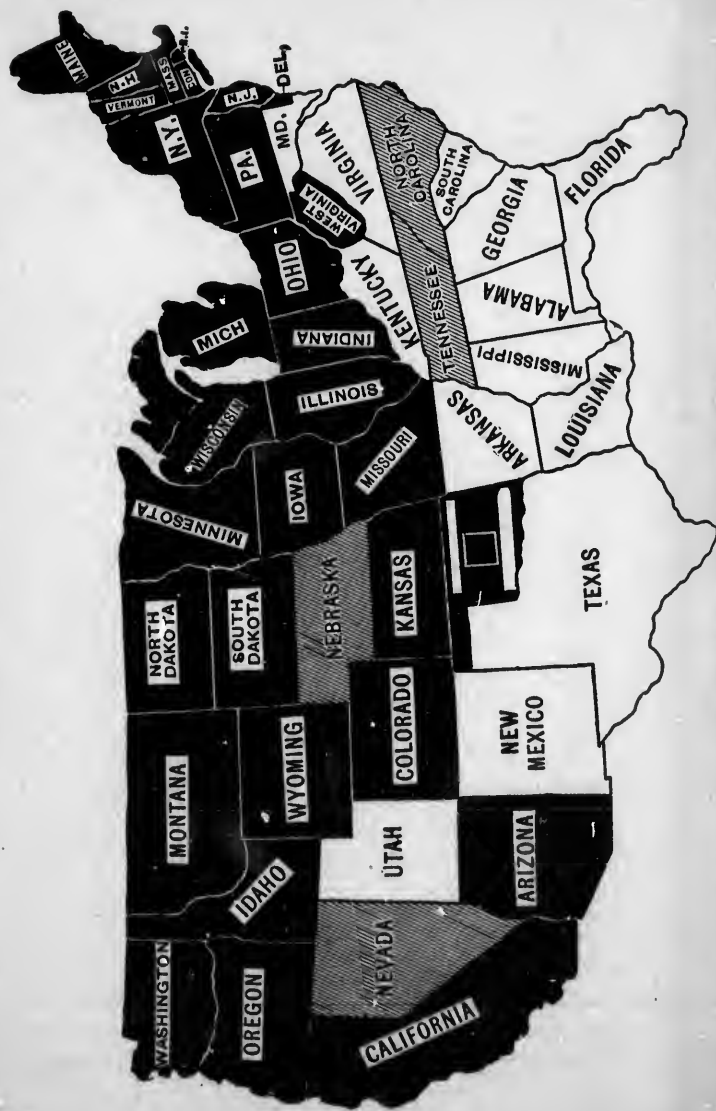
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POLITICAL MAP OF 1862.
White States Democratic; Black States Republican; Light Shaded States Populists.



POLITICAL MAP OF 1894. Light Shaded States Populists. Black States Republican; White States Democratic.

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Education and Crime.

FIGURES FROM THE CENSUS.

1. **Percentage of Illiterate Persons and Prisoners in the Different States.**—In 1890, 6,324,702, or 13.3 per cent. of the 47,413,559 persons in the United States, 10 years of age or over, were illiterate, and .17 per cent., or 82,329, were prisoners in penitentiaries, jails, etc. In the north Atlantic states only 6.2 per cent., or 859,989 persons out of the population of 13,888,377, 10 years of age or over, were illiterate, while 28,258, or .2 per cent. were prisoners. The population of the south Atlantic states, 10 years of age or over, was 6,415,921, of whom 30.9 per cent., or 1,961,888, were illiterate, and only .17 per cent., or 11,409, prisoners. The north central states had a population of 16,909,613, 10 years of age or over, of whom 5.7 per cent., or 964,268 were illiterate, and .12 per cent., or 19,954, prisoners. The south central states, with a population of 7,799,487, 10 years of age or over, of whom 29.7 per cent., or 2,318,871, were illiterate, had .2 per cent., or 16,084 in prison; and the western states, with 8.3 per cent., or 199,686, illiterate in a population of 2,400,161 persons, 10 years of age or over, had .28 per cent., or 6,724, prisoners.

2. **Prisoners.**—Of the 82,329 prisoners in 1890, 34.3 per cent. were confined in the north Atlantic states, 13.9 per cent. in the south Atlantic, 24.1 per cent. in the north central, 19.5 in the south central, and 8.2 in the western states.

Louisiana shows the highest percentage of illiteracy, 45.8 and 1,608 prisoners, or .2 per cent. of her population. South Carolina follows closely in percentage of illiteracy with 45 per cent., and has 1,184, or .14 per cent. of her population prisoners. New Mexico comes next, with 44.5 per cent. of illiterates and 205 of population, or .18 per cent. prisoners; then Alabama, 41 per cent. illiterate and 2,518, or .23 per cent. prisoners; Mississippi, 40 per cent. illiterate and 1,777, or .13 per cent. prisoners; Georgia, 39.8 per cent. illiterate and 2,938, or .22 per cent. prisoners; North Carolina, 35.7 per cent. illiterate and 2,033, or .18 per cent. prisoners, and Virginia, 30.2 per cent. illiterate and 2,000, or .17 per cent. prisoners.

3. **Read and Write.**—Of the 82,329 prisoners in the United States June 1, 1890, 7,386, or 8.97 per cent. were charged with homicide, of whom 61.73 per cent. could both read and write, 4.84 per cent. could only read, and 33.43 per cent. could do neither. Of the negroes charged with homicide, more than one-half could neither read nor write; of the Indians, nearly two-thirds.



CRIME AND SUFFERING AROUND THE CITY LODGING HOUSES.

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4. **Foreign Born.**—The percentage of the illiteracy among the foreign born was nearly three times as great as among the native whites. Of the 47,413,559 persons in the United States in 1890, 10 years of age and over, 6,324,702 were illiterates. Of this number 3,212,574 were white and 3,112,128 colored, 2,065,003 native white and 1,147,571 foreign white. Of the prisoners confined on a charge of homicide, 253, or 3.44 per cent., had received higher education.

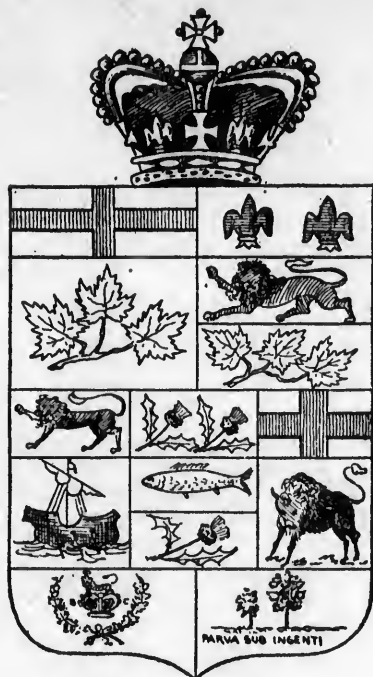
5. **The Occupation.**—The occupation of 6,546 prisoners prior to incarceration was ascertained, of whom 102 were classified as professional, 38 official, 1,893 agricultural, 29 lumber, 212 mining, 19 fisheries, 173 trade and commerce, 380 transportation, 1,086 manufactures and mechanical industries, 690 personal service, 2,253 unskilled labor and 21 miscellaneous. The number employed at the time of their arrest was 5,659, unemployed 1,225, unknown 467.

6. **Intoxicating Liquors.**—The habits of the prisoners in respect of use of intoxicating liquors at time of arrest, as far as ascertained were: Total abstainers, 1,282; occasional or moderate drinkers, 3,829, and drunkards 1,267. Nearly one-half of the homicide prisoners were unmarried. The number of married was 2,715; unmarried, 3,615; widowed 703 and divorced, 144.

7. **Ignorance.**—Ignorance is a cause of crime, nevertheless 66.57 per cent. of all prisoners charged with homicide received the rudiments of an education in English of their own tongue, and 3.44 per cent. received a higher education. Ignorance of trade is a cause of crime, but 11.35 per cent. of the prisoners were mechanics or apprentices and a much larger number had the necessary skill to follow mechanical pursuits.

8. **Intemperance.**—Intemperance and idleness are no doubt the cause of more crime than all the other agencies combined. Very few criminals there are who cannot trace their first crime to an idle hour or to some sparkling glass. The hot beds of crime are found in the cities in those low dives where morality and temperance are never thought of. Intemperance is the curse of mankind and if the saloon and intemperance could be eradicated nine-tenths of our jails and penitentiaries would be without inmates.





Arms of the Dominion.

Dominion of Canada.

“Four nations welded into one,—with long historic past,
 Have found in these our western wilds, one common life,
 at last ;
 Through the young giant’s mighty limbs, that stretch
 from sea to sea,
 There runs a throb of conscious life—of waking energy.
 From Nova Scotia’s misty coast to far Columbia’s shore,
 She wakes,—a band of scattered homes and colonies no
 more,
 But a young nation, with her life full beating in her breast,
 A noble future in her eyes,—the Britain of the West.”
 —*Machar.*

1: Construction.—The Dominion of Canada was constituted under a statute of the British Parliament, entitled the “*British North America Act, 1867.*” This Act, passed on

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the 7th of February of that year, was by Royal proclamation made to take effect on the following 1st day of July, which date thus became the *birthday* of the Dominion, and as such has since been commemorated by the Canadian people as their National Day—DOMINION DAY.

Of the six Provinces represented at the Quebec Conference, only four, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, agreed to federation and entered the original compact as set forth in the Act. Provision was, however, made in the statute for the future admission of any existing colonies into the Dominion, and for the creation of new Provinces within the Dominion.

Newfoundland has not yet joined the parties with whom she assented to the basis of federation, although several conversations have been held for that purpose. *Prince Edward Island* reconsidered her refusal and united in 1873. Meantime, the great *North-West Territory* had become a portion of the Dominion, through purchase of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and under the authority of an Imperial statute, the *Rupert's Land Act*, in 1869. Out of this vast territory the Province of *Manitoba* was created in 1870, appropriating as its centre and nucleus the Red River Settlement founded by Lord Selkirk in 1811, now the city of Winnipeg. *British Columbia* joined the Confederation in 1871, under the condition that the Dominion should construct the "Pacific Railway," to connect it with her eastern sisters. In 1882, the North-West Territory, lying between Manitoba and British Columbia, was organized into four districts, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Athabaska, with seat of Government at Regina, a Lieutenant-Governor, and constitution, subordinate to the Dominion Government, after the precedent of the early Provinces in relation to the British Government. The Territories are now practically self-governing, with an Executive Council and Assembly, and seats in the Dominion Parliament.

2. Name.—CANADA was the only name by which the new nationality of 1867 could be fittingly known in history. It had, in the old French charters and commissions, been applied to a territory wider than that represented at the Quebec Conference. It was an epitome of French and British story in North America, sufficient to remind the "Fathers of Confederation" of patriotic conflicts, deeds of heroism, and self-sacrifice unsurpassed; of a constitutional development inspired by British love of liberty, guided by intelligence, and conserved by fidelity to honorable prece-

dent, for which they were then arranging a basis of national expansion, within the strongest and most liberal Imperial constitution of history.

When, therefore, the two Canadas, in 1867, yielded up



LATE RT. HON. SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, G.C.B.

their old historic name to the Dominion, it was soon to be reinstated over a wider area than ever before, and to acquire a prestige for authority, social order, and progress,

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not dreamed of under the old régime. At Confederation, Upper and Lower Canada became Ontario and Quebec.

Constitution.—Under the subject, "Parliament of Canada," have been explained the principles and formation of the Executive and Legislative powers of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, respectively. It is necessary to state the *extent* of those powers. In cases where the same matters—for instance, immigration, or the liquor



LATE HON. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE.

traffic—are subjects of both federal and provincial legislation, the general rule is, that "provincial laws must not conflict with federal enactments."

(1) *Extent of Dominion Powers.*—To make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada; and to regulate the following:—Public debt and property; trade and commerce; indirect taxation; borrowing on the public credit; postal service; census and statistics; militia and

defence; lighthouse and coast service; navigation and shipping; quarantine; fisheries; currency and banking; weights and measures; bankruptcy; naturalization; marriage and divorce; penitentiaries; and criminal law, including procedure in criminal matters.

(2) *Exclusive Provincial Powers.*—The amendment of the Provincial Constitution from time to time, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor; direct taxation for provincial purposes; borrowing on the sole credit of the Province; the establishment of provincial offices, and the appointment and payment of provincial officers; management and sale of public lands and timber; common gaols, prisons, and reformatories; asylums, charities, and hospitals (except marine); municipal institutions; shop, tavern, and other licenses; local works and undertakings, except such as before or after completion are declared by the Dominion Parliament to be for the general advantage of two or more of the Provinces, or that operate between the Province and any British or foreign country; incorporation of companies with provincial objects; property and civil rights; solemnization of marriage; imposition of punishment by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for the enforcing of provincial laws; administration of justice in the Province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organization of civil and criminal courts in the Province, and the procedure in civil cases in those courts; appointment of magistrates and justices of the peace; and education (see under subject "Education").

4. **Financial Arrangement.**—Up to 1867, the Provinces were altogether distinct, in every particular, the one from the other. Each had its own "ways and means," or "sources of revenue," for meeting the provincial expenses. As one of these "sources," each had the power of levying a Customs rate, or tariff, upon the imports from the other Provinces, as well as upon foreign goods; indeed, the Provinces treated one another as foreigners. Each Province had also a public debt, which, in some instances, was a public burden. This question of public finance, therefore, was one of the most difficult duties of the Quebec Conference.

The agreement assented to was upon the following general basis, which has since continued as the principle governing the financial relations of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, although, in a few instances, the amounts have been increased by Parliament:—

(1) The Dominion assumed the debts and liabilities of

each Province at the Union, which now form a large portion of the Public Debt of Canada.

(2) As an offset to these debts, the Provinces gave up to the Dominion all their stocks, cash, balances, and securities for money belonging to them at that time.

(3) The Provinces also gave up to the Dominion all duties and revenues over which they had the power of appropriation, and which it was provided should form in the Dominion accounts *The Consolidated Revenue Fund*. Turning to any of the financial reports of the Dominion, it is found that the sources of revenue under that fund are, *Taxation*, including customs and excise ; land revenue from ordnance and Dominion lands ; public works, such as railways, canals, etc. ; postal service ; and other sources, such as fines, fees, forfeitures, etc.

(4) In consideration of this action on the part of the Provinces yielding up all ordinary sources of income, the Dominion is obliged to pay (a) the interest and all charges in connection with the Public Debt ; (b) the cost of collection of revenue ; (c) the expenses of Dominion legislation ; (d) the maintenance of public works, Government railways and canals, etc. ; (e) the expenses of civil government, including the salaries of the Governor-General, Lieutenant-Governors, Privy Council, all judges, the management of Indian affairs, the Mounted Police, etc.

5. Provincial Expenses.—Again, the Provinces having surrendered all their ordinary revenues to the Dominion, the latter was bound to make an equitable provision for the provincial expenses, and it is with this in view, and in this clause of the original basis, that any modification has been, or is likely to be made. The general obligation of the Dominion under this clause is found in the public accounts, under the name of "subsidies."

The annual subsidy to each Province consists of (a) a fixed amount agreed upon when the Province joins the Dominion ; (b) of a grant equal to eighty cents per head of the population, as determinable by the decennial census, and, (c) of such special grants as may have since been made by Parliament to a province, in lieu of some minor source of revenue retained at Union ; or, where a provincial debt is less than the average fixed as the liability of the Dominion. In the latter case, such province will receive interest upon the difference of debt in its favor. But, in case a provincial debt assumed by the Dominion exceeds the

average, that province will be charged interest upon the difference of debt against it, and such interest will be deducted from the annual subsidy.

5. **How the Act, 1867, supplemented former Constitutional Acts.**—The attention of the CANADIAN CITIZEN is directed to this question and its answer, for it sums up the continuity of Canadian constitutional story, wherein each Act was a step to the next. As a brief review, therefore, it

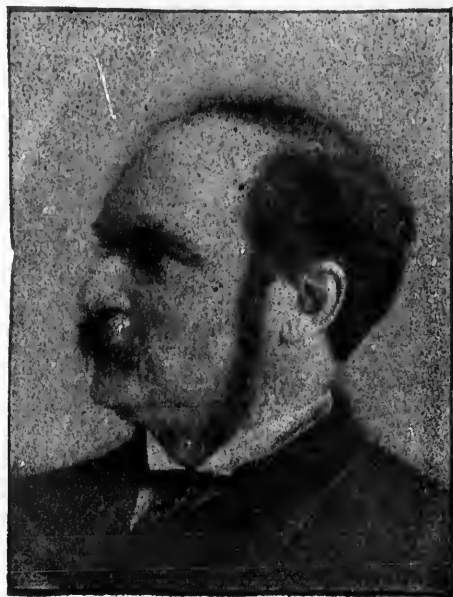


HON. SIR OLIVER MOWAT, M.G.,
Premier of Ontario for 24 years, now Minister of Justice.

may be said that all those matters of difficulty,—growing out of differences of race, religion, and French and English institutions, as well as those grouped in the struggle for responsible Government, to which reference has been made in these “sketches,”—had all reached a settlement when the question of Confederation was taken up in 1864. For instance, the fears of the French-Canadian regarding his

race and language were allayed by the *balance of power* he was able to exercise in the Union Assembly of 1841, and references to religious aggression ceased largely on both sides, when, in 1851, the Union Parliament had by legislation given a legal status to "minority rights in education," in the two Canadas.

The question of "Representation by Population" was not one of the old questions, nor one of race. It had grown out



HON. A. S. HARDY, Q.C.,
Premier of Ontario.

of the operation of the Act of 1841, and its object was to correct a financial evil of the "double" principle then in vogue, under which if an expenditure was sought, for example, upon public works in one Province, a like expenditure was demanded upon some account in the other.

It was thought, however, as already remarked, to be a menace to the "balance of power" held by the French-Canadians in the Assembly.

These three questions—French autonomy, minority rights in education, and proportionate representation in a Federal Parliament—made the three difficulties on the part of the Canadas, in 1864, to Confederation. On the part of the Maritime Provinces the questions were those of Provincial identity and financial arrangement.

How did the Act of 1867 meet the old and new difficulties? By reference to the Act, it will be seen that the questions of "French Autonomy" and "Representation by Population" were arranged by making the representation of the Province of Quebec (Lower Canada) a fixed number, in proportion to which the representation of the other Provinces



SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B.

is to be adjusted at each taking of the census, in the ratio that the population of each Province bears to the population of Quebec. The question of "Minority Rights in Education" was met by confirming these in the Act of 1867 as they already existed under the laws of the two Canadas. The "identity of the Provinces" was maintained by giving each the same system of Government, as already secured, with *exclusive* powers of legislation. The financial arrangements of the last Act were such as lifted the burden of Provincial debt, and gave each an equitable share in the general revenue of the Dominion.

From the above the reader will recognize the continuity

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of Canadian history, and in what manner the rights, and as far as possible in the general welfare, even the predilections of all classes of Canadian citizens have been provided for in the Canadian constitution. Canadian citizens should take a pride in their history, and know the constitution under which they live, for it is one of fair dealing. They should know it, for the precedents of its history contain the solution of present and future issues. They should know it, also, that each may be true to his franchise, exercise it intelligently, and thereby maintain peace and good-will, and promote the progress of his country in her upward road—"Honored of nations, and approved by God."

Preventing Strikes.

ARBITRATION LAW EFFECTIVE.

Working of the System in Massachusetts During Eight years.—Employers and Employed Find Their Interests Protected.

1. **No Complications.**—Since the board of arbitration and conciliation was established in Massachusetts, 1886-1894, neither the militia nor the police have been called upon to interfere in labor troubles. Before that organization existed there were continual appeals for their existence in preserving the peace and protecting property. Formerly the constant disputes between employers and employed over wages, hours of labor, the employment of non-union workmen and other sources of friction cost the state treasury many thousands of dollars annually, often several hundreds of thousands, for Massachusetts is the fourth manufacturing state in the Union.

2. **Money Saved.**—During the last eight years the expenditures on this account have been less than \$9,000. Last year they amounted to \$8,980, of which \$6,000 represented the salaries of three members of the board of arbitration, \$1,200 the salary of its secretary, and the remainder contingent expenses, such as railroad fare, hotel bills, stationery and printing.

3. **Costs of Strikes.**—It is impossible to ascertain and difficult to estimate the amount of money that was lost annually by the stoppage of work, owing to strikes and labor



EUGENE V. DEBS,

The Leader of the Railway Strike in 1894.

(This Strike of the American Railway Union began at Chicago on the 11th of May, 1894, lasting over three months, and was disastrous to life and property. It extended east and west to many cities, and was only quelled by Federal and State troops.)

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disputes before this board was organized, but last year it settled controversies involving \$1,652,246 in the wages of men and women and \$8,637,625 in the product of their labor. In 1892 the board cost the state \$10,430, and it settled disputes involving a product valued at \$8,986,210 and wages amounting to \$2,034,804. In 1891 it cost the state \$8,108, and settled disputes involving \$12,044,525 in products and \$4,056,195 in wages. All of which shows that as a financial investment the Massachusetts plan of arbitration is a good thing.

4. **The Law.**—The first section of the law authorizes the governor to appoint "three competent persons to serve as a state board of arbitration and conciliation in the manner hereinafter provided. One of them shall be an employer or selected from some association representing employers of labor, one of them shall be selected from some labor organization and not an employer of labor, the third shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the other two." The commissions are so dated that one vacancy occurs each year, but at no time is the board without two members of experience. As a matter of fact Mr. Walcott and Mr. Barry have served continuously from the beginning. There have been three other appointments in eight years.

5. **Conditions.**—The bill declares that whenever any controversy not involving questions which may be the subject of a suit at law exists between an employer and his employes, if he employs twenty-five persons, the board shall, upon application, as soon as practicable, visit the locality and make careful inquiry into the cause, hear all persons interested, advise the parties what, if anything, ought to be done to adjust the dispute, and make a written decision. This decision shall at once be made public, recorded by the secretary of the board and a copy filed with the clerk of the city or town where the business is carried on.

6. **Assistants.**—When notice has been given as aforesaid, each of the parties to the controversy, the employer on one side and the employes interested on the other side, may in writing nominate and the board may appoint one person to act in the case as expert assistant to the board. The two persons so appointed shall be skilled in and conversant with the business or trade concerning which the dispute has arisen. It shall be their duty, under the direction of the board, to obtain and report to the board information concerning the wages paid, and the methods and grades of work prevailing in manufacturing establishments within the commonwealth of a character similar to that in which the matters in dispute have arisen. The expert assistants shall be

sworn to the faithful discharge of their duty. They shall be entitled to receive from the treasury of the commonwealth such compensation as shall be allowed and certified by the board, together with all necessary traveling expenses. Should the petitioners fail to perform the promise made in the application, the board shall proceed no further without the written consent of the adverse party.

7. Witnesses.—The board is authorized to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, records and papers, and administer oaths. Section 5 provides for the publication of the decision. Section 6 is very important, and provides that all decisions of the board shall be binding upon the parties who join in said application for six months, or until either party has given the other notice in writing of his intention not to be bound by the same at the expiration of sixty days therefrom. Said notice may be given to said employes by posting the same in three conspicuous places in the shop or factory where they work.

8. No Compulsion.—There is no penalty provided for refusing to submit to the decision of the board, nor is there any method of enforcing its decrees. Everything that points to force or compulsion seems to have been carefully omitted, and the sixth section, which provides that the decision shall be binding for only six months, seems to be a weak spot in the law.

The Right and Wrong of Strikes.

1. Complete Equality.—In any contract or business relation between the wage-laborer and the wage-payer, the two parties meet on terms of complete equality in respect to the law, to natural common rights, to the claims of respect and courtesy, to all the obligations of fair and patient consideration.

2. Class-Feeling.—This excludes on the part of the wage-laborer, jealousy, suspicion, eye-service or sham work, under the influence of class-feeling or resentment. It excludes on the part of the wage-payer, contempt, national or sectional or personal prejudice, all taking advantage from a sense of superior power or social standing, or from any traditional sentiment due to past social distinctions.

3. No Transaction is Righteous.—No transaction is righteous where the necessities, the weakness, the depend-

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ence of the laborer are directly or indirectly made to reduce the price of his service below an equitable mark, or to delay payment.

4. **Effects Far Beyond the Immediate Issue.**—In cases of difference, however exasperating, a wise forecast will keep both parties in mind that every such struggle has



The Effects of Strikes.

effects far beyond the immediate issue, and that, in the present and prospective state of public feeling, any settlement brought about by sheer coercion is to be deprecated as leaving behind irritation instead of mutual good will, and the discontent of an unhealed wound instead of mutual confidence.

5. What Is a Strike?—A strike is a concerted suspension of work by wage-workers of either sex in the employ of wage-payers for an alleged non-fulfillment of a contract, or as a protest at the alleged imposition of new demands, or for the sake of obtaining some benefit declared to be deserved on account of new conditions in the line of industry pursued, or in the cost of living, or for the correction of personal offenses against wage-workers.

6. A Great Evil.—Taking into account the disturbances, the damage to related branches of business, the risk of loss, temporary at least, to one or both parties, the uncertainty of the result, and the probable provocation to ill-temper and consequent alienation, the strike must be regarded as an evil—a measure to be resorted to only in the last extremity, when all other modes of remedy or satisfaction have first been tried.

7. How to Prevent Strikes.—The primary preventive of strikes is definiteness and particularity in the original agreement of contract between the employer and the employed. The specifications could easily be made to meet ordinary cases of difference, and forestall a rupture.

8. Reduced Wages.—No strike can be justified on the ground of reduced wages where it can be proved by the board of arbitration, or otherwise, that the market value of the product of the industry is insufficient to sustain wages at the regular rate. The employer should show his books, the workman what it costs him to live, and fully explain his embarrassment in meeting present prices.

9. Needless Element.—Justice demands that, except in extreme necessity, the act which, on either side, dissolves the contract or suspends the work should not be sudden. The suddenness is a needless element in the injury. Unless there is a patent or actual outrage, notice ought to be given and an opportunity afforded for an amicable adjustment. Either party may apprehend that the other will take advantage of the notice to secure itself and damage the antagonist.

10. Serious and Needless Losses.—Serious and needless losses are suffered among workmen and their families by haste, indiscretion and assumption in exciting and ordering strikes where they are not warranted by sufficient cause. If organizations are needed to prevent this mischief, organization becomes an imperative duty. No rash indignation, no appeals to pride or class spirit, no false loyalty to an irresponsible society, will excuse a wanton waste of time and family comfort. Workingmen lose by it not only what they cannot afford to lose in their own welfare; they lose

the respect and sympathy of the wiser part of the community standing ready to befriend them.

11. **Rights of Labor.**—That any number of men in this country have a right to combine, organize and act together for the lawful promotion of their convictions or their common interests, ought by this time to be beyond dispute. If a number of men may combine to raise or keep up the price of oil, wheat or sugar, then there may be a union to raise or keep up the price of labor. An organization of workmen for that purpose is far less likely to do mischief than are the manufacturers or trafficking monopolists who overtax the many for the aggrandizement of the few. It will be likely to have in it manlier men, better characters, and a more disinterested public spirit.

12. **Politicians.**—Politicians, who have no scruples in damaging and obstructing one another's parties by all sorts of devices, are shocked when they hear, and sometimes when they only suspect, that labor men are doing the same thing. The game is bad for both of them. It takes time to convince unwilling minds, but time and experience will do it.

13. **Discharging Employes.**—Membership in an association representing a social theory, or a plan of mutual support, without any hostile purpose toward any particular institution or enterprise, is no more a justification for discharging workmen than is membership of the officers of a railroad in a political club a justification for an abandonment by the workmen of their work.

14. **Capital and Labor.**—It sounds well to say that labor cannot live without capital. In point of fact, taking capital in its technical scientific sense, there is a conceivable, and not impossible, industrial and social state where labor can live without capital independently and comfortably. It has done so, and may do so again. At any rate, capitalists know very well that without labor their capital would not, in most cases, have been created, and if created, would speedily disappear.

15. **Sharp Policy.**—We hear it offered as an excuse for a sharp policy on the part of capital that the working classes are in no danger of depression, in fact that they rather need to be kept down by the strong hand. Is it true? By a recent report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, "one-third of all the persons engaged in remunerative labor are unemployed at their principal occupation for about one-third of their working time." The average annual wages of the operatives in ninety manufacturing establishments in New England, as shown by a professor of the Massachusetts

State Agricultural College, was in 1888, \$441; of the proprietors, \$4,983. Two hundred and fifty thousand families control 75 to 80 per cent. of our national wealth, while 75 per cent. pay but 27 per cent. of taxes for the support of the government, and the owners of but a quarter of the property pay 73 per cent.

Boards of Labor Conciliation.

1. Use of Boards of Conciliation.—It is surprising that we, in this country, have as yet made so little use of boards of conciliation. In England they are found in many of the large trades, and, as a direct result, in many businesses strikes have become a thing of the past, and both the wage-workers and the employers are outspoken in their expressions of thankfulness for the more intelligent relations and better feelings that have ensued.

2. Arbitration.—Arbitration is not the same as conciliation, but may be used when conciliation has failed, or where there has been no attempt at conciliation. Arbitration is "after the fact," and implies that a cause of difference and a dispute have arisen. By arbitration this may be settled, a compromise effected and war averted; and that whether the dispute relates to past arrangements, as to what are the terms of an existing contract, the just application of those terms to a new state of things, or whether the difficulty is to agree upon future prices or conditions of labor.

3. Conciliation.—Conciliation aims at something higher—at doing before the fact that which arbitration accomplishes after. It seeks to prevent and remove the causes of dispute before they arise, to adjust differences and claims before they become disputes. Arbitration is limited to the larger and more general questions of industry, those of wages or prices, or those concerning a whole trade. A board of conciliation deals with matters that could not be arbitrated upon; promoting the growth of beneficial customs; interfering in the smaller details of industrial life; modifying or removing some of the worst evils incidental to modern industry, such, for example, as the truck system, or the wrongs which workmen suffer at the hands of middlemen and overseers.

4. Formation of a Board of Conciliation.—Of course, for the formation of a board of conciliation it is necessary that the wage-workers and (unless the board is confined but to one shop in the trade) the employers should be organized,

in order that accredited representation from both sides should find place on the board, say three representatives from each side to be appointed as may be agreed upon. Organization and combination is, however, the order of the day, and when it is understood to be essential to the highest interests of the wage-payer and wage-receiver, suspicion and jealousy on this score may be expected to disappear.

5. **The Proceedings of the Board of Conciliation.**—The proceedings of the board of conciliation are very informal, not like a court, but the masters and men sit round a table, the men interspersed with the masters. Each side has its secretary. The proceedings are without ceremony, and the matter is settled by what the men call a "long-jaw" discussion and explanation of views, in which the men convince the masters as often as the masters the men. Of course, this does not mean that every member of the board is always convinced, though it seems that even this is often the case, but when they are not they are content to compromise. It is in fact conciliation, and is better than the decision of a court or of an umpire. The "long-jaw" ending in an agreement, may take a longer time, but it is the true practical way out of the difficulty.

The Principles and Declarations of Organized Labor.

1. **The True Standard.**—To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. **Sufficient Leisure.**—To secure for the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreation, and pleasure of association; in a word to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

3. **Bureaus of Labor Statistics.**—The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral, and financial condition of the laboring masses.

4. **Public Lands.**—That the public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers; not another acre for railroads or speculators; and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value.

5. Capital and Labor.—The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays, and discriminations in the administration of justice.

6. Health and Safety.—The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining and manufacturing and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

7. Protect Their Rights.—The recognition by incorporation of trades-unions, orders and such other associations as may be organized by the working masses to improve their condition and protect their rights.

8. To Pay Employes Weekly.—The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employes weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

9. The Abolition of the Contract System.—The abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works.

10. Arbitration.—The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrator.

11. Employment of Children.—The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories.

12. Convict Labor.—To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

13. Income Tax.—That a graduated income tax be levied.

14. National Monetary System.—The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

15. Interest Bearing Bonds.—That interest bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal tender, non-interest bearing money.

16. Foreign Labor.—That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

17. **Post Office.**—That, in connection with the post office, the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits, and facilities for deposit of the savings of the people in small sums.

18. **Government Purchase, Telegraphs, Telephones, Railroads.**—That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase under the rights of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for the construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freights.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors.

19. **To Establish Co-operative Institutions.**—To establish co-operative institutions such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

20. **Both Sexes Equal Pay.**—To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

21. **To Shorten the Hours of Labor.**—To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.

22. **To Persuade Employers to Arbitrate.**—To persuade employers to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employes, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened, and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

Labor Legislation.

ANTI-BOYCOTTING AND ANTI-BLACKLISTING LAWS.

The states having laws prohibiting boycotting in terms are Illinois and Wisconsin.

The states having laws prohibiting blacklisting in terms are Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Virginia and Wisconsin.

The following states have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting boycotting: Alabama, Connecticut, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas and Vermont.



J. R. SOVEREIGN,

Grand Master of the Knights of Labor.

The following states have laws which may be fairly construed as prohibiting blacklisting: Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas and Vermont.

In New York it is a misdemeanor for any employer to exact an agreement, either written or verbal, from an employe not to join or become a member of any labor organization, as a condition of employment.

EIGHT-HOUR LAWS.

Alabama.—Eight hours of labor constitute a day's work for a woman or a child under eighteen (18) years of age in a mechanical or manufacturing business.

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California.—Eight hours of labor constitute a day's work, unless it is otherwise expressly stipulated by the parties to a contract. A stipulation that eight hours of labor constitute a day's work must be made a part of all contracts to which the state or any municipal corporation therein is a party. But in the case of drivers, conductors and gripmen of street-cars for the carriage of passengers, a day's work consists of twelve hours. It is a misdemeanor for any person having a minor child under his control, either as ward or apprentice, to require such child to labor more than eight hours in any one day, except in vinicultural or horticultural pursuits, or in domestic or household occupations.

Colorado.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all workmen employed by the state, or any county, township, school district, municipality, or incorporated town.

Connecticut.—Eight hours of labor constitute a lawful day's work unless otherwise agreed.

District of Columbia.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers or mechanics employed by or in behalf of the District of Columbia.

Idaho.—Eight hours' actual work constitute a lawful day's work on all state and municipal works.

Illinois.—Eight hours are a legal day's work in all mechanical employments, except on farms, and when otherwise agreed; does not apply to service by the day, week or month, or prevent contracts for longer hours.

Indiana.—Eight hours of labor constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, workmen and laborers, excepting those engaged in agricultural and domestic labor. Overwork by agreement and for extra compensation is permitted.

Kansas.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for all laborers, mechanics or other persons employed by or on behalf of the state or any county, city, township or other municipality.

Nebraska.—Eight hours constitute a legal day's work for all classes of mechanics, servants and laborers, except those engaged in farm or domestic labor.

New Mexico.—Eight hours of labor actually performed upon a mining claim constitute a day's work, the value of the same being fixed at four dollars.

New Jersey.—Eight hours constitute a day's labor on any day whereon any general or municipal election shall be held.

New York.—Eight hours constitute a day's work for mechanics, workmen and laborers, except in farm or domestic labor, but overwork for extra pay is permitted.

The law applies to those employed by the state or municipality, or by persons contracting for state work.

Ohio.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work in all engagements to labor in any mechanical, manufacturing or mining business, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. But in case of conductors, engineers, firemen or trainmen of railroads, a day's work consists of ten hours.

Pennsylvania.—Eight hours, between rising and setting of sun, constitute a day's work in the absence of an agreement for longer time. The law does not apply to farm labor or to service by the year, month, etc.; but in case of employes of street railroads a day's work consists of twelve hours.

Utah.—Eight hours constitute a day's work upon all public works.

Wisconsin.—In all engagements to labor in any manufacturing or mechanical business, where there is no express contract to the contrary, a day's work shall consist of eight hours; but the law does not apply to contracts for labor by the week, month or year. In all manufactories, workshops or other places used for mechanical or manufacturing purposes, the time of labor of children under the age of eighteen, and of women employed therein, shall not exceed eight hours in the day.

Wyoming.—Eight hours' actual work constitute a legal day's work in all mines and public works.

United States.—Eight hours shall constitute a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanics who may be employed by or on behalf of the United States.

Competition That Kills.

1. **Cloakmakers.**—The cloakmakers who lately went on strike in New York had been forced to work under most unhealthy conditions from twelve to sixteen and even eighteen hours a day, and often seven days in a week, to make a bare living. They earned from \$7 to \$10 weekly; and as they were often out of work, \$5 a week may have been a fair average for their wages the year around.

2. **"Sweating" Dens.**—In Philadelphia there are even more "sweating" dens for clothing-makers than in New York. A Philadelphia minister states that there are six hundred of these dens to the square mile in which his church stands,

3. **Ill-fed, Unwashed.**—The same witness describes the workers as ill-fed, unwashed, half-clad, their hands damp with slow consumption. The children work as soon as they can draw a thread, and as the factory age in the state is thirteen, even those who cannot speak plainly will say "thirteen" mechanically when asked their age.

4. **Small Employers.**—It is also well known that when one of the small employers was urged to repair his roof in order to save his employes from exposure and disease, he replied: "Men are cheaper than shingles; no sooner does one drop out than a dozen are ready to take his place."

5. **Is There No Remedy?**—These are illustrative facts. They indicate, but do not describe, a widely prevailing condition.

Is there no remedy? Is the law of competition not capable of being controlled in the interest of public health, decency, and well-being? Must we continue to welcome the weaklings of other nations, who here fight with each other to obtain even the unwholesome task-slavery of the sweat-shop?

The Blighting Curse of Labor.

1. **Intemperance.**—Labor organizations and their leaders have evidently been more and more impressed with the fact that intemperance is one of the deadliest foes of the workingmen of this country, and their sentiments in favor of temperance reform has been becoming constantly more intense. Evidences of this abound and may be found in labor platforms, in reports of meetings of workingmen and in the labor press. It is scarcely too much to say that the labor organizations of this country are at least temperance organizations, and many of their members and leaders are outspoken total abstainers and prohibitionists. Every one knows that this is the case with that much misunderstood and more maligned organization, the Knights of Labor. Very impressive must have been the public pledge of total abstinence given to Mr. Powderly at the Richmond convention a few years since, by all the members of the executive board. A little later I attended a fair of the Knights of Labor in Baltimore and found on sale no beverage stronger than lemonade.

2. **Labor Reform.**—If the labor movement has broadened in the direction of temperance, it is equally certain



**GEN. NEAL DOW, of Maine,
Author of the Maine Temperance Law.**

that the current of temperance reform is broadening out and taking in a considerable portion of what is called labor reform. The various platforms of the temperance party, framed by state and national conventions, make this plain, and efforts to eliminate parts of the platform dealing with other aspects of labor reform than temperance have been happily voted down

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3. **The Loss.**—Let us reflect for a moment on the loss occasioned to the workmen of the United States by the use of intoxicating drinks. The direct loss has often been described, and its amount can be readily learned by a perusal of easily accessible tracts and pamphlets. The importance of a few cents a day is, however, not sufficiently appreciated by people in moderate circumstances, and still less is it by wage-earners. A street car line in Baltimore charges 5 cents for a single fare, but sells six tickets for 25 cents. It may be put this way: if you invest 25 cents you receive one extra ticket, good for a 5-cent ride; that is, you make 20 per cent. on your investment, which is equal to four or five years' interest on the money. Yet I have ridden on a car of this line, when out of ten persons I was the only one to put a ticket into the box. In Washington, where all lines are compelled by law to sell six tickets for 25 cents, one may any day witness similar evidence of thriftlessness. You may even see a man pay 15 cents in fares for three persons, treating two others, while by investing 10 cents additional he could get six tickets.

4. **Moderate Drinker.**—The sum of money which a workingman who is a moderate drinker, or only an occasional drinker, can save in a few years by the practice of total abstinence, may not seem large and let us confess frankly that it is small, and, as the rate of interest falls, becomes smaller; but it is a mistake to undervalue the utility of a small sum of ready money, for at a critical period it will often prove to be the difference between a life of comfort, usefulness, health, contentment, and a life of discouragement and poverty. Even so small a sum as \$50 may be the turning-point, and a deposit of \$10 in a savings bank will spare one many a humiliation.

5. **Must Act Solidly Together.**—The wage-earning classes need every bit of mental capacity which they possess or can acquire, to enable them to attain well being in the struggle of modern industrial life. The wage-earning classes, as classes, must act solidly together. The solidarity of their interest can be disputed by no fair-minded and competent observer. Now, if this is so, every wage-earner who wastes any of his resources of body or mind by the use of alcoholic drinks, is an enemy of his class. At what disadvantage in dealing with employers are sullen and incompetent men, with no reserve of accumulated earnings, as compared with bright, open and determined men! The talk about the equality of labor and capital in labor contracts is a farce, but why make the inequality needlessly great?

6. **Weakens the Working People.**—Intemperance weakens the working people in another way. It is made a reproach to them, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. It serves their opponents as a very efficient weapon. With the ordinary non-partisan—the man neither employe nor employed in the usual sense—what is the most telling argument against the present agitation for the eight-hour day? Undoubtedly this: "More leisure means more time and more money for the saloon." Doubtless this is untrue, but in a good cause we ought not to give our enemies any handle to use against us.



American Manhood Rotted.

A continual subject for discussion among workingmen is political action. It requires all the unimpaired power of the keenest intellects at their command, to decide what political course it is best to take, and when any course is taken it demands the utmost of their patience and self-control.

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7. **Strength of the Saloon.**—One main cause of the strength of the saloon is that it furnishes to the masses a convenient and always easily accessible meeting place and waiting place, free from restraint, and it is the only institution of the kind in American cities. One needs but to observe what can be seen any day and night in our cities, and to reflect seriously on its significance, to understand how far reaching this proposition is.

8. **Where Shall They Meet?**—Rich men have their social clubs, but these institutions are beyond the reach of the poor. Workingmen often wish to meet to talk over some proposed course of action, let us say, political. Where shall they meet? One place and only one place, is always open, and that is the saloon. Many saloons keep large pleasant rooms which can be engaged free of charge. What a temptation is this! Of course, the proprietor of the hall expects recompense, and every one who attends the meeting feels morally bound to drink at least two glasses of beer. The meetings which workingmen hold in these days are very frequent, and on the whole these frequent meetings are commendable, but it is a continual difficulty to find suitable meeting places.

9. **Temperance Workers.**—Now what temperance workers ought to do, it seems to me, is to take hold of a good feature of the labor movement and assist in their development. Here, as elsewhere, what is wanted is to help people to help themselves. It is a mistake to try to force things on people. What is wanted is to take hold of institutions spontaneously arising among the masses, and to help to give them a sound development.

10. **Child Labor.**—Child labor is a potent cause of intemperance, and here temperance reform and the labor movement should proceed unitedly. It is an evil which is rapidly growing, especially in the West. Children fall into bad ways, and are lost while yet too young to be fully responsible.

11. **Tenement House.**—Tenement-house reform is another work which is essential to temperance reform. It is impossible to expel King Alcohol from the slums of cities like New York and Chicago, so long as these slums exist. Negative work here will never accomplish the end desired. The slums are breathing holes of hell, and should be swept from the earth; and if Christian people would go earnestly to work, and stop listening to the devil as he preaches *laissez* and *faire*, let alone, non-interference, they could be swept from the earth.

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12. Bad Ventilation.—Bad ventilation of mines and workshops weakens the constitution, and paves the way for beer and whiskey. Let every temperance advocate support the workingmen in their effort to improve the condition of mines and workshops. Measures like these are not something which temperance people may feel free to support, or not to support, as they see fit. They are a real essential part of the temperance movement.

13. Overwork.—Overwork is a cause of intemperance, especially in over-heated and poorly ventilated factories, and it has generally been observed by those who have made a study of the matter that a reduction in the hours of labor is followed by a diminution of intemperance, perhaps not at first, but in a near future. This is, I think, the very general testimony of experts in this matter, and is the result shown by very careful investigation.

Emancipated Labor.

1. Man's First Appearance.—In the long history of our planet, since man's first appearance upon it, the era which we call antiquity seems little more than of yesterday; while the distance between the denizen of the ancient and the citizen of the modern world, as far as institutions, like those of government, literature and art are concerned, is in many ways insignificant. Yet when we consider the workman of antiquity, and compare him with the toiler of our own time, the two seem to be separated by an immense interval.

2. Serfdom.—The industrial arrangements of the ancient civilizations were all based on the serfdom that sprang from war. For when men reached the agricultural stage, they no longer killed captives taken in battle, but employed them in the tilling of the ground, and later in the construction of public works.

3. Knew Nothing of Free Labor.—Empires like those of China, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome knew nothing of free labor, in the modern meaning of that term. It was slaves who built the Great Wall of China, slaves who reared the Pyramids, slaves who erected the classic monuments still visible in the peninsulas of the Mediterranean, and slaves again who scattered all over England the memorials of the Roman invasion.

4. **Slavery of Labor.**—Nor did the slavery of labor belong only to the ancient world. The same spirit of militarism that entrenched the institution there perpetuated it through the middle ages, down to a comparatively modern period. It lingered long in Germany and England and showed signs of breaking up only with the decay of the feudal system, with the rise of the towns, the development of the burgher class, and the formation of trades guilds. By the end of the fourteenth century serfdom became practically extinct in western Europe, and with its extirpation the laboring classes began to recover from the effects of their long enchainment.

5. **Modern Industrialism.**—It is true that the rise of the modern industrialism at the opening of the eighteenth century led to many abuses and hardships, yet efforts were sooner or later made to remedy them by process of law, and the same English legislature which set out by endeavoring to fix the wages of working people ended by passing enactments for their protection.

6. **Protective Legislation.**—To-day this protective legislation is of wide-reaching import. It restricts hours of labor, prohibits the employment of young children, provides holidays, compels the employer to fence in dangerous machinery, enables a workman to sue for damages, and permits those combinations of laborers which were once forbidden and punished as crimes.

7. **Improvement of the Conditions of Labor.**—Step by step with this improvement of the conditions of labor has gone an important amelioration of the political status of the workingman. Absolute power has been modified and militarism everywhere weakened by industrialism. The rights of the old feudal lords have largely passed to the land owners and later to the capitalists, who may be regarded as their successors, while in European countries some of the power of the upper classes was transferred to the middle classes.

8. **Abolition of Serfdom.**—But the chief and latest product of the movement that began with the abolition of serfdom has been the gradual extension of political power to the whole body of the people, so that the workman who formerly "did not own himself" now not only enjoys the protection of the law, but himself has a share in the work and the responsibilities of government.

9. **Fairer and More Equal Chance.**—The net result of this advance of labor—improvement of its conditions on the one hand, and the conferring upon it of rights and privileges on the other—has been to secure to workingmen a fairer

and more equal chance in the struggle of life than they ever enjoyed before. And though the upward movement is by no means ended, it has already gone far enough to teach the lesson that no difficulties are henceforth likely to arise between capital and labor, which fairness, business sagacity and the spirit of compromise may not triumphantly overcome.



The Coal Miner's Lot.

The Principles of Protection.

Protection, in relation to the industries of a country (in which sense the word is generally used), means the prevention of ruinous foreign competition. This may be accomplished (1) by absolutely prohibiting the importation of certain articles; (2) by levying a duty on them that is practically prohibitive; (3) by granting premiums on certain ex-



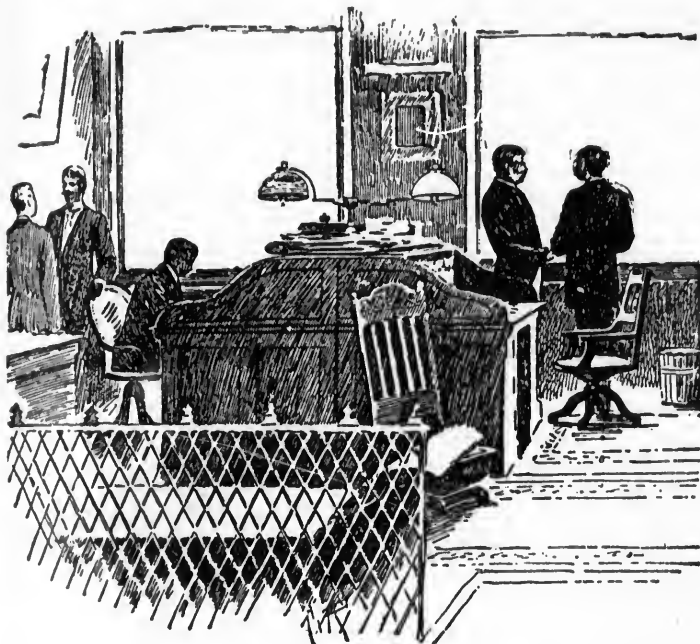
ports; (4) by whole, or near-ported mater home and exp on importatio to or greater The first three for purposes are still exte prominent, an protection gro tionists is long portant propo United States its own citizen duties compel protection we try, and such

diversified industries are called into being or strengthened by a protective tariff, and these are valuable to a nation in time of peace and necessary in time of war; the destructions of protection would mean that the labor of this country would have to compete with the cheaper labor (usually called "pauper labor") abroad; wages would fall, and the American laborer would be reduced to the low level of life common to laborers abroad; the investment of capital at home is encouraged by protection, and on this the working classes depend; even if protection were a questionable policy to inaugurate, now that it is established in this country it should be continued, for the sake of justice to invested capital and to prevent the financial disasters that would result from a revolution in our industries. To the arguments of the free-traders they reply that governments have very generally found it necessary or advisable to regulate to some extent the trade of their citizens or subjects; that protection benefits the whole nation, not merely a part, by keeping up the price of labor; that no free-trade argument can be drawn from inter-state commerce, since the localizing of industries can do no harm when all the localities are parts of a single whole; that competition between home industries will keep prices down to a fair point. Since the Civil war the Republican party had been practically a unit in supporting a protective tariff. Before that period members of both parties were found on each side of the line. The tariff has never been the main issue in a presidential election, though in 1880 and 1884 the Republicans strove to increase its importance.



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ports; (4) by granting drawbacks, which are rebates of the whole, or nearly the whole, duty that has been paid on imported materials when these have been manufactured at home and exported; or (5) by so arranging the rates of duty on importations as to make their cost to the consumer equal to or greater than the cost of similar domestic products. The first three methods are not relied upon in this country for purposes of protection, while the last two have been and are still extensively used. The last method is the more prominent, and around it the arguments for and against protection group themselves. The reasoning of the protectionists is long and complicated. A few of their more important propositions may be briefly stated, as follows: the United States as a nation is bound to secure advantages for its own citizens before regarding other countries; protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; without protection we should become chiefly an agricultural country, and such countries are comparatively poor and weak;

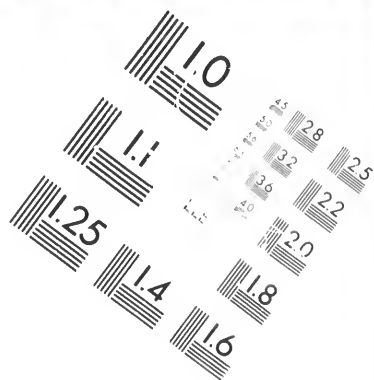
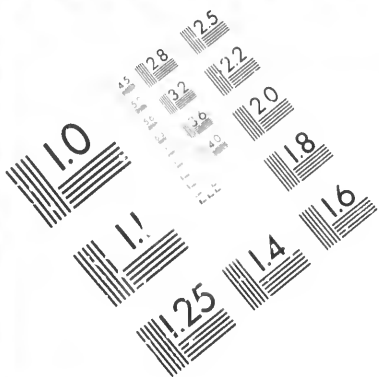
Canadian Tariffs.

Previous to Confederation each of the Provinces had the power of tariff legislation, and exercised it according to the exigencies of its own revenue. Their particular effect was to limit trade and intensify Provincial feeling. A broader idea of commercial relations was fostered during the existence of the Reciprocity Treaty, from 1854 to 1865, which promoted the intercourse of the British Provinces severally with the United States, but did not bring the Provinces themselves into closer connection. The negotiations for the renewal of the treaty have never been successful, the United States demanding more than the Provinces before 1867, or Canada, since that date, could with self-respect concede. The Provinces, in 1866, returned to their Revenue tariffs, while the United States increased their Customs tariff to meet the expenses incurred during their "Civil War."

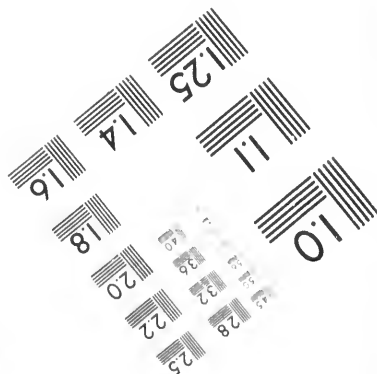
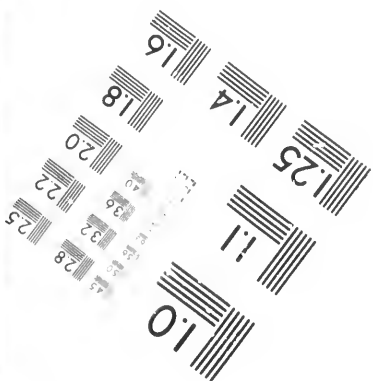
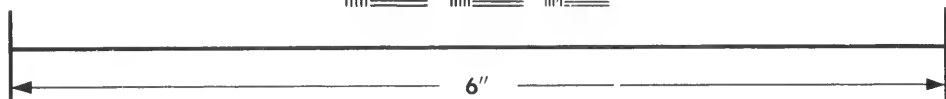
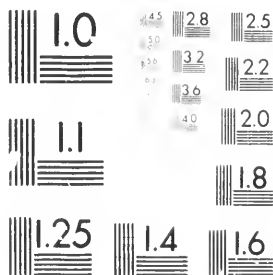
By the British North America Act, 1867, the power of tariff legislation was vested solely in the Parliament of Canada, the confederation of the Provinces being not only a "political" union, but a "commercial" one also. From 1867 to 1879 the Canadian tariff was one for "Revenue" only, and never averaged more than seventeen and a half per cent.

In the general election of 1878 the Conservative Party, then in opposition, under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald, went to the country on the issue of a *protective tariff*, upon the principle of enabling Canadian manufactures to compete against the importation of foreign goods. The Reform Party, then in power, under the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, held to the principle of a *tariff for revenue* only, foreign trade to be left as free as possible. The protective tariff, or "National Policy," as it has been called, carried in the elections, and the Conservative Party came into power. It at once put its policy in force at an average duty of forty per cent., the protective principle of which has since been adhered to by making such changes in the duties as foreign tariffs or Canadian manufactures demanded. Although strenuously contested, this policy was sustained in the succeeding general elections of 1882, '87 and '91.

Antecedent to the election of 1891, the question of tariffs absorbed the attention of the country more than ever. Tariffs imply international trade, and as the countries inter-



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ested watch one another's tariff action, so Canada observed, with some anxiety, the action of the Congress of the United States in passing the McKinley Bill, in 1890. This bill placed that country's duties at a figure so high as to almost close its markets to Canadian goods. In Canada, therefore, there was much political excitement, the immediate outcome of which was that the policy of protection was sustained at the polls. Another result was, that Canada sought and found in Great Britain an increasingly lucrative market for her natural products.

From the condition of public feeling at that time arose the idea of a Preferential tariff, which at length found expression in the principal resolution passed at the great Intercolonial Conference held in Ottawa, in 1894. Since then the principle involved in Imperial preferential trade, or an "Imperial Zollverein," as it is called, has obtained a very large prominence, especially in colonial trade circles. In Great Britain, this year, it has been emphasized by the Conference of delegates from the Chambers of Commerce throughout the British Empire. Its practical consideration is further stimulated by the facilities afforded by the faster steamship and railway transportation, and cable communication of recent years. Such a variety of interests and Imperial treaty obligations enter into the question that its accomplishment may be delayed for years, and yet, as has occurred in the past, some incident may arise which will operate to hasten the decision of the question. Such an incident, for instance, might spring from the unsettled public opinion of the United States upon their tariff question. Great Britain and Canada will await, with a good deal of interest, the expression of that opinion, to be given in the approaching quadrennial elections of the great Republic.

Since 1879, the conditions which then influenced public action have very largely disappeared. The old contest of "Revenue" *versus* "Protection" seems to be giving place to the national desire for an Imperial Trade Zollverein. For several years the two great parties have expressed equal attachment to a policy of this nature. During the recent general election, of the present year, which has returned the Reform Party to power with a large majority, the general expression of opinion was that Canada, under the greatly altered conditions, should proceed carefully, and profit by the international and Imperial developments of trade policy.

The Complete History of American Tariffs.

1. **Two Classifications.**—Tariffs are divided into two classifications: Revenue Tariffs and Protective Tariffs.

Each of them are a tax on the manufacture or production from the soil of articles of consumption or use; the



THE HON. WM. M. McKINLEY, OF OHIO,
Author of the Celebrated McKinley Tariff Law.

former being for the benefit of the state and the latter for the benefit of the manufacturer to a limited extent, at least incidentally.

Previous to the American revolution nearly every kind of manufacturing carried on in the colonies was subjected to duties paid to the crown for such privileges, or, if illegally done, to fines and penalties.

2. Our Tariff Legislation Slightly Modified.—These conditions were only introductory to the subject. Our tariff legislation began in 1789, at the time when we were exchanging our form of government from the slipshod form of a confederacy, if the expression is admissible, to that of a centralized power to subordinate the whole on all issues that affected the whole by the adoption of a constitution alike binding on all; then it was that a tariff act was passed by Congress bearing date of July 4, 1789, the object of which was stated by Congress to be for the encouragement and benefit of manufacturers, although it was barely sufficient for revenue only.

It was slightly modified August 10, 1790. For two fiscal years, ending September 30, its percentage on all importations averaged 15.34. May 2, 1792, another bill was passed which reduced this rate to 13.44 for the next three years. Revenue only had thus far been the result, but protection began now to be considered, to accomplish this the next change was made March 3, 1797, which increased the rates to an average of 18.43 for the next three years. May 13, 1800, another tariff bill was passed, increasing them to 21.30 for the next four years. The next tariff bill was passed March 26, 1804, raising the rates also as to average 23.62 for the next eight years.

3. Retributive Measure.—This brings us near to the war of 1812, when Congress demanded an increase in the rates of the tariff, as a retributive measure, to offset English restrictions on the laws of trade, but these laws were not made to injure America, but to retaliate on Napoleon for his decrees of Berlin, though they affected America as much as France, and caused much popular indignation against England.

4. New Tariff Bill.—These, added to the resentful feelings against England for the impressment of American seamen into the British service, were the real incentive to increasing the tariff rates at that time more than any economic necessity, and so strong was this feeling that the extreme Republicans advocated a tariff law which should claim higher duties on English importations than upon those from other countries, but this radical measure was voted down by the Federalists and a few moderate Republicans, and the new tariff bill was passed without any partial discrimination. It bore date of July 1, 1812, seventeen days before the war was declared. It raised the duties for the next four years so as to average 30.18 per cent.

5. The Effect of the War.—The rate would have averaged higher but for the fact that the effect of the war had

been to change the importations to a class of goods on which low tariff rates had been laid. Previous to this date the percentage on importations has been given on both dutiable and free goods for the reason that the government statistics have not given the two kinds separately. Probably the average might be about two per cent. less could it have been made on dutiable goods only. A very slight change might also have been made, from the fact that the terminations of fiscal years, for which calculations had been made, did not always correspond with dates of new tariffs, but this could not change the gross average but a fraction.

6. **The Beginning of the Real Tariff Issue.**—The war came to an end in 1814, and could no longer be brought into



THE HON. MR. RUSSELL, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

requisition to affect the tariff, and at this time began an issue that has ever since been a prolific source of agitation on jarring interests to which political partisanship has been tenaciously allied, whether from patriotic motives or for party preferences, may be considered a matter of opinion.

During the Napoleonic wars the manufacturing interests of America had assumed unexpectedly large proportions, owing to the restrictive laws of Congress, such as the Embargo Act of 1807, which interdicted all trade with England, and although the measure caused much stringency in business as well as agricultural interests, it stimulated

manufacturing as a matter of necessity, as it cut off all importation during the nineteen months in which it lasted before it was repealed. As might be expected, increased manufacturing created advocates for increased duties for protection of infant industries, a term then much quoted.

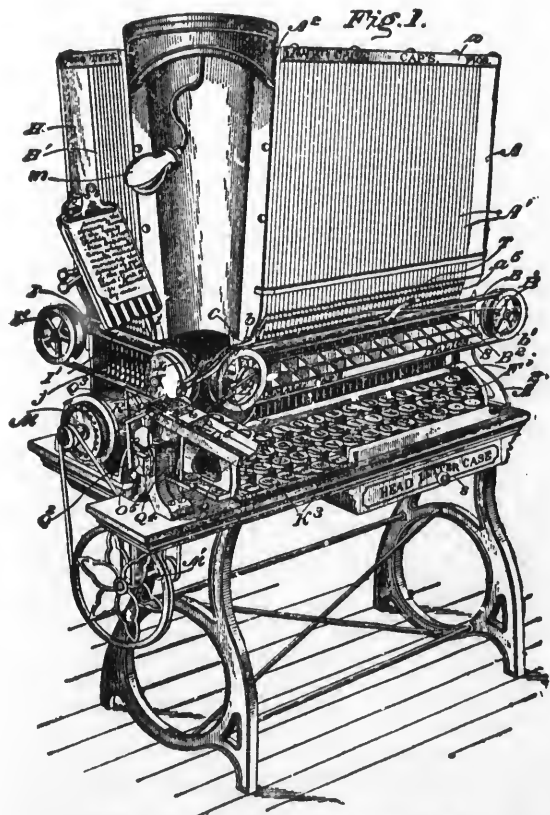
7. For Revenue Only.—At this particular epoch in American finance, the south had not formulated their policy but Mr. Calhoun, whose influence was potent, soon took the matter into consideration and became their exponent. At first he joined hands with the New England tariff men and favored increased duties on cotton goods under the impression that it would raise the price of the raw material, cotton, which was then the principal staple of the south, and the tariff bill of April 27, 1816, was the result. It materially raised the rates on cotton goods but lowered them on others, with a result, that in the next eight years the ad valorem rates on all importations averaged about the same as those of the four years previous. Until the tariff of 1816, revenue only had been the object and protection incidental to it, but this had transposed these conditions and fairly committed the government to the new policy.

8. Tariff Bill of 1824.—Henry Clay was then a rising power in political circles and chiefly through his influence a new tariff bill passed May 22, 1824, increasing duties still more than the last. The opposition against this bill was very strong, and it was only by a bare majority that it became a law. Under it the average rate on dutiable goods for the next four years was 50.84 per cent. May 19, 1828, another bill passed whose changes produced the following results: for 1828, 47.59 per cent.; for 1829, 54.18 per cent.; for 1830, 61.69 per cent., each, average rate on all dutiable goods.

9. South Carolina Nullification.—This tariff reached the limit of Southern endurance, and Calhoun now became outspoken as an anti-tariff man, and the South Carolina nullification grew out of it, by which President Jackson gained a reputation for loyalty to the Constitution and Calhoun a reputation for a vindicator of the right. The hostile feeling that grew up between these two distinguished Democrats on this issue never was placated, but Henry Clay, the great compromiser, came to the rescue the next year, and by his influence secured the passage of a bill by which the tariff should be graduated down to an average of 20 per cent. on all dutiable goods after 1842.

10. The Extreme Limit Never Reached.—This extreme limit never was quite reached, owing to the panicky times

that resulted from the hybrid bank legislation of 1836 and 1837, by which neither metallic currency, nor sound paper currency was established. But the "American System," as protection was called, was broken up, and a tariff for revenue only was substantially the law until 1861. From 1857



TYPE SETTING MACHINE.

to this date the rates on dutiable goods had averaged but 20.55 per cent.

ii. **The Most Stubbornly Fought Battle.**—Probably the most stubbornly fought battle ever carried on by our lawmakers in Congress preceded the passage of the new

tariff law, which went into effect on the 26th of August, 1894. For the first time in a generation the Democratic party found itself practically in control of every branch of the government on the 4th of March, 1893. The political campaign of the preceding year had been contested on the tariff issue. The Democratic platform of 1892 was pronounced



LUXURY.

The Right Principles of Taxation.—Tax the Luxuries and Admit the Necessaries Free.

in its opposition to the high protective system then in operation, while the Republican platform was as positive in its declarations favoring the protective policy of the administration of Mr. Harrison. Both the popular and the electoral vote of the country was largely on the side of a change in the tariff policy of the country.

12. **The Regular Session of Congress.**—The regular session of Congress opened on the first Monday in Decem-

ber, 1893, but it was not until January 8 that the bill was introduced into the House. The introductions of the bill raised a storm of disapproval against it, a large proportion of which came from the Republicans, but its provisions for free wool, coal, lumber, sugar and iron ore caused violent opposition from Democrats representing states where those interests were likely to be seriously affected. In the whole history of the government it may be doubted whether any previous attempt at tariff reform had been so radical as was to be accomplished by the Wilson bill, for it proposed within the space of one year to abolish about 38 per cent. of the duties then being paid upon imports, besides carrying to the free list manufactures and farm products which paid from 50 to 60 per cent. duties.

The bill, however, passed the House by a vote of 204 to 140, and went to the Senate February 2, 1894, where it was confronted by a condition of things wholly unlike that which existed in the House. The Democratic strength in the Senate was exactly 44, one more than a majority, there being 3 vacancies. The Republicans numbered 37 and the Populists 4, whose sympathies were equally divided between the Democrats and Republicans. Under these circumstances it became absolutely essential for the Democrats to command every vote in their own party to carry any measure they might present, while it was apparent that the Democrats in the Senate were more strongly inclined than those in the House to a moderate degree of protection.

13. **The General Debate Began in the Senate.**—The general debate began in the Senate on the 2d of April and closed on the 24th, after which the bill was considered by paragraph until the 3d of July, when the final vote was taken. Thus, after five months of consideration and debate, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 34. The affirmative vote was cast by 37 Democrats and 2 Populists (Kyle of South Dakota and Allen of Nebraska), while the negative vote was made up of 31 Republicans and 2 Populists (Peffer of Kansas and Stewart of Nevada) and 1 Democrat (Mr. Hill of New York), who opposed the measure on account of its income tax features.

The bill then went to the conference committee of the two Houses, and the result was, as was generally expected, a deadlock.

14. **The Deadlock.**—The deadlock continued, but party harmony had given way to pride of opinion and personal feeling. Proposals of compromise were made and rejected, and bitterness of feeling grew more intense each day. A

caucus was held in the House at the suggestion of some who were willing to yield to the Senate, but nothing was accomplished. Another caucus of the House was held, and on the 13th of August the House ended the struggle by accepting the Senate bill in its entirety in place of the Wilson bill. The bill passed the House and was sent to the President on the 15th of August and became a law without his approval.

The reason why the President did not sign the bill was because he did not wish to go on record as approving it with the amendments that had divested it of its most radical reductions in tariff rates.

The Difference Between the McKinley Tariff and the Wilson Law.

The LIst Congress, elected in 1888, which came in with the Harrison administration March 4, 1889, had, in the House of Representatives, 173 Republicans, 156 Democrats and 1 Independent. This was the Congress that passed the McKinley bill. It was elected on the pledge of the Republicans, in their press and on the stump, that they would reform the tariff, upon the claim that that system should be corrected by its friends rather than by its enemies. The McKinley law, the highest protective tariff measure the country ever had, was the way the Republicans kept their promises of reform to the people.

The LIId Congress was elected in 1890, and the people showed their appreciation of the way the Republicans had kept their promises regarding tariff reform by electing a House of Representatives that stood 88 Republicans, 235 Democrats and 9 Alliance. To emphasize the popular wish for reform of the tariff Mr. Cleveland was elected President in 1892, and the lower house of Congress elected at the same time stood 129 Republicans, 216 Democrats, 8 Alliance or Populists, with two vacancies. There has been since 1889 no abatement in the popular wish for an improvement in a substantial reduction of the tariff, and the demand is as strong to-day as it was in 1889 for a radical departure from war taxation and the Morrill law of 1861. While this is true it does not indicate any disposition on the part of the people to adopt the free-trade notions of Great Britain, but it is a protest against the enormous taxation of the many for the benefit of the few.

The New Tariff.—As a result of the persistent effort of

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the people they have the new tariff that has just gone into effect. That this tariff is denounced by the politicians of both political parties cuts no figure with the American voter. While he sees that it is not a model measure, he also understands that it is a reversal of the McKinley



THE HON. W. L. WILSON.
Author of the Wilson Tariff Law.

policy. The majority would have liked a longer free list and lower duties on some articles, but in the main they accept the law as an improvement on other recent tariff legislation and compare it with the Walker tariff of 1846.

Financial Depression.—The people understand to their sorrow what the financial depression of the last eighteen months has cost them, and if the effect of the new tariff shall be to revive business, restore confidence, give a new impetus to the nation's foreign trade and commerce and replenish the treasury with the gold that has been drained from it, no amount of prophecy regarding "pauper wages

to pauper workmen " will be effective in frightening them away from the policy of a low protective tariff on manufactures and free raw material. If the new tariff law shall contribute to the substantial and material prosperity of the country, partisan criticism of its features, either from Democratic or Republican sources, will have little effect.

Lower Taxation.—It is the principle of lower taxation and freer and more unrestricted trade relations that is on trial before the American people of to-day rather than the tenets of any political party. It is the time when the independent voter rather than the blind partisan is in the saddle.



THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MCKINLEY AND WILSON TARIFF, ON THE DIFFERENT COMMODITIES.

The articles covered by the tariff acts number many thousands. The following table embraces about 500 selected articles, being mainly those in most general use in the United State. N. e. s. indicates "When not elsewhere specified."

ARTICLES.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.		1894 Tariff Rate.	
	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.
Alcohol, amylic.....	10 per cent. ad val.	10 per cent. ad val.	10 per cent. ad val.	10 per cent. ad val.
Aluminium, unmanufactured.....	15c per lb.	15c per lb.	10c per lb.	10c per lb.
Aniline colors or dyes.....	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.
Animals for breeding purposes.....	Free.	Free.	Free.	Free.
Bagging for cotton.....	16-10c and 18-10c per lb.	Free.	Free.	Free.
Bags, grain.....	2c per lb.	Free.	Free.	Free.
Barley, bushel of 48 lbs.....	30c per bushel.	30c per bushel.	30 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.
Beads, glass.....	10 per cent. ad val.	10 "	10 "	10 "
Beef, mutton and pork.....	2c per lb.	2c per lb.	20 "	20 "
Beer, ale, not in bottles.....	2c per gal.	13c per gal.	13c per gal.	13c per gal.
Beer, porter and ale, in bottles.....	40c "	30c "	30c "	30c "
Bindings, cotton.....	40 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.
Bindings, flax.....	50 "	35 "	35 "	35 "
Bindings, wool.....	60c per lb. and 67 per cent.	50 "	50 "	50 "
Blankets, value not over 80c per lb.....	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "	80 "	25 "	25 "
Blankets, value 80c and not over 40c.....	22c "	35 "	30 "	30 "
Blankets, value 40c and not over 50c.....	33c "	35 "	35 "	35 "
Blankets, value 50c and over.....	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ c "	40 "	35 "	35 "
Bonnets, silk.....	60 per cent ad val.	50 "	50 "	50 "
Bonnets, straw.....	30 "	25 "	25 "	25 "
Books, charts, maps.....	25 "	25 "	25 "	25 "
Books, over 20 years old, for public libraries, or printed exclusively in any foreign language.....	Free.	Free.	Free.	Free.
Bronze, manufacturers of.....	45 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Brushes.....	40 "	35 "	35 "	35 "
Building stone, rough.....	11c per cubic foot.	11c per cubic foot.	7c per cubic foot.	7c per cubic foot.
Building stone, dressed.....	40 per cent. ad val.	40 per cent. ad val.	80 per cent. ad val.	80 per cent. ad val.
Butter and substitutes for.....	6c per lb.	6c per lb.	4c per lb.	4c per lb.
Buttons, pearl.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ c per line & 25 per cent.	1c pr line & 15 pr ct. ad val.	1c pr line & 15 pr ct. ad val.	1c pr line & 15 pr ct. ad val.
Buttons, sleeve and collar, gilt.....	45 per cent. ad val.	45 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Buttons, wool, hair, etc.....	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.

	50 per cent. ad val.	50 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Canvas for sails.....	50	"	"
Caps, cotton.....	50	"	40
Caps, fur and leather.....	35	"	50
Carpets, treble ingrain.....	19c per sq. yd. & 40 per cent.	32½	"
Carpets, two-ply.....	4c	"	40
Carpets, tapestry Brussels.....	28c	"	42½
Carpets, Wilton and Axminster.....	60c	"	40
Carpets, Brussels.....	44c	"	40
Carpets, velvet.....	40c	"	40
Cattle (over one year old).....	\$10 per head.....	20	"
Cheese, all kinds.....	6c per lb.....	4c per lb.	"
Clocks, n. e. s.....	\$4.50 per lb. and 25 per cent.	\$1 pr lb. & 25 pr ct. ad val.	"
Clothing, ready-made, cotton, n. e. s.....	50	"	40
Clothing, ready-made, linen.....	55	"	50
Clothing, ready-made, silk.....	61	"	50
Clothing, ready-made, woolen.....	49½c per lb. and 60 per cent.	50	"
Coal, anthracite.....	Free.	Free.	"
Coal, bituminous.....	75c per ton.....	40c per ton.	"
Coffee.....	Free.....	Free.....	"
Confectionery, all sugar.....	5c per lb.....	35 per cent. ad val.	"
Copper, manufactures of.....	50	"	85
Cotton trimmings.....	45 per cent. ad val.	50	"
Cotton galloons and gimps.....	40	"	45
Cotton gloves.....	50	"	40
Cotton handkerchiefs, hemmed.....	50	"	40
Cotton handkerchiefs, hemstitched.....	60	"	50
Cotton hosiery, valued at more than 60c and not more than \$2 per dozen pairs.....	50c per doz. and 90 per cent.	50	"
Cotton hosiery, \$2 to \$4 per dozen.....	75c	40	"
Cotton hosiery, more than \$4 per dozen.....	\$1	40	"
Cotton shirts and drawers, value \$3 to \$5 per dozen.....	\$1.25	40	"
Cotton plushes, velvets, etc., unbleached.....	10c per sq. yd. & 20 per cent.	40	"
Cotton Swiss muslin.....	60 per cent. ad val.	50	"
Cotton webbing.....	40	"	45
Cotton curtains.....	12c	"	50
Cutlery, etc., not more than 50c per dozen.....	60c per doz. and 50 per cent.	25*	"

* Valued at not more than 30c per dozen; value from 30c to 50c per dozen; 12c per dozen and 25 per cent. ad val.

MCKINLEY AND WILSON TARIFFS—Continued.

ARTICLES.	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.		1894 Tariff Rate.	
	30c per doz. and 50 per cent.	50 "	25c per doz. and 25 per cent. ad val.*	75c per doz. and 25 per cent. ad val.
Cotton webbing.....	\$1	50 "	50 "	50 per cent. ad val.
Cotton curtains.....	\$2	" "	50 "	" "
Cutlery, etc., not more than 50c per dozen.....	\$1.75	" "	45 "	" "
Cutlery, \$1.50 to \$3 per dozen.....	10c	" "	45 "	" "
Cutlery, more than \$3 per dozen.....	35c	" "	85 "	" "
Cutlery, razors, more than \$4 per dozen.....	40c	" "	85 "	" "
Cutlery, table knives, not more than \$1 per dozen.....	\$1	" "	45 "	" "
Cutlery, table knives, \$1 to \$2 per dozen.....	\$2	" "	10†	" "
Cutlery, table knives, \$2 to \$3 per dozen.....	10	" "	25 "	" "
Cutlery, table knives, more than \$3 per dozen.....	Free.	" "	Free.	" "
Diamonds (uncut, free), cut and set.....	10 per cent. ad val.	" "	10 per cent. ad val.	" "
Diamonds cut, but not set.....	Free.	" "	Free.	" "
Drugs, crude.....	Free.	" "	Free.	" "
Drugs, not crude.....	%c per lb.	" "	10 per cent. ad val.	" "
Dyewoods, crude.....	25 per cent. ad val.	" "	25 per cent. ad val.	" "
Dyewoods, extracts of.....	55 "	" "	80 "	" "
Earthenware, common.....	60 "	" "	85 "	" "
Earthenware, china, porcelain, plain.....	5c per doz.	" "	8c per doz.	" "
Earthenware, china, porcelain, etc., decorated.....	25 per cent. ad val.	" "	25 per cent. ad val.	" "
Eggs.....	35c per lb.	" "	35c per lb.	" "
Engravings.....	Free.	" "	Free.	" "
Extracts, meat.....	\$1.50 each and 85 per cent.	" "	80 per cent. ad val.	" "
Fertilizers, guanos, manures.....	\$4 "	85 "	80 "	" "
Firearms, double-barrel, breach loading, not over \$6.....	\$6 "	85 "	80 "	" "
Firearms, value over \$12.....	\$1 "	85 "	80 "	" "
Firearms, single-barreled.....	\$1 "	35 "	80 "	" "
Firearms, pistols, value over \$1.50.....	Free.....	" "	Free.	" "
Fish, American fisheries.....	%c per lb.	" "	%c per lb.	" "
Fish, smoked, dried.....	16½c per lb. and 80 per cent.	" "	25 per cent. ad val.	" "
Flannels, value not over 30c per lb.....	22c "	85 "	80 "	" "
Flannels, value 30c to 40c.....	38c "	85 "	85 "	" "
Flannels, value 40c to 50c.....	50 per cent. ad val.	" "	85 "	" "
Flax, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	90 "	" "	85 "	" "
Flowers, artificial.....	25c per bushel.....	" "	20 "	" "
Fruits, preserved in their own juice.....				
Fruits, apples.....				

* Valued at not more than 30c per dozen; value from 30c to 50c per dozen; 12c per dozen and 25 per cent. ad val.

Fruits, oranges, lemons, n. e. s.	11c per box and 30 per cent.	‡
Fur, manufactures of	35 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.
Furniture, wood	35 "	25 "
Glassware, plain and cut	60 "	40 "
Glass, lamp chimneys	5c per sq. foot.	5c per sq. foot.
Glass, polished plate, not over 16x24	6c "	6c "
Glass, silvered, not over 16x24	1c per lb.	½c per lb.
Glass bottles, over one pint.	\$1.75 d. not less 50 per cent.	
Gloves, ladies' and children's schmaschen.	\$2.25 "	50 "
Gloves, ladies' and children's lamb.	\$3.25 "	50 "
Gloves, ladies' and children's kid.	50 per cent. ad val.	
Gloves, suede and all other leather.	50 "	
Gloves, all leather, over 14 inches.	\$1 doz. and 50 per cent.	
Gloves, men's.	\$1 "	
Gloves, lined	½c per lb.	15 per cent. ad val.
Glucose	1½c	25 "
Glue, value not over 7c per lb.	55 per cent. ad val.	35 "
Gold, manufactures of, not jewelry	15 "	10 "
Hair of hogs, curled for mattresses	15 "	30 "
Hair manufactures, n. e. s.	35 "	Drawn, 20 per cent.; not drawn free.
Hair, human, unmanufactured	20 "	20 per cent. ad val.
Hams and bacon	5c per lb.	50 "
Handkerchiefs, linen (hemmed)	55 per cent. ad val.	50 "
Handkerchiefs, silk	60 "	50 "
Hay	\$4 per ton.	\$2 per ton.
Hemp cordage	2½c per lb.	10 per cent. ad val.
Hides, raw, dried and pickled	Free.	Free.
Hogs	\$1.50 per head.	20 per cent. ad val.
Honey	20c per gallon.	10c per gallon.
Hoops, iron or steel, bailing purposes (cut)	1½c per lb.	30 per cent. ad val.
Hops	15c	8c per lb.

* Valued from 50 cents to \$1 per dozen; valued from \$1 to \$1.50 per dozen; 40 cents per dozen and 25 per cent. ad valorem. † Uncut, 10 per cent. ad valorem; cut and set, 35 per cent. ad valorem. ‡ In packages, 8 cents per cubic foot; in bulk, \$1.50 per M; 30 per cent. ad valorem on barrels or boxes exclusive of contents. § Owing to change of classification in sizes no comparison can be given. Estimated rate on all gloves imported about 40 per cent. ad valorem. The following rates obtain: Ladies' and children's glace finish, schmaschen, not over 14 inches, \$1 per dozen pairs; 14 to 17 inches, \$1.50 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2; men's, \$3 per dozen pairs. Lamb glace finish, not over 14 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; 14 to 17 inches, \$2.75 per dozen; over 17 inches, \$3; men's, \$4 per dozen. Kid glace finish, ladies' and children's, not over 14 inches, \$2.50; 14 to 17 inches, \$3; men's, \$4 per dozen. Of sheep origin, not over 17 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2.75; men's, \$4 per dozen pairs. All leather gloves, when lined, \$1 per dozen additional. || Cotton ties free.

ARTICLES.	1880 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.
Horn, manufactures of.....	30 per cent. ad val.	25 per cent. ad val.
Horses, mules, value under \$150 each.....	\$30 per head.....	20 " " " "
Horses, mules, value over \$150 each.....	30 per cent. ad val.	20 " " " "
India-rubber, manufactures of.....	30 " " " "	25 " " " "
India-rubber, vulcanized.....	35 " " " "	80 " " " "
India-rubber, wearing apparel.....	50c per lb. and 50 per cent.	40 " " " "
Instruments, metal.....	45 " " " "	35 " " " "
Iron, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	45 " " " "	85 " " " "
Iron screws, 1/2 inch or less in length.....	14c per lb.....	10c per lb.
Iron, tinned plates.....	2-2-10c per lb.....	1-1-5c per lb.
Ivory, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	40 per cent. ad val.....	35 per cent. ad val.
Jewelry.....	50 " " " "	35 " " " "
Jute burlaps.....	1 1/2c per lb.....	Free.
Jute, other bagging.....	2c " " " "	" " " "
Knit goods, wool, value not over 30c per lb.....	38c " " and 40 per cent.	35 per cent. ad val.
Knit goods, woolen apparel, 30 to 40c per lb.....	8 1/2c " " 40 " "	35 " " " "
Knit goods, woolen apparel, 40 to 60c per lb.....	44c " " 50 " "	40 " " " "
Knit goods, woolen apparel, 60 to 80c per lb.....	44c " " 50 " "	40 " " " "
Knit goods, woolen apparel, over 80c per lb.....	44c " " 50 " "	40 " " " "
Knit goods, silk.....	60 per cent.....	50 " " " "
Laces, cotton.....	60 " " ad val.....	50 " " " "
Laces, linen.....	60 " " " "	50 " " " "
Lard.....	2c per lb.....	1c per lb.
Lead, pigs, bars.....	2c " " " "	1c " " " "
Lead, type metal.....	1 1/2c " " " "	3/4c " " " "
Leather manufactures, n. e. s.....	35 per cent. ad val.....	30 per cent. ad val.
Lime.....	6c per 100 lbs.....	5c per 100 lbs.
Linen manufactures, n. e. s.....	50 per cent. ad val.....	35 per cent. ad val.
Linen, wearing apparel.....	55 " " " "	50 " " " "
Linen thread, value over 13c per lb.....	45 " " " "	35 " " " "
Linseed oil.....	32c per gal. of 7 1/2 lb.....	20c per gal.
Macaroni.....	2c per lb.....	20 per cent. ad val.
Malt, barley.....	45c per bushel.....	40 " " " "
Matches, friction, boxed.....	10c per gr. bxs, 100 in box.....	20 " " " "
Mats, cocoa and rattan.....	8c per sq. ft.....	20 " " " "
Mating, cocoa and rattan.....	12c " " sq. yd.....	20 " " " "
Mathematical instruments, glass.....	60 per cent. ad val.....	35 " " " "
Meerschaum pipes.....	70 " " " "	80 " " " "
Mica, ground.....	85 " " " "	20 " " " "

to 17 inches, \$1.50 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2; men's, \$3 per dozen pairs. Lamb glaze finish, not over 14 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; 14 to 17 inches, \$2.75 per dozen; over 17 inches, \$3.75; men's, \$4 per dozen. Kid glaze finish, ladies' and children's, not over 14 inches, \$2.35; 14 to 17 inches, \$3; over 17 inches, \$4; men's, \$4 per dozen. Of sheep origin, not over 17 inches, \$1.75 per dozen pairs; over 17 inches, \$2.75; men's, \$4 per dozen pairs. All leather gloves, when lined, \$1 per dozen additional. || Cotton ties free.

Milk, fresh.....	Free.
Milk, condensed.....	2c per lb.
Molasses, n. e. s.....	40° to 56°. 2c per gal.
Muffs, fur.....	30 per cent. ad val.
Musical instruments, metal.....	25 "
Music boxes.....	25 "
Nails, cut.....	22½ "
Nails, horsehoe.....	30 "
Newspapers, periodicals.....	Free.
Oatmeal.....	1c per lb.
Oilcloth for floors, value over 25 cents per square yard.....	15 per cent. ad val.
Oil, olive.....	40 "
Oil, whale and seal, foreign fisheries.....	35c per gallon.
Onions.....	8c
Opium, liquid preparations.....	40c per bushel.
Opium, crude and unadulterated.....	20c per bushel.
Organs.....	Free.
Paintings, by American artists.....	45 per cent. ad val.
Paintings, by foreign artists.....	Free.
Paper manufactures, n. e. s.....	15 per cent. ad val.
Paper stock, crude.....	25
Pepper, cayenne, unground.....	Free.
Perfumery, alcoholic.....	2½c per lb.
Phosphorus.....	\$2 per gal. and 50 per cent. ad val.
Photograph albums.....	20c per lb.
Photograph slides.....	35 per cent. ad val.
Pianofortes.....	60 "
Pickles.....	45 "
Pins, metallic.....	45 per cent. bot. additional
Pipes of clay, common.....	30
Plants, nursery stock.....	25 "
Poultry, dressed.....	15c per gross.
Potatoes.....	20 per cent. ad val.
Pulp wood, for papermakers' use, ground.....	Free.
Quicksilver.....	5c per lb.
Quilts, cotton.....	25c per bushel (60) lb.
Quinine, sulphate, and salts.....	15c per bushel.
Railroad ties, cedar.....	10 per cent. ad val.
Robes, buffalo, made up.....	7c per lb.
Roofing tiles, plain.....	80 per cent. ad val.
Rope, bale, of hemp.....	Free.
.....	20 per cent. ad val.
.....	25 "
.....	10 "
.....	2½c per lb.

° Above 55°, 4 cents per gallon.

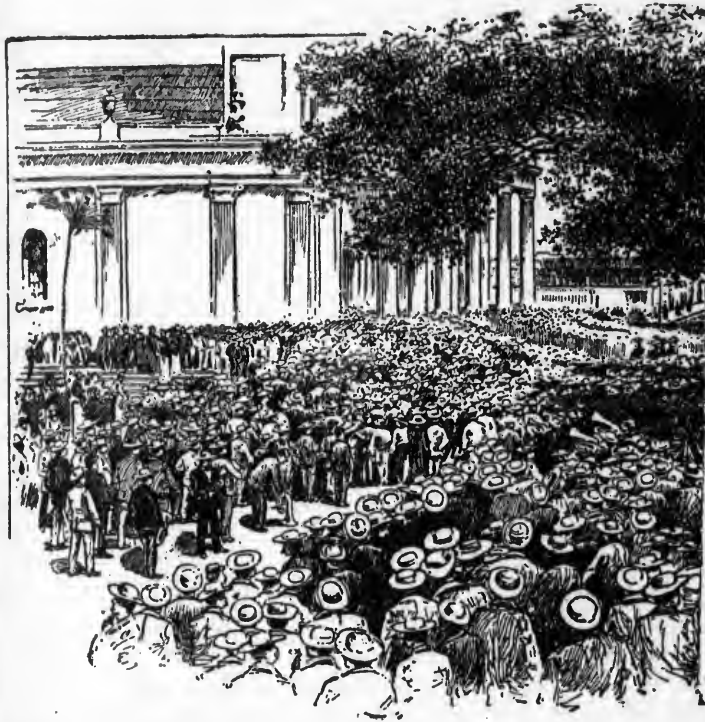
Pulp wood, for papermakers' use, ground.....
 Quicksilver.....
 Quilts, cotton.....
 Quinine, sulphate, and salts.....
 Railroad ties, cedar.....
 Robes, buffalo, made up.....
 Roofing tiles, plain.....
 Rope, bale, of hemp.....

ABOVE 16". 4 cents per gallon.

	1890 (McKinley) Tariff.	1894 Tariff Rate.
Rope, bale, of cotton.....	40 per cent. ad val.	35 per cent. ad val.
Rugs, Oriental.....	60c per sq. yd. & 40 per cent.	40 "
Salmon, dried or smoked.....	1c per lb.	3/4c per lb.
Salmon, prepared or preserved.....	8c per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Salt, in bulk.....	12 "	Free.
Salt, in bags.....	45 per cent., bottles extra	30 per cent. ad val.
Sauces, n. e. s.....	Free.....	1 cte.
Sausages, bologna.....	25 per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Sausages, all other.....	35 "	30 "
Sealskin saques.....	20 "	40 "
Seeds, garden.....	50 "	35 "
Sheetings, linen.....	55 "	50 "
Shirts, in part or wholly linen.....	25 "	20 "
Shoes, leather.....	30 "	25 "
Shoes, India rubber.....	Free.....	Free.
Silk, raw.....	35 per cent. ad val.	30 per cent. ad val.
Silk, spun in skeins.....	60 "	50 "
Silk laces, embroideries, wearing apparel.....	Free.....	Free.
Skins, uncured, raw.....	20 per cent. ad val.	20 per cent. ad val.
Skins, tanned and dressed.....	30 "	30 "
Slates, manufactures of, n. e. s.....	70 "	50 "
Smokers' articles, except clay pipes.....	50c per lb.....	50c per lb.
Snauf.....	1 1/4c "	20 per cent. ad val.
Soap, castile.....	15c "	35 "
Soap, toilet, perfumed.....	13 1/2c "	1c per lb.
Spelter, in blocks.....	\$2.50 proof gal., bot. ex.....	\$1.80 per proof gal.
Spirits, except bay rum.....	15 per cent. ad val.....	Free.
Statuary, marble.....	2 8-10c per lb.....	1 9-10c per lb.
Steel ingots, slabs, etc., val. 7c to 10c per lb.....	3 1/2c "	2 4-10c "
Steel ingots, slabs, etc., val. 10c to 13c per lb.....	4 2-10c "	2 8-10c "
Steel ingots, slabs, etc., value 13c to 16c per lb.....	7c "	4 7-10c "
Stereoscopic views, glass.....	60 per cent. ad val.....	35 per cent. ad val.
Straw manufactures, n. e. s.....	30c per lb.....	25 "
Sugars, not above 16 Dutch standard.....	Free.....	40 "
Sugars, above 16 Dutch standard.....	1/4c per lb.....	per lb. additional.
Sumac, ground.....	4-10c "	10 per cent. ad val.
Tea.....	Free.....	Free.
Telescopes.....	60 per cent. ad val.....	35 per cent. ad val.

Tin, ore or metal.....	4c per lb.....	Free.
Tin plates.....	2-10c per lb.....	1-5c per id.
Tobacco, cigar wrappers, not stemmed.....	\$2 per lb.....	\$1.50 "
Tobacco, if stemmed.....	\$2.75 per lb.....	\$2.25 "
Tobacco, all other leaf, stemmed.....	50c "	50c "
Tobacco, unmanufactured, not stemmed.....	85c "	35c "
Trees, nursery stock.....	20 per cent. ad val.....	Free.
Trimnings, cotton.....	60 "	50 per cent. ad val.
Trimnings, lace.....	60 "	50 "
Trimnings, linen.....	60c per lb. and 60 per cent.....	50 "
Trimnings, wool, worsted, etc.....	60 per cent. ad val.....	35 "
Towels, linen, damask.....	55 "	45 "
Umbrellas, silk or alpaca.....	25 "	10 "
Vegetables, natural, n. e. s.....	45 "	30 "
Vegetables, prepared or preserved.....	\$3.50 per lb. and 15 per cent.....	\$1.50 per lb.
Velvets, silk, 75 per cent. or more silk.....	35 per cent. ad val.....	25 per cent. ad val.
Violins.....	25 "	25 "
Watches and parts of.....	30 "	25 "
Water colors, for artists.....	30 "	25 "
Whips, rawhide and leather.....	35 "	30 "
Wheat, bushel of 60 lbs.....	25c per bushel.....	20 "
Willow for basket-makers.....	30 per cent. ad val.....	30 "
Willow hats and bonnets.....	40 "	25 "
Willow manufactures, n. e. s.....	40 "	25 "
Wines, champagne, in 1/2-pint bottles or less.....	\$2 per dozen.....	\$2 per dozen.
Wines, champagne, in 1/2-pint to 1 pint.....	\$4 "	\$4 "
Wines, champagne, in bottles, 1 pint to 1 quart.....	\$8 "	\$8 "
Wines, champagne, in bottles over 1 quart.....	\$8 and \$2.50 per gallon.....	\$2.50 per gallon.
Wines, still, in casks.....	50c per gallon.....	50c "
Woods, cabinet, sawed.....	15 per cent. ad val.....	Free.
Wool, first and second class.....	11c and 12c per lb.....	" "
Wool, third class, n. e. s., above 8c per lb.....	50 per cent. ad val.....	30 per cent. ad val.
Wool or worsted yarns, value not over 80c per lb.....	27 1/2c per lb. & 85 per cent.....	30 "
Wool or worsted yarns, value 80 to 40c per lb.....	33c "	35 "
Wool or worsted yarns, value over 40c per lb.....	88 1/2c "	40 "
Woolen manufactures, n. e. s., value not over 80c per lb.....	49 1/2c "	50 "
Woolen manufactures, n. e. s., value not over 80c per lb.....	85c "	40 "
Woolen manufactures, 30 to 40c per lb.....	85 1/2c "	40 "
Woolen manufactures, 40 to 60c per lb.....	41c "	50 "
Woolen manufactures, 60 to 80c per lb.....	44c "	50 "
Woolen manufactures, value over 80c per lb.....	44c "	50 "

Wool or worsted yarns, value over 40c per lb.	38 $\frac{3}{4}$ c
Woolen or worsted clothing.	49 $\frac{1}{2}$ c
Woolen manufactures, n. e. s. value not over 30c per lb.	33c
Woolen manufactures, 30 to 40c per lb.	38 $\frac{1}{2}$ c
Woolen manufactures, 40 to 50c per lb.	41c
Woolen manufactures, 50 to 60c per lb.	44c
Woolen manufactures, value over 60c per lb.	50c
Woolen manufactures, value over 80c per lb.	50c



A Political Gathering Listening to Tariff Speeches.

The Principles of Free Trade.

Free trade is the doctrine of political economy maintained by those who hold that trade should be unrestricted by governmental regulations or interference. The term is generally used with reference to governmental exactions on importations. Theoretically free traders hold that our commerce with other nations should be as unrestricted as commerce between the various states of the Union, but practically they admit that duties on imports are a convenient way of raising a revenue; so that as the term is generally used in this country, a free trader is one who believes in so regulating the tariff as to raise the necessary revenue with the least restrictions on foreign commerce and with

absolutely no attempt to protect home industries. He believes strictly in a tariff for revenue only, or a fiscal tariff, as it is sometimes called. A brief outline of some of the most important propositions on which the free trade argument rests may be given as follows: Every man has a natural right to buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest; all attempts to check this right on the part of the government result, sooner or later, in an artificial commercial condition and consequent financial disaster; labor, production, manufacture and commerce, being governed by natural laws, will regulate themselves best if not interfered with; a nation should devote itself to industries which are natural to it; to attempt to force others to growth is an artificial stimulus and a waste of energy; if other nations can produce articles cheaper than we can, it is an unnecessary national extravagance to waste, in making them at home, strength that could more profitably be devoted to other pursuits. Protection benefits only a minority of the nation at the expense of the large majority. The advantages which have resulted from free trade between the several states of the Union prove that similar advantages would follow from free trade with foreign nations. In answer to some of the arguments of the protectionists, free traders say that it is ridiculous and untrue to insist that protective duties compel foreigners to pay part of our taxes; that diversified industries are proven by history not to be necessary for a nation, since with wealth all things can be purchased in these days, and the nation will gain wealth more rapidly if it devotes itself to natural pursuits and avoids wasting its energy in unnatural ones; that high wages in the United States are due to our natural advantages, not to protection; that, in any case, with free trade the workman's necessities would cost much less and his wages would go as far as before; that it is unjust to tax the whole country to pay large profits on invested capital which could be equally well employed in other channels. A large majority of the Democratic party are free traders in the sense in which the term is used here—of favoring a tariff for revenue only, but a minority, powerful in influence if not in numbers, are protectionists.





LAFAYETTE.

International Arbitration--Public Opinion.

1. **An International Code.**—Some of the leading publicists of Europe are making earnest efforts to create a public opinion which shall ultimately induce the governments of Christendom to establish an international code of laws for the settlement of disputes between nations without recourse to arms. The difficulties in accomplishing this object are very great. An international code cannot be made effective unless there is a power to enforce it, and how

shall such a power be summoned into being? It can only be done by such combination of nations as shall be able to institute a tribunal capable of enforcing its own decrees. In its practical operations, such a tribunal would, of course, have to enforce its decrees against the wishes and the interests of some of the nations which created it, as our Federal Government has had to enforce its laws against states which sought to nullify them.

2. **International Tribunal.**—If the states composing our union, inhabited by people living under the same flag, could not be induced to submit their conflicting interests to the decision of the tribunal created to determine them, how can it be possible for nations of diverse nationalities, speaking different languages and swayed by racial enmities and hatreds, to abide by the decisions of an international tribunal, when its decrees shall deprive them of what they believe to be their just rights? The aggrieved nations would, of course, resort to nullification, and the only way in which they could be compelled to yield obedience would be by force of arms. Thus the international tribunal established to prevent war would itself become a provoker of war; and unless it carried on to a successful issue the war its own decrees had provoked, it would become the laughing-stock of the world, and no nation would be found so poor as to do it reverence.

3. **Public Opinion.**—There are those, however, who believe that public opinion will eventually become so enlightened and so Christianized that it will overcome all obstacles to the formation of an effective international tribunal of arbitration. They point to the fact that public opinion has banished dueling from Great Britain; that public opinion has revolutionized the moral sentiments of every nation in Christendom as to the treatment of vanquished cities, conquered countries and prisoners of war, and that public opinion is now the best protection of a feeble country like Switzerland against the injustice of powerful neighbors. They hold, as the Hon. Amos J. Cummings not long ago said in the House of Representatives that "public opinion is a tribunal that presides over all diplomacy. To it all nations and all men may appeal. The greatest minds of former generations have taken notice of its unlimited jurisdiction and of its overmastering power. The world's court of conscience never adjourns. It is always in session. To it all may appeal and before it all must plead. Before it sovereigns and subjects are equal, and all are alike amenable."



LADY ABERDEEN.

Women Workers of Canada.

The angelic announcement of the Gospel of God's Love gladdened first the heart of woman. From the cradle to the cross a noble band of women treasured the words of Our Saviour's discourses, and gave Him the tribute of their service. The last to leave the place of Crucifixion, they were the first to welcome the Resurrection morn. It was fitting they should hear the commission of the world's evangelization given to the Apostles, and be of the company that waited in the upper room the endowment of power, for "it rested upon each of them." From that time women have been co-workers and co-martyrs with men in the fulfilment of that commission.

In this century, that enfranchisement of thought in freedom of speech and liberty of organization, which has become the peculiar mark of the institutions of English-speaking nations, has been appropriated throughout the British Empire and the United States by Christian women to mul-

tively and perfect organization for the especial betterment of the children and women of their countries. Not alone along the lines of temperance, and other moral and missionary effort, have they sought to promote peace, good-will, and happiness in the homes of the nations, but they have formed associations to promote a healthy literature, a love of music, and the arts, and to ameliorate the conditions which modern industrial competition has placed upon the woman artisan and worker.

Contemporary with the earliest movements along any of these lines, in England or America, the WOMEN WORKERS OF CANADA have also been employing their heads, hearts, and efforts. There is not a religious congregation of any denomination in city, town, village, or rural district of Canada, but has in connection with it one or more organizations for special work. These local bands are generally units of Provincial or Dominion organizations, and have the same objects, so that they are made more effective by the sympathy of numbers, and broadened in their desire to do good by the extent of their influence. Such extensive associations are those of the King's Daughters, Woman's Missionary Societies, Children's Leagues, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Guilds, and several others. In the larger centres of population is formed the greater variety of associated work undertaken by Canadian women. Besides church and national societies there are many organizations in which the distinctions of creed and nationality are no bar to membership, such as Homes for Aged Women, Orphans' Homes, Poor Relief Associations, Day Nursery and Infants' Homes, and many others, with like philanthropic motives.

In the promotion of literature and art, no city, and scarcely a town or village, is without its Woman's Reading Club, Literary Society, Historical Society, Art Club, or Musical Association. Some of these, as the Woman's Art Association of Toronto, the Decorative Art Society of Montreal, the Ladies' Natural History Society of St. John, the Wentworth Historical Society of Hamilton, and the Art, Historic, and Scientific Association of Vancouver, indicate the varied subjects to the prosecution of which the women of Canada devote much time with profitable results.

Very few of the men of Canada have ever been aware of the full variety and numbers of the organizations through which the WOMEN OF CANADA have been applying thought

and vital force to the carrying out of the kindly, studious, or patriotic objects which make so much for the comfort and well-being of large classes of people, and the better interests of the nation.

When Her Excellency, the Countess of Aberdeen, wife of the Governor-General of Canada, came to the country, in 1893, Her Excellency at once became identified with the Women Workers of Canada in their various enterprises for good. Coming with a wide experience in similar work in Great Britain, and ever animated with an enthusiasm born of a devoted Christian character, Her Excellency's example gave much needed encouragement to all branches of the work throughout the Dominion. Knowing the stimulation given to the moral forces demanded for such special work by a union for sympathy and counsel, Her Excellency proposed a broad basis of union of all the associations of women in Canada. The proposal met the approval of the Societies, and, in 1894, the first meeting and conference of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF CANADA was held in Toronto, for organization. Her Excellency, Lady Aberdeen, was elected President. This National Council met for its second annual meeting, in the same city, in May, 1895. The report of the sessions of that Conference is a revelation of the self-denial, wise judgment, and administrative ability required of and exercised by the devoted womanhood of Canada in good works, whose extent no man can appreciate without the knowledge furnished by the perusal of such a report. Over three hundred societies, associations, or clubs, Jewish and Christian, Protestant and Catholic, and of the several nationalities in Canada, were represented.

The following words, with which Her Excellency, the President, closes the preface to that volume, replete with beautiful thoughts and valuable suggestions, summarizes the work and hopes of the WOMEN WORKERS OF CANADA :

"What must it mean to Canada if a strong, irresistible impulse has thus been given to her women to realize the high mission entrusted to them in their quiet homes? What must it mean if they see that to them it may be given by clasping one another's hands in high endeavor, prayerful faith and undying love, to bear a high part in making true the dreams of our poets of a united nation, which shall in very truth be a glory to our blended race and a benediction to the world."



MRS. GROVER CLEVELAND.

Shall Women Vote?

1. **All Men are Created Equal.**—We hold these truths to be self-evident, all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the

consent of the governed, and we charge that man with gross dishonesty or ignorance who shall contend that "men" in the memorable documents from which we quote does not stand for the human race, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are the "inalienable rights" of half only of the human species; and that, by the governed, whose consent is affirmed to be the only source of just power, is meant that half of mankind only who, in relation to the other, have hitherto assumed the character of governors.

2. **Civil Rights.**—It is absurd to deny all women their civil rights because the cares of the household and family take up all the time of some, as it would be to exclude the whole male sex from Congress because some men are sailors, or soldiers in active service, or merchants whose business requires all their attention and energies.

3. **From Scaffold to Scaffold and from Stake to Stake.**—Every step of progress the world has made has been from scaffold to scaffold and from stake to stake. It would hardly be exaggeration to say that all the great truths relating to society and government have been first heard in the solemn protest of martyred patriotism, or the loud cries of crushed and starving labor. And this is the last great protest against the wrong of ages. It is no argument to my mind, therefore, that the old social fabric of the past is against us.

4. **Leave it to Woman.**—We do not attempt to settle what shall be the profession, education, or employment of woman. We have not that presumption. What we ask is simply this, what all other classes have asked before: Leave it to woman to choose for herself her profession, her education, and her sphere. We deny to any portion of the species the right to prescribe to any other portion its sphere, its education, or its rights. We deny the right of any individual to prescribe to any other individual his amount of education or his rights. The sphere of each man, of each woman, of each individual is that sphere which he can, with the highest exercise of his powers, perfectly fill. The highest act which the human being can do, that is the act which God designed him to do.

5. **Prove What She Can Do.**—All that woman asks through this movement is to be allowed to prove what she can do; to prove it by liberty of choice and by liberty of action, the only means by which it ever can be settled how much and what she can do. She can reasonably say to us: "I have never fathomed the depths of science; you have taught that it was unwomanly, and have withdrawn from me the means of scientific culture. I have never equalled the eloquence of Demosthenes; but you have never quick-

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WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

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ened my energies by holding up before me the crown and robe of glory, and the gratitude which I was to win. The tools, now, to him or her who can use them. Welcome me, henceforth, brother, to your arena; and let facts, not theories, settle my capacity, and therefore my sphere."

6. **Clear the List and Let Her Try.**—Some reply, "It will be a great injury to feminine delicacy and refinement for woman to mingle in business and politics." I am not careful to answer this objection. Of all such objections, on this and kindred subjects, I love to dispose in some such way as this: The broadest and most far-sighted intellect is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences of any great social change. Ask yourself on all such occasions if there be any element of right and wrong in the question, any principle of clear natural justice that turns the scale. If so, take your part with the perfect and abstract right, and trust God to see that it shall prove the expedient. The questions, then, for me on this subject are these: Has God made woman capable—morally, intellectually, and physically—of taking this part in human affairs? Then, what God made her able to do, it is a strong argument that He intended she should do.

7. **The Legal Aspect.**—Does our sense of natural justice dictate that the being who is to suffer under laws shall first personally assent to them? that the being whose industry government is to burden should have a voice in fixing the character and amount of that burden? Then, while woman is admitted to the gallows, the jail, and the tax-list, we have no right to debar her from the ballot-box.

8. **No Title of Additional Civil Right.**—We know that the humblest man and the feeblest has the same civil rights, according to the theory of our constitution, as the most gifted. It is never claimed that the humblest shall be denied his civil right, provided he be a man. No. Intellect, even though it reach the Alpine height of a Parker—ay, setting aside the infamy of his conduct, and looking at him only as an instance of intellectual greatness, to the height of a Webster—gets no title of additional civil privilege, no one single claim to any greater civil privilege than the humblest individual, who knows no more than the first elements of his alphabet, provided that being is a man.

9. **Inferior Woman.**—Grant, then, that woman is intellectually inferior to man, it settles nothing. She is still a responsible, tax-paying member of civil society. We rest our claim on the great eternal principle that taxation and representation must be coextensive; that rights and burdens must correspond to each other, and he who undertakes to



THE WOMAN WHO DOES NOT CARE TO VOTE.

answer the argument of this convention must first answer the whole course of English and American history for the last hundred and fifty years. No single principle of liberty has been enunciated, from the year 1688 until now, that does not cover the claim of woman. The state has never laid the basis of rights upon the distinction of sex; and no reason has ever been given, except a religious one, that there are in the records of our religion commands obliging us to make woman an exception to our civil theories, and deprive her of that which those theories give her.

10. Strange Argument—Suppose woman, though equal, to differ essentially in her intellect from man, is that any ground for disfranchising her? Shall the Fultons say to the Raphaels, "Because you cannot make steam-engines, therefore you shall not vote?" Shall the Napoleons or the Washingtons say to the Wadsworths or the Herschels, "Because you cannot lead armies and govern states, therefore you shall have no civil rights?"

11. Guardian of Her Children.—Grant that woman's intellect be essentially different, even inferior, if you choose, still, while our civilization allows her to hold property and to be the guardian of her children, she is entitled to such education and to such civil rights—voting among the rest—as will enable her to protect both her children and her estate. It is easy to indulge in dilettanti speculation as to woman's sphere and in the female intellect. But leave dainty speculation and come down to practical life. Here is a young widow; she has children and ability, if you will let her exercise it, to give her the best advantage of education to secure them every chance of success in life, or she has property to keep for them and no friends to rely on. Shall she leave them to sink in the unequal struggles of life? Shall she trust their all to any adviser money can buy in order to gratify your taste and give countenance to your nice theories? or shall she use all the powers God has given her for those He has thrown upon her protection? If we consult common sense and leave theories alone there is but one answer.

12. Great Cares.—Suppose we grant that the cares of a household are so heavy that they are greater than the cares of the president of a college; that he who has the charge of some hundreds of youths is less oppressed with care than the woman with three rooms and two children; that though President Sparks has time for politics, Mrs. Brown has not. Grant that, and still we claim that you should be true to your theory and allow to single women those rights which she who is the mistress of a household and mother of a family has no time to exercise.

13. **A Source of Domestic Trouble.**—Let women vote! cries one. "Why, wives and daughters might be Democrats, while their fathers and husbands were Whigs. It would never do. It would produce endless quarrels." And the self-satisfied objector thinks he has settled the question.

But if the principle be a sound one, why not apply it in a still more important instance. Difference of religion breeds more quarrels than difference in politics. Yet we allow women to choose their own religious creeds, although we thereby run the risk of wives being Episcopalians while their husbands are Methodists, or daughters being Catholics while their fathers are Calvinists. Yet, who this side of Turkey dare claim that the law should compel women to have no religious creed, or adopt that of their male relatives? Practically this freedom in religion has made no difficulty; and probably equal freedom in politics would make as little.

14. **Marching to the Front.**—It is, after all, of little use to argue these social questions. These prejudices never were reasoned up, and, my word for it, they will never be reasoned down. The freedom of the press, the freedom of labor, the freedom of the race in its lowest classes, was never argued to success. The moment you can get woman to go out into the highway of life and show by active valor what God has created her for, that moment this question is settled forever. One solid fact of a woman's making her fortune in trade will teach the male sex what woman's capacity is. I say, therefore, to women there are two paths before you in this reform: one is, take all the laws have left you, with a confident and determined hand; the other is cheer and encourage by your sympathy and aid those noble women who are willing to be the pioneers in this enterprise.

Where Women Have the Right to Vote.

In **Great Britain** women vote for all elective officers, except members of Parliament.

In **France** the women teachers elect women on all the Boards of Education.

In **Sweden** women vote for all elective officers except Representatives; also, indirectly, for members of the House of Lords.

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THE WOMAN WHO WOULD VOTE.

In **Norway** they have school suffrage.

In **Ireland** the women vote for the harbor boards and Poor Law Guardians, and in **Belfast** for municipal officers.

In **Russia** women householders vote for all elective officers and on all local matters.

In **Finland** they vote for all elective officers.

In **Austria-Hungary** they vote by proxy for all elective officers.

In **Crotia and Dalmatia** they have the privilege of doing so in local elections in person.

In **Italy** widows vote for members of Parliament.

In the **Madras Presidency** and the **Bombay Presidency (Hindustan)**, the women exercise the right of suffrage in all municipalities.

In all the countries of **Russian Asia** they can do so wherever a **Russian colony** settles. The **Russians** are colonizing the whole of their vast **Asian possessions** and carrying with them everywhere the "mir," or self-governing village, wherein women who are the heads of households are permitted to vote.

Women have municipal suffrage in **Cape Colony**, which rules a million square miles.

Municipal women suffrage rules in **New Zealand**, and, I think, at **Parliamentary elections**.

Iceland, in the North Atlantic; the **Isle of Man**, between **England** and **Ireland**, and **Pitcairn Island**, in the **South Pacific**, have full women suffrage.

In the **Dominion of Canada** women have municipal suffrage in every province, and also in the **Northwest Territories**. In **Ontario** they vote for all elective officers, except in the elections of members of **Legislature** and **Parliament**.

In **New Zealand** women have the same suffrage rights as have men.

In the **United States** twenty-eight states and territories have given women some form of suffrage.

School suffrage in various degrees is granted to women in **Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Texas, Vermont** and **Wisconsin**.

In **Arkansas** and **Missouri** women vote, by petition, on liquor license in many cases.

In **Delaware** suffrage is exercised by women in several municipalities.

In **Kansas** they have equal suffrage with men at all municipal elections. About 50,000 women voted in 1890.

In Montana they vote on all local taxation.

In New York they can, and do, vote at school elections. The question of the constitutionality of the law is still undecided. They vote also in many places in this state on local improvements, such as gas and electric street lighting, paving, sewerage, and municipal bonds.

In Utah women voted until disfranchised by the Edmunds law, when they promptly organized to demand its repeal.

In Pennsylvania a law was passed in 1889, under which women vote on local improvements by signing or refusing to sign petitions therefor.



TALKING POLITICS AT HOME.

In Wyoming women have voted on the same terms with men since 1870. The convention in 1889 to form a State Convention unanimously inserted a provision securing them full suffrage. This constitution was ratified by the voters at a special election by about three-fourths majority. Congress refused to require the disfranchisement of women and admitted the state July 10, 1890.

And let it not be forgotten that in the Senate of the United States, February 7, 1889, a select committee reported in favor of amending the Federal Constitution so as to forbid states to make sex a cause of disfranchisement. Congress adjourned, however, March 4 following without reaching the subject.

Temperance Action in Canada.

In Canada, as everywhere else, where the crusade against the liquor traffic is carried on, the objects sought are : ultimately, PROHIBITION ; meanwhile, RESTRICTION. The history of Prohibition in Canada, as to its attainment as a fact, would be discouraging to its advocates, but that they are confident of their position before God and man, and have the enthusiasm born of that conviction. The nearest approach to a prohibitory Act was a provincial bill passed by the Legislature of New Brunswick in 1855, which, however, was repealed before there was a chance of putting it in operation. No other provincial measure ever reached a third reading in a Canadian Parliament. This being impracticable for the times, *local option* measures have been obtained for the prohibition of retail sale of intoxicating liquors within the limits of any municipality, whether village or parish, town or township, city or county. The first Act for this purpose was the Temperance Act of 1864, called the "Dunkin Act." This took effect through a by-law of the municipality submitted to the vote of the people, and was renewable or subject to repeal annually. It was not satisfactory, although adopted in a good many places, as the best thing to be had. Agitation has never ceased for absolute prohibition, and through the seventies it was particularly active for a Dominion Act. As a compromise measure the Canada Temperance Act, of 1878, was passed, known as the "Scott Act." This was the "local option" of the Dunkin Act, with the period extended to *three years*, and many improvements as to the working of the Act. Although the friends of temperance were disappointed in the measure given them, they took hold of it, and sought its adoption at the municipal polls, so that after some years of great exertion, it was put in force in a larger number of counties and towns throughout Canada. In the most of these, however, it was repealed at the end of the first three years, and never renewed. In 1896, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are the only Provinces where any considerable number of localities have the Act in force. Although an improvement upon the Dunkin Act, its fault was the same : the period of three years was too short in which to give any sort of permanency to the benefits accruing from its operation, while the expense

and local irritation of an election, to be renewed at frequent periods, rendered the Act distasteful to the more moderate temperance people. Had the period of the Act been ten years there is little doubt that the permanency of the results would have been secured, and the Act might have become practically Dominion Prohibition as regards the sale of liquors.

Attention was again directed to procuring provincial prohibition, and a *plebiscite* vote was taken in a majority of the Provinces, with the result that public opinion expressed itself in favor of absolute prohibition. This was the case in Ontario in 1894, and the Provincial Government was asked to pass a provincial measure. Then the question arose as to the jurisdiction of the Province and the Dominion. Being referred to the courts, it at last reached the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in England, the highest Court of Appeal in the Empire. From that opinion, just published, there is small encouragement to look for Dominion or Provincial Prohibition, unless upon agreement of each Province with the Dominion, and the passing of concurrent legislation in both the Dominion and each Province.

The last effort for Dominion Prohibition was in 1891, which was turned aside to await the report of a Royal Commission, appointed in 1892, to inquire into all the phases of the question, and to take evidence wherever the Commission thought proper. It reported, in 1895, against Prohibition.

But, while Prohibition agitation has so far failed, it has produced a useful class of restrictive measures, the model of which may be said to be the Crook's Act, passed in Ontario in 1872. The features of this Act are the limiting of the issue of licenses in any municipality in proportion to population, the appointment of inspectors of licenses and Local Boards of Commissioners by the Provincial Government.

Many organizations are engaged on both sides of the conflict. On the side of temperance the Dominion Alliance watches legislation, and the Canadian Temperance League, with the co-operation of the Education Departments of the Provincial Governments is looking especially to the dissemination of literature and text books on the main and allied subjects of Temperance.

So long as liquor is made and sold, so long will the battle of Restriction and Prohibition have to be fought. *Eternal vigilance* is the only guarantee of Restriction, and *No Surrender* is the only slogan with which Prohibition can be won.

The First Money Issued in America.

1. **Current Money of Paper.**—King George III. authorized the General Assembly of Delaware to create and provide paper money for debt-paying purposes. Of this current money of King George, a sum equal to \$150,000 of our American dollars were issued, each piece of paper being first printed from an engraved block of wood and thus numbered and signed personally by each of the three commissioners appointed to take charge of this issue and not to whom it was paid for services or loaned on security; the interest paid for its use going to the treasuries of the three counties named in the bill. This is the first issue of current money of paper issued on American soil, though the Indians used a legal tender of shells made under the personal sanction of their chief in settlement of their debts one to another.

2. **The Reverse Side of these Bills** were as follows, both the face and the reverse being copied, fac-simile, from the old money now

in possession of the writer. The fac-similes of these old moneys will be valuable, as they represent things of the past and point the way to better money in the future. The existence of this money did not prevent men from obtaining gold or silver coins, or anything else their fancy craved that was in sight or known of. It did not lessen the value of any pile of land or other property.

It was a new



First Continental Money.

birth. A new creation. A public benefit, as it increased by its volume the sum of circulating medium, which was too

small for the good of a people disposed to enterprise and to be useful by going into debt for improvements.

3. **Continental Scrip.**—To the continental scrip of olden time attention is called. It differs, as will be seen, from the bills of King George, or from greenbacks, as it does not declare itself to have power to pass current, nor to be a legal tender. It promises nothing, but entitles the bearer to receive five Spanish milled dollars. That is, five pieces of silver minted in Spain and with rough edges, or the value thereof in gold or silver, so that if this continental bill was redeemed it could be redeemed in Spanish money, or in metals, at such intrinsic value as they might have in the scales of trade.

4. **Legal Tender.**—The power that emitted these bills of credit did not declare them to be legal tender for the payment of debts; did not declare them receivable by the government; did not give to them any function to perform as money; did not attach a penalty for counterfeiting because they were not, as bills, in possession of power to arbitrate a debt. Had Congress declared this currency of olden time to be legal tender money always held at par by its parent, it would always have ranked with the most precious metals or productions of power as a thing to pay debts.



UNITED STATES SEAL.



—FAKIR—

“Here is where you get your money’s worth.”

History of Paper Money in the United States.

The English colonies soon after their settlement issued paper money. Massachusetts took the lead, in order to secure funds to besiege Quebec.

The circulation of paper money increased until hard money became in great demand, and much of the paper money was not worth 10 per cent. of its face value.

In the War of Independence, Congress first issued three million of paper dollars. It was increased to \$160,000,000, then to \$359,000,000, and in 1781 it had no rating and was not taken at 1 per cent. of its face value.

BANK OF NORTH AMERICA.

Upon the adoption of the United States Constitution the issuing of paper money ceased, and gold and silver became the new circulating medium. The Bank of North America, organized and controlled by the United States, with a capital of \$10,000,000, was greatly embarrassed, and, owing to its loans to the government, it was compelled to increase its note circulation to an enormous amount. This increase of paper money aroused suspicion; people refused the notes; every one struggled to obtain hard money, hence it became impossible to borrow money, and bankruptcy followed.

In 1790 Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, proposed the organization of the national bank to Congress, and in 1794 it began operations under the name, "Bank of the United States," with a capital of \$10,000,000, \$8,000,000 being subscribed by private individuals and \$2,000,000 by the government.



New Hampshire Shilling, Coined 1776.

Two million of this sum were to be paid in metallic money, and \$6,000,000 in state bonds; the charter was to continue till March 4, 1811. This bank paid an average dividend of 8 per cent. The success of the bank led people to believe that it was all owing to the issuing of paper money when the true cause was the prosperity of the country. In consequence, the "Farmers Bank of Lancaster" was founded, with a capital stock of \$300,000; others rapidly followed and great excitement prevailed.

In 1812 the capital of the banks had risen to nearly \$80,000,000, and there were already eighty-eight banks in existence. After the declaration of war with England (June, 1812) there was a great demand for dollar pieces, owing to the East Indian and Chinese trade, and when this demand was made for coin, it was a warning to the banks, who found it difficult to meet the demands of their creditors by redeeming their notes in gold or silver.

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The war, however, put a stop to the exportation of precious metals, and to a certain degree limited the circulation of paper, consequently loans, and enormous sums of money were distributed among individuals and among the states. Trade everywhere was stimulated, people were carried away with speculation, and every one seemed to indulge in golden dreams.

In Pennsylvania in 1813 forty-one banks with a capital of \$17,000,000 were authorized by a large majority. The banks soon discovered the method of discounting their own stock. They thus increased the amount of notes, which depreciated in comparison with hard money, and dissipated on all sides the hope of exchanging with it, and in the absence of the demand from abroad for hard money, the demand came from within our own borders.

All remittances in New England could only be made in hard money, and the laws of New England compelled all banks to pay a penalty of 12 per cent. upon the annual interest payments of those persons who did not pay their notes. Consequently the banks were not able to respond to the demands for redemption, and hence suspension of the banks followed.



The Maryland Shilling, Coined in 1659 by Lord Baltimore.

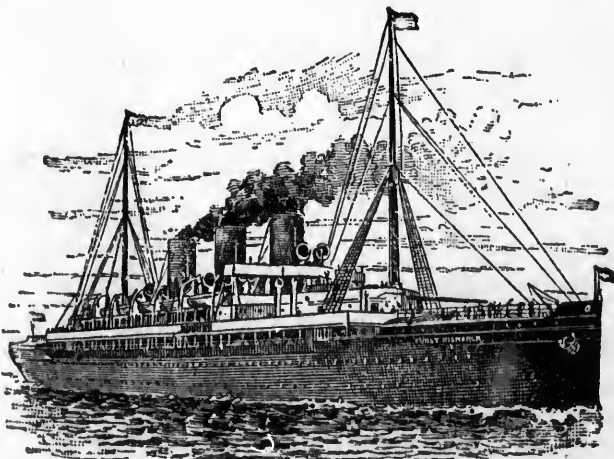
A Complete History of the Panics in the United States.

CAUSES.

No one will question the fact that panics are caused by overtrading and excessive speculation, also by radical tariff changes by the National Congress.

Any general change in the tariff laws has always been followed by a panic with the exception of the tariff of 1846. It is very evident that prices and confidence are so disturbed by a general change of the tariff that buyers are kept from buying, holding their money for future advantages, or making investments before the market is affected by the tariff changes, consequently money is withdrawn from trade, or tied up; thus the tendency toward contraction becomes evident. Banks are compelled to reduce their loans, and a want of confidence is spread; runs are made on the banks, and a panic is speedily precipitated. Wonderful prosperity and excessive speculation are invariably the forerunners of a panic.

Thus the cause of panics may be summed up—new tariff laws, or overtrading to such an extent that neither credit nor money can be had and consequently forced payments are made, property is sacrificed and financial ruin follows.



ON A COMMERCIAL TRIP.

Different Commodities Used as Money.

Any article of wealth—*i. e.* anything which has value—may be used as money. Tin was thus employed in ancient Syracuse and Britain, while to the same purpose we find iron in Sparta, cattle in Rome and Germany, a preparation of leather among the Carthaginians, platinum in Russia, lead in Burmah, nails in Scotland, pieces of silk among the



New England Shilling. New England Shilling.
Issued by Massachusetts in 1652.

Chinese, cubes of pressed tea in Tartary, salt in Abyssinia, cowrie-shells on the coast of Africa, slaves among the Anglo-Saxons, tobacco in Virginia, codfish in Newfoundland, bullets and wampum in the early history of Massachusetts, logwood in Campeachy, sugar in the West Indies, soap in Mexico, etc. But from the time of Abraham, when he paid (Gen. xxiii., 16) to the children of Heth 400 shekels of silver, "current money with the merchant"—the earliest historical record of a purchase with money till now, gold and silver have been the money with civilized and commercial people.

Money.

PHILOSOPHY AND LAWS THAT GOVERN AND CONTROL ITS VALUE.

1. **Good Government.**—The great majority of people desire good government, and they work and vote with a view of securing the same. Parties are organized by men for the purpose of promulgating ideas, which if carried into effect, will give the people good government.

2. **Trusts and Combinations of Capital.**—The people give to members of Congress the power to act for them and to protect their interests in all legislation. No sooner, however, is a party installed in office and power than men who have associated themselves together and organized corporations, trusts and combinations of capital, seek to secure such legislation at the hands of Congress as will be favorable to their respective interests.

3. **Philosophy of Money.**—The legislation on the part of Congress concerning money has been secured by very questionable methods, and while there has been very much public discussion on the subject at times the people seem to have no adequate conception of the philosophy of money and the laws that govern and control the value of money. Most congressmen have no clearer understanding of the subject than the people whom they represent, and they are, therefore, easily persuaded to adopt the theories and conclusions of the "great financiers" of this country and of Europe, and to enact the same into laws.



4. **No Greater Question.**—There is no greater or more important question for the consideration of men at this time in this country than the money question. It is the paramount question and the one that is the least understood by the people. It affects all interests and all classes of people. Never before in the history of this country has the question been so generally considered by the people as at the present time. As much as there has been written and said on the subject during the past thirty years, the people have apparently learned nothing concerning the matter. The trouble has been that the people have followed the advice of those who have secured financial legislation in their own interests, and they have refrained from investigating the question themselves, and therefore have not learned or become familiar with the laws that govern and control money and its value. Instead of thinking and acting for themselves they have permitted others to think and act for them upon the subject. They have been so busily engaged in the pursuit of money that they have had no time to consider the philosophy of money or the laws affecting money, and are quite content to turn the whole matter over to the "able and successful financier."

5. **Financial Panics.**—Financial panics come and go, and still people do not seem to understand what it is that pro-

duces them. During such times one hears on every hand the statements that "times are hard," "money is scarce," "there is no business," and the like. All sorts of reasons are given for financial panics except the right one. Among the various reasons alleged are "overproduction," "lack of confidence," "tinkering with tariff," "extravagance of the people," "too much money," "change of administration," "too much immigration," etc.

6. The Money Owners and the Owners of Bonds issued by nations and municipalities understand full well what it is that produces financial panics. It is they, and they alone, who, through the manipulation of the volume of the money and the legislation affecting the same produce financial panics. Their greatest opportunity for making money is during the period of a money famine, and the more frequently they occur the more of the wealth of the world they are able to secure. Such people make no public speeches, write no essays and they are not interviewed by newspapers on the subject of money. They employ others to do that work for them. They have more effective methods of securing what they want, and those methods are not understood by the people. The people feel the effect, but they do not comprehend the cause of a financial panic. They fail to understand that a financial panic is simply a money famine, and that it is produced by the retirement of a large volume of money from circulation in the country where the panic occurs. No financial panic ever was, or ever can be produced, in this or any other country, except by taking out of circulation a large volume of money.

7. All Money the Creature of Law.—All money, except such as is used by common consent is the creature of law, manufactured and put in circulation by the government in pursuance of law. Under our Constitution money may be coined out of any material that Congress may designate, and when any material is manufactured into money by the government in pursuance of law and made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, such money becomes, when put in circulation, a medium of exchange and is capable of being swapped for property and labor. The value or purchasing power of such money depends entirely upon the number of dollars in circulation that the government has manufactured.

8. Making Money.—People talk about making money in this or that enterprise as though they really made, manufactured it; they do not seem to appreciate the fact that they simply get money, and in no sense make it. If the government never had made any such money other means

would have to be resorted to in order to effect exchanges of property. If all the money in the country should be destroyed or taken out of circulation, people would have to effect exchanges by barter and other methods and, as a result, the creditor class, the bondholder, and money owner would be pauperized, and labor would become exalted—would become king.

9. **All Wealth is Created by Labor,** and labor ought of right to control wealth, but as a matter of fact wealth controls labor. In short, the created controls and dominates the creator. What a commentary on the intelligence of man! This condition is the result of laws enacted by those who own and control wealth and are assented to by those who create wealth. As long, therefore, as the creator of wealth submits to such laws so long will he be a slave, dominated and controlled by the thing he creates.

10. **Prices Rise and Fall.**—Prices in general rise and fall as the volume of money in circulation increases or decreases. This rule is absolute. Every dollar of money that the government manufactures and puts into circulation decreases to that extent the value or purchasing power of every other dollar that is in circulation, and every dollar that is destroyed or taken out of circulation increases to that extent the value or purchasing power of the remaining dollars in circulation.

11. **Purchasing Power.**—If the government should this year issue a thousand millions of dollars and next year should issue another thousand millions of dollars, the purchasing power of the dollar issued this year would be decreased one-half as a consequence of such increase. The prices of property and labor in general in a country depend entirely upon the number of dollars that are in circulation in that country. If all the property of the United States, real, personal and mixed, were put up under competent authority to be sold to the highest bidder at public auction for cash, it could not bring any more dollars than there are legal tender dollars, coined by the United States, in existence, for the very reason that no other such dollars could be had to increase the price. If, therefore, there were only \$1,000,000,000 of legal tender money coined by the United States in existence, not promises to pay money, but dollars, all of the property of the United States could not be sold if put up at public auction as aforesaid, for an amount to exceed that sum, because no more money could be had to pay for it.

12. **Money Famine.**—There are three classes of people who are always benefited by a money famine—the money

owner and the bond holder out of debt, the annuitant and recipient of fixed incomes, and public officers and others who receive fixed salaries. The amount such people receive by way of income or salary, or interest enables them to buy more and more property and labor as the prices of property and labor fall. Nearly all such people are anxious to have property decrease in price, since they would then be able to live better and purchase more with their money. Those who are benefited most are they who receive the largest incomes. The money owners and bondholders are among those who have secured legislation in this country under which a large portion of the volume of money in the country has been destroyed, by reason of which prices of property and labor in general have fallen more than one-half since 1869.

13. **Falling Prices.**—It is to the interest of the money owner and bondholder out of debt, and the man with fixed income, to have a constantly shrinking volume of money, for the reason that there would be constantly falling prices and therefore they would be able to live better and better, year by year, at less and less cost. Such people, and those who depend upon them, are they who are working assiduously to prevent the manufacture on the part of the government of more money and at the present time they are having their own way about the matter.

14. **The Panic of 1857** was brought about by an act of Congress demonetizing more than \$200,000,000 of foreign coin, which up to February 21, 1857, had been a legal tender, under act of Congress, in this country, for all debts, public and private, and for no other cause whatever.

15. **The Panic of 1873** was produced by the destruction, under the laws of Congress, of more than \$1,300,000,000 of paper money and the act of February 12, 1873, which prohibited the further manufacture of silver into money. The destruction of money continued under said acts of Congress after that panic commenced until the Bland act was passed in 1878, which authorized the manufacture of silver into dollars at the rate of not less than two million a month. If it had not been for that law what would have been the condition of the country now? No human being can tell.

16. **The Panic of 1893** was made possible by the laws enacted by Congress concerning money since April 12, 1866. The question is, What produced the panic of 1893? Many say it was "want of confidence," "fear of tariff legislation," "Democratic ascendancy and incompetency" and "fear of destroying the tariff or changing it in such a way as to destroy protected interests." All such statements are the merest twaddle. Everybody has confidence in money, but

nobody seems to have confidence in property, for the simple reason that property is constantly falling in price. All the property in the country is ready and willing to be exchanged for money, and everybody seems to be anxious to get money, but are unable to do so. The manufacturer cannot employ men because he has no money with which to pay them. He is perfectly willing to manufacture, but he is unable to sell his products when manufactured, because the consumer has no money with which to buy his products. There is an abundance of labor. Men are willing and anxious to work, but there is no money with which to pay them, and therefore they are idle. Merchants are anxious and willing to sell their wares and merchandise, but they cannot do so because the people have no money with which to purchase them. What is the trouble then? Simply and solely a scarcity of money! It is stated upon every hand that there is just as much money in the country as ever. This statement is not true, but if it were true, it does not follow that there is enough money, or that the shortage of money has produced this condition.

17. Banks are Full of Money Not True.—Many are heard to say that the banks are full of money, and that the people can get it if they have the security to put up for it. This statement is not true. There are about 10,000 banks in the United States, and there is not money enough in all of them to pay more than 10 cents on a dollar of what they owe on demand, as shown by the sworn statements of the officers of those banks.

18. Too Much Credit.—There has been, and is now, too much credit and too little money in the country. There never will be any more money than there is now until the government manufactures more, and if the money power has its way there will be no further manufacture of dollars in this country; no more inflation, but continuous contraction. If contraction goes on much longer the public soup house will be one of the permanent institutions of the country.

19. The Panic of 1893 the Same as 1873.—The panic of 1893 is simply a continuation of the panic of 1873. The panic of 1893 was produced in the same way that all other panics are produced, viz.: By taking out of circulation a large volume of money; nothing more or nothing less. The question is how was it done? Easy enough! The quantity of money in this country is so small that the retirement of a small amount from circulation would produce a panic at any time. Indeed, for years panics have been averted by the Secretary of the Treasury from time to time coming to the relief of

Wall street and paying out of the treasury large sums of money to assist the banks and moneyed men in Wall street in their financial troubles. Was this paternalism? If not, what was it?

20. Value of All Property.—It is estimated that the value of all the property of this country, real, personal and mixed, is about \$64,000,000,000. It is safe to say that the price of all this property has shrunk since January 1, 1893, as a consequence of this financial panic not less than \$10,000,000,000, and possibly a great deal more, saying nothing of the loss of wealth that might have been created by the millions of men who have been forced out of employment since the panic commenced.

Bimetallism or Free Coinage Defined.

1. Bimetallism.—Bimetallism is simply the use of two metals instead of one, and a ratio at which they are coined is a question to be settled by law. Bimetallism may exist at any ratio. It has existed at different ratios from time to time. The ratio is to be fixed by the government for the benefit of the people, who must use money. The present ratio is 16 to 1, and even the ratio of 16 to 1 is misunderstood. One man said he was in favor of it because, as he understood it, every time the government coined a gold dollar they coined sixteen silver dollars. That was his idea. Now, 16 to 1 simply means this: That the value of an ounce of gold shall by law be equal to the value of sixteen ounces of silver. It means that weight by weight a gold dollar will weigh one-sixteenth as much as a silver dollar. Now that is all there is to the 16 to 1. If you want to change the ratio you can either put more silver into the dollar or take some gold out of the gold dollar. That is a thing that is fixed by law; but bimetallism means that you use those two metals at any ratio and thus give to both metals equal privileges at the mint.

2. Free Coinage.—Now, what is free coinage? Why, people talk as if free coinage was a process by which the government would buy silver at a certain price. It is not. We have the free coinage of gold now. That simply means that if you have a piece of gold bullion you can take it to the mint and have it converted into gold and the gold will be handed back to you. Now, what we mean by free coinage is to give silver the same rights you give to gold. If a

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SOME OF THE FIRST COINS MADE IN THE
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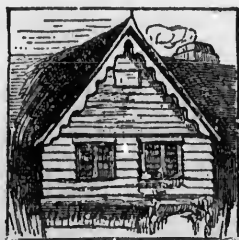
Massachusetts Cent,
1787.



Connecticut Cent,
1785.

man has a silver bullion let him take the bullion to the mint, have it converted into coin, and let him take his silver dollar back with him. This is what free coinage means.

Unlimited coinage means that there shall be no legal restriction upon the amount of gold or silver that will be coined. In other words, that the amount shall depend, not upon the legislation, but upon the amount of bullion brought to the mint.



A Complete History of all the Gold and Silver Coinage in the United States.

In 1792 Congress passed a coinage law by which it created a double standard of gold and silver, the gold being put first. The double standard was based on the assumption that fifteen ounces of silver were the equivalent of one of gold, or that $24\frac{7}{8}$ grains of gold and $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver were of equal value. As it was ascertained at a later day that the ratio of 15 to 1 did not agree with the facts, in 1837 Congress, desiring to adhere to the double standard, changed the ratio to 16 to 1. And thus it remained until 1873, when the single standard was adopted.

Nominally there was a double standard from 1792 to 1873. But what sort of money was provided for the people during that period, and what, therefore, was the actual money standard? What did the people use to pay their debts and make their purchases with? The following coinage statistics compiled by the *Tribune* tell the story. These figures show which of the two metals it was the people handled between 1792 and 1877:

Date.	Coinage of gold.	Coinage of silver dollars.
1793-95.....	\$ 71,485	\$ 204,791
1796.....	102,727	72,920
1797.....	103,422	7,776
1798.....	205,610	327,536
1799.....	213,285	423,515
1800.....	317,760	220,920
1801.....	422,570	54,454
1802.....	423,310	41,650
1803.....	258,377	66,064
1804.....	258,642	19,570
1805.....	170,367	321
1806.....	324,505	.....
1807.....	437,495	.....
1808.....	284,665	.....
1809.....	169,375	.....
1810.....	501,435	.....
1811.....	497,905	.....
1812.....	290,435	.....
1813.....	477,140	.....
1814.....	77,270	.....
1815.....	3,175	.....

Date.	Coinage of gold.	Coinage of silver dollars.
1816.....	.....
1817.....	.....
1818.....	242,940	
1819.....	258,615	
1820.....	319,030	
1821.....	189,325	
1822.....	88,980	
1823.....	72,425	
1824.....	93,200	
1825.....	156,385	
1826.....	92,245	
1827.....	131,565	
1828.....	140,145	
1829.....	295,717	
1830.....	643,105	
1831.....	714,270	
1832.....	798,435	
1833.....	978,550	
1834.....	954,270	
1835.....	186,175	
1836.....	135,700	1,000
1837.....	148,305	.....
1838.....	809,595	.....
1839.....	1,355,885	300
1840.....	1,675,302	61,005
1841.....	1,091,597	173,000
1842.....	1,834,170	184,618
1843.....	8,108,797	165,100
1844.....	5,428,230	20,300
1845.....	3,756,447	24,500
1846.....	4,034,177	169,600
1847.....	20,221,385	140,750
1848.....	3,775,512	15,000
1849.....	9,007,761	62,600
1850.....	31,981,738	47,500
1851.....	62,614,492	1,300
1852.....	56,846,187	1,100
1853.....	39,377,909	46,110
1854.....	25,915,918	33,140
1855.....	28,977,968	26,000
1856.....	36,697,768	63,500
1857.....	15,811,563	92,300
1858.....	30,253,725	.....
1859.....	17,296,077	288,500
1860.....	16,445,476	600,530

Only 1,300 silver dollars were coined between 1806 and 1835, inclusive, after Jefferson suppressed them.

age of
dollars.

Only 1,300 silver dollars were coined be-
tween 1861 and 1895 inclusive, after

Date.	Coinage of gold.	Coinage of silver dollars.
1861.....	60,693,237	559,900
1862.....	45,532,386	1,750
1863.....	20,695,852	31,400
1864.....	21,649,345	23,170
1865.....	25,107,217	32,900
1866.....	28,313,945	58,550
1867.....	28,217,187	57,000
1868.....	18,114,425	54,800
1869.....	21,828,637	231,350
1870.....	22,257,312	588,308
1871.....	21,302,475	657,929
1872.....	20,376,495	1,112,961
1873.....	35,249,337	977,150
1874.....	50,442,690	"Crime" p'd.
1875.....	33,553,965	"Crime" p'd.
1876.....	38,178,962	"Crime" p'd.
1877.....	44,078,199	"Crime" p'd.
Total.....	\$983,159,695	\$8,045,838

COINAGE OF TRADE DOLLARS:

1874.....	\$ 3,588,900	Legal tenders
1875.....	5,697,500	for \$5 slumped
1876.....	6,132,050	into a bad dis-
1877.....	9,162,900	count and were
Total.....	\$24,581,350	stopped.

Thus from 1792 to 1873 the country experimented with a double standard. Since 1873 there has been a single standard, but since 1878 more silver has been in use than in the old days of the double standard, when the silver dollar was worth 103 cents and would not circulate, and, therefore, the cheaper 100-cent gold dollar drove it out. That is the weakness of the double standard. If the two metals are not tied together so closely that they do not pull apart, one is sure to get the better of the other. As they have equal debt-paying power the cheaper metal will be given the preference for that purpose, and will drive the other out as gold did silver. The only way to prevent that and keep both in circulation is for the government to guarantee that the coins of the cheaper metal shall be redeemed in the other if desired, and thus kept at a parity. Whether a govern-

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15,000
62,600
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1,100
46,110
33,140
26,000
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92,300
.....
288,500
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ment can give such a guarantee with safety depends on the number of coins and the extent of the divergence in values. This government will not guarantee to redeem innumerable 50-cent silver dollars in gold dollars, and if it permitted the former to be coined without a guarantee, all the gold would disappear at once.



The First United States Coins 1783. Silver Weight, 110 Grains.

Chief Coins of the United States.

The dollar is the unit of the United States.

The United States has six gold coins, as follows:

The eagle, value \$10; the double-eagle, authorized by act of Congress, March 3, 1849; the half-eagle, act of Congress, 1837; the \$3 piece, act of 1853; quarter-eagle, act of January, 1837; and the \$1 piece, act of Congress, March 3, 1849.

The eagle, half-eagle and quarter-eagle were first authorized by act of Congress, 1792.

The gold dollar, being so small as to be inconvenient, is used for specimens only. This coin was largely issued in 1849, when there was a great influx of gold from California.

Our silver coins are as follows:

The dollar, act of 1837; the half-dollar, act of 1853, and legal tender not exceeding \$5; the quarter-dollar, also legal tender not exceeding \$5; the dime and half-dime, legal tender not exceeding \$1. The three-cent piece, legal tender for 30 cents, proved too small for convenient use, as did the half-dime.

The twenty-cent piece was too near the size of a quarter of a dollar, and its coinage was discontinued.

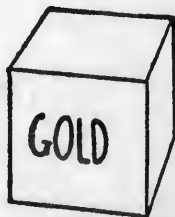
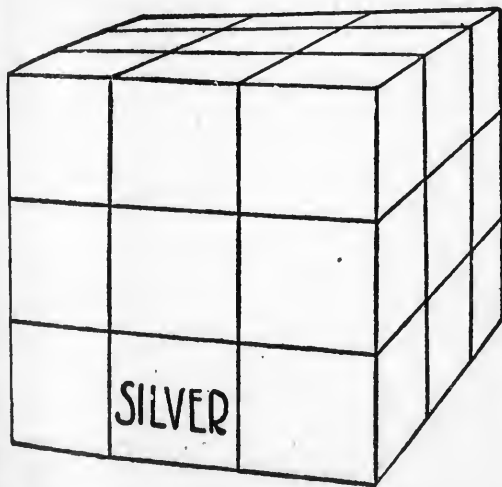
The first silver dollar of the United States was authorized by act of Congress, 1792, and coined in 1796. The half-dollar and quarter-dollar were first authorized in 1792,

The 5-cent piece of the United States is made of copper and nickel, authorized by act of May, 1866, legal tender to the amount of a dollar.

The cent is 88 per cent. copper and 12 per cent. nickel, authorized by act of 1857.

The two-cent piece, same date, is legal tender to the amount of 20 cents; the one-cent to the value of 10 cents.

DIMENSIONS OF ALL GOLD AND SILVER IN THE WORLD AVAILABLE FOR MONEY IF CAST IN SOLID CUBES.



Size: 66 x 66 x 66 feet 22 x 22 x 22 feet
 Weight: 2,934,558 2/3 ounces 188,651,368 ounces

Ratio in size Silver Gold
 27 to 1
Ratio in weight 15% . 1



Dimensions of All the Gold and Silver in the World or Proportions of the Metals.

1. **Gold and Silver.**—We find on authority of the director of the United States mint that all the gold (coin and bullion) in the world in 1890, available for money, was less than \$3,900,000,000, or in weight 188,651,368 ounces. Also that all of the silver (coin and bullion) so available was practically \$3,820,000,000 or, 2,954,558,290 ounces.

There are therefore in existence practically (less than) 16 ounces of silver for each ounce of gold, and, at this ratio less than \$80,000,000 difference between the total values of the two metals.

2. **Both Metals Equally Imperishable.**—Therefore, Mr. Gold Bug, both metals being equally imperishable and otherwise fitted for use as the basis of more convenient money than either, it is right and healthy that gold should be double in purchasing power, while silver, the world-wide money metal of the middle and poorer classes, is robbed of its money value and debased.

3. **Bulk.**—But above the alleged overbulkiness of silver? Borrowing again from "Coin," I find that all of the gold in the world available for money, cast in a solid block, would scarcely equal a cube of 22 feet, while all the silver so available would make a solid cube of but 66 feet, neither one very large, and the accompanying sketch not only disposes of the "bulk" bugaboo, but suggests several pertinent questions—for instance:

Which, a national currency based upon the smaller cube (gold) or one sustained by both cubes (gold and silver), would be the most stable, elastic, and least readily cornered and speculated with?



Money—Banking—Insurance in Canada.

The legislation of the Parliament of Canada upon these three departments of finance has been very clear in defining the value of the currency for purposes of *legal tender*, and prescribing the securities and conditions of the business to be transacted by its banking and insurance corporations. The latest legislation upon these subjects is contained in the following Acts: The Currency Act, 1886; Act respecting Dominion Notes, 1886; The Bank Act, 1890; and The Insurance Act, 1894. There are also Acts relating to Savings Banks, Bills of Exchange, and a Winding-up Act, all of which are for the protection of rights and the public security.

SOME FACTS FROM THE ABOVE ACTS.

1. *The denominations* of money in the currency of Canada, and for accounts, shall be dollars, cents and mills.
2. *The coinage* shall be of the weight and fineness in use at the British mint: for standard gold, eleven-twelfths of fine metal; for standard silver, thirty-seven-fortieths of fine metal. As Canada has no gold coinage at present, the British sovereign, weighing not less than 122.5 grains, troy, shall pass current for $\$4.86\frac{2}{3}$; and the gold eagle of the United States, of the mintage of 1834 and '52, and weighing 258 grains, troy, shall pass current for \$10.00.
3. *Legal tender* for payment of a claim, other than gold or notes, is limited in silver to \$10.00, and in copper coin to twenty cents.
4. *Canadian Banks may issue notes* of five dollars and multiples of that amount. Their total issue must not exceed the unimpaired paid-up capital of the bank. There notes are redeemable at par anywhere in Canada. Hereafter, should a bank "suspend," its notes will be worth their full value, and bear interest at six per cent. from date of the bank's suspension until paid.
5. *The Dominion Government* may issue notes by Order-in-Council to a maximum amount of \$25,000,000, not ex-

ceeding \$1,000,000 at one time, nor more than \$4,000,000 in one year. The denominations are one, two, and four dollars. As security against this issue, the Dominion Treasury must have fifteen per cent. in gold, ten per cent. in securities, guaranteed by the Imperial Government, and seventy-five per cent. in Dominion debentures, issued by authority of Parliament. This is the legal security for \$25,000,000 of these notes. For any issue over that amount the Treasury must hold securities of equal value, and if at any time the outstandings of the total Dominion issues should exceed the maximum, the Treasury must hold gold to cover the full amount of such excess. Dominion notes are a *legal tender* in every part of Canada, except at the offices where made payable.

Both Sides of the Silver Question.

1. **Before the Year 1873.**—Before the year 1873 the owner of either gold or silver bullion might take the metal to the United States mint and have it coined into full legal tender money. At present the owner of gold bullion may still do so, but the owner of silver bullion may not. That is, up to 1873 there was free coinage of both gold and silver; since that year there has been free coinage of gold only. Let us, for convenience sake, call those who favor restoration of silver free coinage the Silver party, and those who oppose it the Anti-Silver party.

2. **Silver Demonetized.**—In 1873 the silver in a silver dollar was worth 103 cents in gold; it is now worth about 53 cents in gold. The Silverman says that this is not a fair way to state it. He believes that silver has remained at about the same value, but that gold has risen; and he might say that the gold dollar which was worth but 97 cents in silver in 1873 is now worth about 147 cents in silver.

3. **Relative Values of the Two Metals Have Changed.**—Let the fact be put either way, there is no dispute that the relative values of the two metals have changed in the last twenty years. The Silverman maintains that this is no reason at all why the system of free coinage for both metals should not be restored. The Anti-Silverman holds that the change constitutes the strongest of all possible reasons against restoring the system, and the question which of these two views is correct is the Silver Question.

4. **Some of the Arguments Advanced on This Question.**—We will state in as few words as possible some of the arguments advanced on this question, but the subject is so large, and the views taken are so various, that any such statement must be necessarily imperfect. We shall endeavor to keep close to the fundamental principles.

The Silverman opens the discussion by urging that the country needs more money than it has in circulation; that low prices of farm products and hard times for farmers result from a limited supply of money; that gold is harder to get and debts harder to pay because the use of silver as money is restricted.



LISTENING TO HARR AND HARVEY.

5. **The Anti-Silverman's Argument.**—Here the Anti-Silverman replies that all the American product of silver is utilized as money under the present law; and that free coinage, while not greatly increasing the amount of money in circulation, would result in one of two things; it would either give the owners of the mines the profit on the making

of money based on silver, which now goes into the Treasury, or it would make silver the sole standard of money, cause gold to rise to a premium, and derange the whole currency system.

6. The Silverman's Reply.—The Silverman rejoins that those who were injured by the demonetization of 1873 have a right to demand that the wrong then done be righted, even though the effect were to drive gold to a premium and out of use as money.

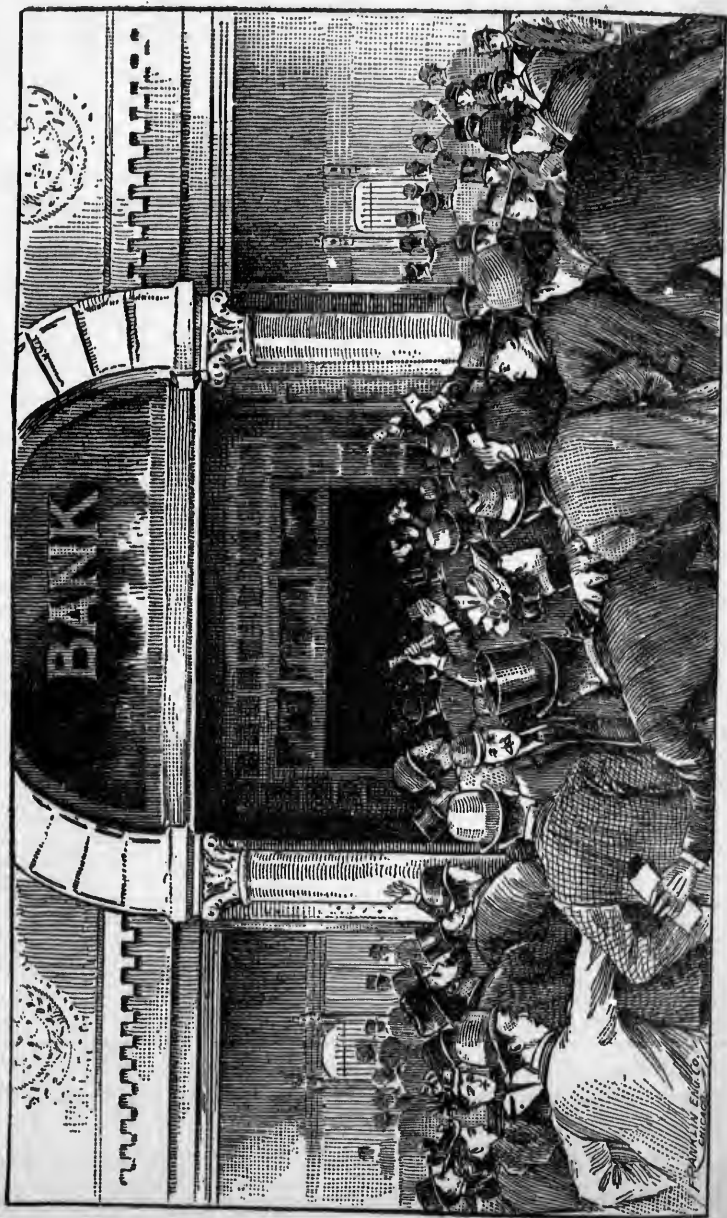
At the same time he disputes the theory that free coinage would cause a premium on gold. The law determines what is a dollar, and though as bullion the silver dollar is worth but 53 cents in gold, it still buys as much as a gold dollar will buy, because the law makes it a dollar.

7. Against Free Silver.—Then the Anti-Silver debater retorts that gold and silver are at par, because the government exchanges one dollar for another; that under free coinage it could not obtain gold enough to do this; that all the foreign trade is conducted on a gold basis, and since gold is alone available for this purpose it will be held at a premium as soon as the Treasury fails to give a gold dollar for a silver one.

8. Tit for Tat.—Finally the Anti-Silver man denies, even if it were true that an injustice was done to debtors in 1873—he says it is not true—that the injustice to them can be a grievance of the debtors of to-day. On the contrary, he asserts that, inasmuch as substantially all the debts now owing were contracted on the basis of gold values, a change to the silver basis would be grossly unjust. Of course the Silvermen have an answer to this, but, as we cannot present the argument to the very end, we will stop here.

9. The Great Question.—After all, the question may be brought within very narrow limits. Would free coinage make the value of the two dollars different? The Silvermen say no; and some, though not all of them, add that if they thought it would result in that way they would still favor the measure. Anti-Silvermen say yes; and the most of them would add that if they could persuade themselves that free coinage would not cause a premium on gold they would cease to oppose it.

10. Must Soon be Settled.—In the near future this problem of silver coinage must be settled. The country is standing on tiptoe awaiting political action. We have no remedy or theory to suggest. The historian must have no opinions; he must simply be a recorder of facts, and this we have faithfully endeavored to do, free of all political bias or partisan prejudice.



THE RUN ON THE BANK.

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Gerrymandering and its Effects Upon Legislation.

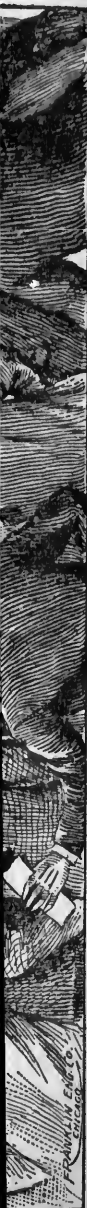
1. **Provisions of State Constitutions.**—The constitutions of states of the Union usually fix the number of members to be chosen for the state Legislature. But it is left with the Legislature itself to divide the state into districts, in each of which the voters shall elect one or more members.

Since population will naturally increase more rapidly in some parts of a state than in others, it follows that the districts must be changed from time to time in order that each member of the Legislature may represent, as nearly as possible, the same number of voters.

2. **Contiguous Territory.**—No rule is made in the State constitution as to the method of mapping out the districts. Most states require that all districts shall be fixed inside of county lines, and that a single district be made up of "contiguous" territory. Otherwise the Legislature may draw up the district map as it pleases. It was long ago discovered that this power might be turned to partisan use. Some sections or neighborhoods will always cast a large majority for one party, when close at hand there may be sections which invariably give a majority to the other party.

3. **Injustice to the Voters.**—Now if the Democrats, for example, can combine into one district as many sure Republican neighborhoods as possible, and then arrange the neighboring districts so that in each district there shall be just enough Democratic voters to counterbalance the Republicans in the same district, it is clear that the Democrats will have the advantage. The Republicans might carry the first district by 10,000 majority, and the Democrats get only 1,000 majority in each of three other districts. The Republicans would cast more votes, but the Democrats would elect more members, and thus control the state legislation. If then a Legislature making a new "apportionment" of the state is strongly partisan, it has an opportunity to take advantage for its party for the ensuing elections.

4. **Origin of the Name.**—This practice is known as "gerrymandering" a state, and the origin of the name is curious. As long ago as 1811, the Democratic majority in the Massachusetts Legislature passed a law "redistricting" the state for senators, with very irregular district boundaries. The governor who signed the bill was Elbridge Gerry. One district in Essex County stretched from Boston to the New Hampshire boundary.





BEFORE ELECTIO
The Politician is Pleased to See Mr. Jones.



-GERRYMANDERING.-
Figuring Out the Other Fellows.

Gilbert Stuart, the famous painter, sketched on the map the outline of the district, and added eyes and claws to the figure, so that it seemed like the picture of a strange winged beast.

"It looks," said Stuart to a Boston editor, "like a salamander."

"Salamander!" cried the editor; "call it Gerrymander!" and Gerrymander it has been called from that day to this.

5. Many Famous Cases.—There have been many famous cases of unjust gerrymandering, where states have been so divided as to elect the officers of one party, when the other had a large majority of the total vote. Both political parties have in turn taken advantage of the expedient and an unfair division of a state by one party has often been followed, when the control of the Legislature changed, by an equally unjust "redistricting" in favor of the other side.

States such as Ohio and New York, where neither party is permanently in control, have had their district map altered at most frequent intervals and in the most remarkable way. The famous "Shoestring" congressional district of Mississippi was a thin strip of territory reaching from the north to the south boundary of the state.

6. Unfair Gerrymandering.—By some politicians gerrymandering is regarded as a perfectly fair means of securing partisan advantage. But the better class of political leaders do not hesitate to denounce it.

Unfair Gerrymandering, moreover, has lately received a severe blow from the courts. In Wisconsin the party in power had passed a law dividing the state, irrespective of county lines, so as to make apparently sure for themselves a permanent majority. But the Supreme Court of the state declared the law unconstitutional, because the state constitution makes a restriction on the general method of forming the districts by requiring that county lines be followed.

The Legislature might cut a county into congressional districts on any plan it chose, but it could not combine into one district voters situated in two different counties. Fortunately for fair elections a large proportion of the state constitutions contain precisely this useful limitation.





General Post-Office, Ottawa.

The Civil Service of Canada.

1. What is the "Civil Service?"—Under the article "Parliament of Canada," page 83, are given the general functions of the various departments of the administration of the Government of Canada, presided over by members of the Cabinet. It was also pointed out that, in order to the work of the departments being carried on continuously and correctly, notwithstanding the changes of Ministers from political exigency, there are also Deputy Ministers of departments, whose tenure of office is permanent. Each Deputy Minister has, of course, a staff of accountants, clerks, and other officials necessary to the special work of his department.

The term "Civil Service" is applied to include the Deputy Ministers and all the members of their departmental staffs, whether engaged in the "inside" service of the offices at Ottawa or upon "outside" service throughout Canada. Take, for instance, the Post-office Department, the "inside" service of which consists of the Deputy Minister and a large staff of accountants and clerks located at Ottawa, while the "outside" service is fulfilled by the Post-

master's inspectors, mail clerks in offices and on trains all over the country, whose duties are so necessary to the daily incidents of public business and private life. Night and day the service of this department is steadily performed, and with what efficiency the reader in the city and the most distant outlying village can testify. The same may be said of the staff of any other department. The total membership of the "Civil Service of Canada" numbers several thousands, a small, "well-drilled" army on a "peace footing," subject to regulations, with its "classes" of promotion for "good behaviour," and a "pension" for long service. This army is constituted under "The Civil Service Act," the administration of which belongs to the Department of the Secretary of State for Canada.

2. How Constituted.—The Governor-in-Council determines, from time to time, the number of officers, clerks, and employees required for the work of the several departments, and care is taken that the collective amount of the salaries of each department shall, in no case, exceed the vote of Parliament for that purpose.

The Governor-in-Council also makes the general rules and regulations for the conduct of the "Service" in accordance with the Act. All appointments and promotions are made under the same authority, upon the recommendation of a Minister, who acts upon the special report of his Deputy Minister as to the reason for the appointment and the qualification of the person proposed to fill it. All removals and dismissals are by Order-in-Council. Deputy Ministers are selected for their special qualifications for their positions, and are not subject to the requirements regarding age and examinations. The same remark applies in the case of the Auditor-General. All other members of the "Service" are comprised in the two divisions of the first, or "inside," and the second, or "outside," division of each department. A further classification of these divisions exists, according to qualification and length of service. In general terms, this classification consists of (a) officers with special or technical qualifications, (b) chief clerks, (c) first-class clerks, (d) second-class clerks.

3. Qualifications.—(a) *Age.*—For admission to the "inside" division a person must not be over thirty-five nor under fifteen years of age. (b) *Examinations.*—The first, or "preliminary," qualifies for such appointments as messengers, porters, sorters, packers, letter-carriers, tide-waiters,

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etc. The second, or "qualifying," prepares for appointment to second-class clerkships in the "inside" division, and third-class clerkships in the "outside" division of the Customs, Inland Revenue, and Post-office Departments. Candidates may pass both examinations at their option.

The subjects for the "Preliminary" Examination are Reading, Writing, Spelling, and simple rules of Arithmetic. For the "Qualifying" Examination, in addition to the above, there is required a thorough knowledge of Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History, Composition. There is also



Winnipeg in 1871.

an examination in certain *Optional* subjects for those who desire to prove special qualification. These are: Book-keeping, Précis Writing, Shorthand, Type-writing, and ability in French or English translation and composition, according to the language of the candidate.

The above subjects may be added to by the Board of Examiners, appointed under the Civil Service Act.

For the convenience of candidates, all the above examinations are held annually in the principal cities of the Dominion. Full information as to time, subjects, and regulations

of the examinations, can be had by addressing "The Secretary of the Board of Civil Service Examiners," Ottawa.

4. **Service.**—Having passed the necessary examinations the applicant must await an appointment, and, when he receives it, he must prove his fitness by a probation of six months at least, and not more than twelve. If he proves fitness, his appointment becomes permanent, subject to "good behaviour," otherwise he must give way to someone else. Service is rewarded by increments of salary, and promotion. Each grade of the Service has its minimum and maximum salary.

Long service earns for the member of the "Civil Service" a provision for old age or a failure of health. This is provided for by "The Civil Service Superannuation Act." The minimum period of ten years is necessary to entitle one to an allowance under this Act, and no one can draw upon it for more than thirty-five years' service. An Act for Civil Service Life Insurance has also been passed, by which employees may provide for their families.

United States Civil Service Rules.

The purpose of the Civil Service Act, as declared in its title, is "to regulate and improve the Civil Service of the United States." It provides for the appointment of three Commissioners, a Chief Examiner, a Secretary, and other employes and makes it the duty of the Commission to aid the President as he may request in preparing suitable rules for carrying the act into effect; to make regulations for and control the examinations provided for, and supervise and control the records of the same; and to make investigations and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the rules and regulations. The address of the Commission is Washington, D. C. The president of the Commission is John R. Procter; the secretary is John T. Doyle.

The service classified under the act, and to which it and the rules apply, embraces the Executive Departments at Washington, the Department of Labor, the Fish Commission, and the Civil Service Commission, the observers in the Weather Service, the customs districts in each of which there are fifty or more employes, eleven in number; all free-delivery postoffices, now 610 in number; the Railway Mail

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THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE.
To the Victor Belong the Spoils.

Service, and the Indian School Service, including altogether about 43,000 places, or about one-fourth in point of numbers and one-half in importance and in salaries of the entire Civil Service.

The Classified Departmental Service embraces all places in the Departments at Washington, excepting messengers, laborers, workmen and watchmen (not including any person designated as a skilled laborer or workman), and no person so employed can, without examination under the rules, be



Not Recognized.

assigned to clerical duty, and also excepting those appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Classified Customs Service at the eleven ports embraces the places giving \$900 a year, and all those giving a larger salary where the appointee is not subject to confirmation by the Senate. The Classified Postal Service embraces all places above the grade of a laborer except the postmaster. The Classified Railway Mail Service embraces all employes of the Railway Mail Service.

The Classified Indian Service embraces all physicians, school superintendents and assistant superintendents, school teachers and matrons in the Indian Service. Certain of the places within the Classified Service are excepted from examination by the Civil Service rules, and may be filled in the discretion of the appointing officers without examination; a few other places may be so filled, but the great mass of the places are filled by competitive examination.

For places in the Classified Service where technical qualifications are needed special examinations are held. In the Departmental Service they are held for the State Department, the Pension, Patent and Signal offices, Geological and Coast Surveys and other offices.

APPLICATIONS.

Applicants for examination must be citizens of the United States of the proper age. No person habitually using intoxicating liquors can be appointed. No discrimination is made on account of sex, color or political or religious opinions. The limitations of age are: For the Departmental Service, not under twenty years; in the Customs Service, not under twenty-one years, except clerks or messengers, who must not be under twenty years; in the Postal Service, not under eighteen years, except carriers, who must not be under twenty-one or over forty, and in the Railway Mail Service not under eighteen or over thirty-five years. The age limitations do not apply to any person honorably discharged from the Military or Naval Service of the United States by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty. Such persons are preferred in appointments under §1,754, R. S., and certified to appointing officers before all others of higher grade.

Every one seeking to be examined must first file an application blank. The blank for the Departmental, Railway Mail, or Indian School Service should be requested directly of the Civil Service Commission, at Washington. The blank for the Customs or Postal Service must be requested in writing by the persons desiring examination of the Customs or Postal Board of Examiners at the office where service is sought. These papers should be returned to the officers from whom they emanated.

EXAMINATIONS.

The applicants to enter the services designated are examined as to their relative capacity and fitness. The ordinary clerical examinations are used only in the Customs and

Departmental Services for clerkships of \$1,000 and upward requiring no peculiar information or skill. They are limited to the following subjects: First, orthography, penmanship and copying; second, arithmetic—fundamental rules, fractions, and percentage; third, interest and discount, elements of bookkeeping and accounts; fourth, elements of the English language, letter-writing, and the proper construction of sentences. For places in which a lower degree of education suffices, as for employes in postoffices, and those below the grade of clerks in custom houses and in the Departments at Washington, the Commission limits the examination to less than these four subjects, omitting the third and parts of the fourth subject. No one is certified for appointment whose standing in the examination is less than 70 per centum of complete proficiency, except that applicants claiming military or naval preference under §1,754 R. S., need obtain but 65.

The law also prescribes competitive examinations to test the fitness of persons in the service for promotion therein. The Commission gives a certificate to the person examined, stating whether he passed or failed to pass.

APPOINTMENTS.

When there is a vacancy to be filled, the appointing officer applies to the Commission or proper examining board, and it reports to him the names of the three persons of the sex called for graded highest on the proper register of those in his branch of the service and remaining eligible, and from the three a selection must be made. In the Departmental Service appointments are apportioned among the states on the basis of population.

Every appointment is made for a probationary period of six months, at the end of which time, if the conduct and capacity of the person appointed have been found satisfactory, the appointment is made absolute. There is a constant demand for men stenographers and typewriters. The number of women applying for clerical places is greatly in excess of the needs of the service.

The following are excepted from examination for appointment: Confidential clerks of heads of departments or offices, cashiers of collectors and postmasters, superintendents of money-order divisions in postoffices, custodians of money for whose fidelity another officer is under bond, disbursing officers who give bonds, persons in the secret service, deputy collectors and superintendents and chiefs of divisions of bureaus, and a few others.

Voting in Canada—Qualifications.

The old method of "open voting" continued in vogue for all elections until 1874, when the Ballot Act was passed by the Dominion Parliament. Since then "secret voting" has generally come into practice.

Qualifications.—*General.*—All voters must be British subjects, and of the full age of twenty-one years. Their names must have been duly entered upon the lists required for the several elections. No person who is insane, an idiot, a convict in prison, or otherwise disqualified by law, can vote. Women do not vote for members of either the Dominion Parliament or Provincial Legislatures, except in Nova Scotia, as noted.

Dominion Elections.—Previous to 1885 the qualifications of voters at these elections were the same as those required for the election of members of the Provincial Assemblies, respectively, but in that year the Dominion Parliament passed the Dominion Franchise Act, which made uniform throughout Canada the qualifications of voters for members of the House of Commons, the terms of which are as follows :

Possession or residence for one year is necessary in most cases for qualification.

Owners of real property to the value : in cities, of \$300 ; in towns, of \$200 ; and in villages, of \$150.

Tenants of above real property, or of real estate in the riding, of the yearly value of \$2 per month, \$6 per quarter, \$12 per half-year, or \$20 per year.

Fishermen, owners of real property and boats, nets, and fishing tackle, or of shares in a registered ship, which together are of the actual value of \$150.

Farmers' sons, and *sons of other owners* of real property, which is of sufficient value to qualify father and son, or sons, as the case may be.

Income.—Residents having an annual income from earnings or investments of not less than \$300, or holders of a life annuity secured on real estate in Canada of not less than \$100.

Indians in Manitoba, British Columbia, the District of Keewatin, and the North-West Territories are not entitled to vote. *In other parts* of Canada only those Indians who, not being otherwise qualified, are possessed of land on a Reserve, with improvements of not less value than \$150, are entitled to vote.

In the North-West Territories every person, other than aliens or Indians, is qualified to vote, who is a *bona-fide* male resident and householder of adult age, and has resided within the electoral district for twelve months previous to the election.

Disqualified.—In addition to the classes mentioned above, the judges of every court, whose appointments rest with the Governor-General, are disqualified and incompetent to vote at elections for the Dominion Parliament. Revising officers, returning officers and election clerks, and all counsel, agents, attorneys and clerks of candidates, who may be paid for their services, are disqualified from voting in the district in which they have been so engaged, but not elsewhere.

Provincial Elections.—The qualifications for voting at the elections for members of the Legislatures are fixed by the Legislatures themselves, and vary in the several Provinces:

Manhood Suffrage prevails in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Prince Edward Island residents must have performed statute labor or paid the poll-tax for the preceding year. In New Brunswick it is practically Manhood Suffrage, the only property qualification being a yearly assessment on real estate to the value of \$100, or on real and personal property to the value of \$400.

Property Qualification (Nova Scotia).—(a) Assessment on real estate of the value of \$150, or personal property to the value of \$300. (b) Sons of property owners, or widows, if they reside on the property, and it is sufficient to qualify them as above. (c) Annual income of \$250. (d) Fishermen having boats and fishing property within the riding to the value of \$150.

Quebec.—(a) Real estate of the value: in cities, of \$300, or in other places of \$200, or producing an annual rental of \$20. (b) Tenants paying an annual rental of \$30 in the cities, or \$20 in other localities. (c) Retired farmers

with an annual rental income of \$100. (*d*) Sons of farmers, or of other owners of real estate, if sons are co-proprietors with their father, and reside on the property. (*e*) Fishermen with fishing and other property to the value of \$150. (*f*) Teachers under provincial regulations in actual employment.

Residence.—*Ontario*, nine months before the making of the "roll" showing those qualified to vote. *Manitoba*, six months in the Province. All the other Provinces require residence for twelve months within the Province, and from one to two months in some one riding previous to election.

Disqualified.—In all the Provinces, Dominion officials are not competent to vote. In *British Columbia*, Indians and Chinese are debarred from voting. In *Manitoba*, Indians, and persons of Indian blood in receipt of annuities or treaty gifts from the Government, cannot vote.

Municipal Elections.—The qualifications for voting at municipal and school elections are determined by the Municipal and Educational Acts of the Provincial Legislatures :

Municipal Councils.—Those entitled to vote at the election of members of these councils must be British subjects and ratepayers in the municipality, as freeholders, householders, tenants, or having an income of a stated amount. Widows and unmarried women are eligible to vote in Ontario and Nova Scotia, while in Manitoba and British Columbia the right to vote belongs to any woman who is assessed in her own name.

Boards of Trustees of Public and Separate Schools.—In these elections, also, the ratepayers who are on the voters' lists are entitled to vote, according to whether they are public or separate school supporters, respectively. Generally, it is required that a ratepayer shall not be in default as to payment of school rates. In Ontario an alien, who is a resident ratepayer, may vote at these elections.

Qualifications for Voting in Each State of the Union.

In all the states except Wyoming the right to vote at general elections is restricted to males of 21 years of age and upward. Women are entitled to vote at school elections in several states. They are entitled by local law to full suffrage in the states of Colorado and Wyoming.

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	PREVIOUS RESIDENCE RE- QUIRED.				Persons Excluded from Suffrage.
		In State.	In County.	In Town.	In Precinct.	
Alabama*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	3 mo..	30 days	30 days	Convicted of treason or other crime punishable by imprisonment, idiots, or insane.
Arkansas*	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	6 mo..	.....	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of felony, until pardoned, failure to pay poll tax.
California*	Citizen by nativity, naturalization, or treaty of Queretaro.	1 yr....	90 days	.....	30 days	Chinese, insane, embezzlers of public moneys, convicted of infamous crime.
Colorado*	Citizen or alien who has declared intention 4 months previous to offering to vote.	6 mo..	90 days	10 days	10 days	Under guardianship, insane, idiots, or imprisoned.
Conn.*.....	Citizen of the U. S. who can read Constitution or statutes.	1 yr....	.....	6 mo..	.....	Convicted of felony or theft.
Delaware*	Citizen and paying county tax after age 22.	1 yr....	1 mo..	.....	15 days	Idiots, insane, paupers, felons.
Florida....	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention and paid capitation tax 2 years.	1 yr....	6 mo..	.....	(a)	Insane, under guardianship, convicted of felony, or any infamous crime.
Georgia...	Citizen of the United States who has paid all his taxes since 1877.	1 yr....	6 mo..	.....	.....	Idiots, insane, convicted of crime punishable by imprisonment, until pardoned, failure to pay taxes.
Idaho*.....	Citizen of the United States.....	6 mo..	30 days	.....	.....	Chinese, Indians, Mormons, felons, insane, treason, election bribery.
Illinois*...	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	90 days	30 days	30 days	Convicted of crime punishable in penitentiary until pardoned and restored to rights.
Indiana*..	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention and resided 1 year in United States and 6 months in State.	6 mo..	.....	60 days	30 days	Convicted of crime and disfranchised by judgment of the court.

Iowa*.....
 Kansas*.....
 Citizen of the United States (c). 6 mo.. 60 days
 Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention and resided 1 year in United States and 6 months in State. 60 days

Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crime, non-resident soldiers and marines

Illinois*...	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	90 days	30 days	30 days	30 days	insane, treason, election bribery. Convicted of crime punishable in penitentiary, until pardoned and restored to rights. Convicted of crime and disfranchised by judgment of the court.
Indiana* ..	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention in United States and 6 months in State.	6 mo....	60 days	30 days	60 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of infamous crime, high crimes, misdemeanors, unless pardoned, U. S. restored to citizenship, under guardianship, public embezzlers bribed.
Iowa*.....	Citizen of the United States (c).	6 mo....	60 days	30 days	30 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of treason, embezzlement of public funds, all crime punishable by imprisonment in penitentiary.
Kansas*..	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention (a)	6 mo....	30 days	30 days	30 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicts, rebels not restored to citizenship, under guardianship, public embezzlers bribed.
Kentucky*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	6 mo..	60 days	60 days	60 days	Treason, felony, bribery at election, Idiots, insane.
Louisiana.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	6 mo..	6 mo..	30 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, convicted of treason, embezzlement of public funds, all crime punishable by imprisonment in penitentiary.
Maine*	Citizen of the United States.....	3 mo..	3 mo..	3 mo..	3 mo..	3 mo..	Paupers, persons under guardianship, Indians not taxed, and in 1883 all new voters who cannot read the Constitution or write their own names in English.
Maryland*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	6 mo..	6 mo..	6 mo..	6 mo..	A person over 21 years convicted of larceny or other infamous crime, unless pardoned, persons under guardianship, as lunatics, or <i>non compos mentis</i> .
Mass*.....	Citizen who can read Constitution in English and write.	1 yr....	.....	6 mo..	30 days	30 days	Paupers (except honorably discharged U. S. soldiers and sailors) and persons under guardianship. Indians, duellists and accessories.
Michigan*.	Citizen or inhabitant who has declared intention under U. S. laws 6 months before election and lived in State 2½ years	3 mo..	.....	10 days	10 days	10 days	Convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, persons under guardianship or insane.
Minn*.....	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention, and civilized Indians (c).	4 mo†	10 days	10 days	10 days	10 days	Insane, idiots, Indians not taxed, felons, persons who have not paid taxes.
Miss*.....	Citizen of the United States who can read or understand Constitution, after Jan. 1, 1892.	2 yrs..	1 yr....	1 yr....	1 yr....	1 yr (b)	U. S. soldiers and marines, paupers, criminals convicted once until pardoned, felons and violators of suffrage laws convicted a second time.
Missouri*.	Citizen of United States or alien who has declared intention not less than one year or more than five before offering to vote.	1 yr....	60 days	60 days	60 days	60 days	

*Australian ballot law or a modification of it in force. † And one year's residence in the United States prior to voting. (a) And females, in school and city elections. (b) Clergymen are qualified after six months' residence in precinct. (c) Women can vote in school elections.

Qualifications for Voting in Each State of the Union—Continued.

In all the states except Wyoming the right to vote at general elections is restricted to males of 21 years of age and upward. Women are entitled to vote at school elections in several states. They are entitled by local law to full suffrage in the states of Colorado and Wyoming.

STATES.	Requirements as to Citizenship.	PREVIOUS RESIDENCE RE- QUIRED.				Persons Excluded from Suffrage.
		In State.	In County.	In Town.	In Pre-cinct.	
Montana*.	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	30 days	.....	.....	Indians, felons, soldiers, Idiots, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned, soldiers, sailors.
Nebraska*.	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention thirty days prior to election.	6 mo..	40 days	10 days	30 days	
Nevada*..	Citizen of the United States.....	6 mo..	30 days	30 days	30 days	
N. Hamp.*	Inhabitants, native or naturalized.	6 mo..	.....	6 mo..	.....	Papists (except honorably discharged U. S. soldiers and sailors), persons excused from paying taxes at their own request.
N. Jersey*.	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	5 mo..	.....	.....
N. York*..	Citizen who shall have been a citizen for ten days.	1 yr....	4 mo..	30 days	30 days	Idiots, insane, paupers, persons convicted of crimes (unless pardoned), which exclude them from being witnesses. Convicted of bribery or any infamous crime unless sentenced to reformatory or pardoned, bettors on result of any election at which they offer to vote, bribers for votes and the bribed.
N. C.....	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	90 days	.....	.....
N. Dak.*..	Citizen of the United States, alien who has declared intention one year, and civilized Indian.)	1 yr....	6 mo..	.....	90 days	Convicted of felony or other infamous crime, idiots, lunatics, United States soldiers and sailors, persons <i>non compos mentis</i> , and felons.
Ohio*.....	Citizen of the United States (c).	1 yr....	30 days	.....	20 days	
Oregon*..	Citizen of U. S. or alien who has declared intention one year preceding election.	6 mo..	.....	.....	.....	Felony until pardoned and restored to citizenship, idiots, insane, United States soldiers and sailors, Indians convicted of felony, United States soldiers and sailors Chinese.
Penn.*.....	Citizen of the United States at least 22 years of age, or 21 years if old or more must have paid tax within two years.	1 yr. 4 mo.	.....	.....	2 mo..	
Rhode I.*.	Citizen of United States.....	2 yrs....	.....	6 mo..	.....	Persons convicted of crimes (unless pardoned) whose right of suffrage is forfeited, tax-payers. Persons lunatics.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN EACH STATE.

State	Qualification	Age	Residence	Duration	Disqualifications
Ohio*	Male, one year, and civilized Indian.† Citizen of the United States (c).	1 yr....	30 days	20 days	felons. Felony until pardoned and restored to citizenship, idiots, insane, United States soldiers, and sailors. Idiots, insane, convicted of felony. United States soldiers and sailors Chinese.
Oregon*	Citizen of U. S., or alien who has declared intention one year preceding election.	6 mo..	.....	.....	.....
Florida*	Citizen of the United States at least one month, and if 22 years of age, must have paid tax within two years.	1 yr.†..	.....	3 mo..	Convicted of some offense whereby franchise is forfeited, non-taxpayers.
Rhode I.*	Citizen of United States.....	2 yrs.....	6 mo..	.....	Paupers, lunatics, persons non compos mentis, convicted of bribery or infamous crime until restored to right to vote under guardianship.
S. C.....	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	60 days	60 days	Convicted of treason, murder or other infamous crime, dueling, paupers, insane, idiots.
S. Dak.*	Citizen of the United States or alien who has declared intention.	6 mo.§	30 days	10 days	Under guardianship, idiots, insane, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned.
Tenn.*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	6 mo..	(a)	Convicted of bribery or other infamous offense.
Texas*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	6 mo..	(a)	Idiots, lunatics, paupers, convicted of felony, United States soldiers and seaman.
Vermont*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	3 mo..	3 m (b)	Unpardoned convicts and deserters from U. S. military or naval service during Civil War, ex-Confederates.
Virginia*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	3 mo..	30 days	Idiots, lunatics, convicted of bribery at election, embezzlement of public funds, treason, felony and petty larceny, duelists and abettors, unless pardoned by Legislature.
Wash'n* West Va.*	Citizen of the United States.....	1 yr....	90 days 60 days	30 days (2)	Indians not taxed. Paupers, idiots, lunatics, convicted of treason, felony or bribery at elections, United States soldier or sailor.
Wiscons'n*	Citizen of the United States or alien who has declared intention.	1 yr....	.....	10 days	Insane, under guardianship, convicted of treason or felony, unless pardoned.
Wyom.*	Citizen of the United States, male or female.	1 yr....	60 days	.....	Idiots, insane, felons, unable to read state Constitution.

*Australian ballot law or a modification of it in force. †Indian must have severed tribal relations two years next preceding election. ‡Or if, having previously been a qualified elector or native, he shall have removed and returned, then 6 months. §One year's residence in the United States prior to election required. (a) Actual residence in the precinct or district required. (b) If residing in state 1 year, a bona fide resident in precinct at time of registration may vote for state and county officers without previous residence in precinct, but 3 months' residence in the precinct is required to vote for representative in the Legislature. (c) Women can vote in school districts.

Requirements Regarding the Registration of Voters.

The registration of voters is required in the states of Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, and Wyoming and the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

In Georgia registration is required in some counties by local law.

In Kentucky registration is required in cities, in Kansas in cities of the first and second class, in Iowa and Nebraska in cities of and over 2,500 inhabitants, in North Dakota in cities of over 3,000 inhabitants, in Ohio in cities of not less than 9,000 inhabitants, in Maine in all cities and in towns having 500 or more voters, in South Dakota in cities and towns having over 1,000 voters and in counties where registration has been adopted by popular vote, and in Tennessee in all counties having 50,000 inhabitants and over.

In Missouri it is required in cities of 100,000 inhabitants, and in Wisconsin in cities having 3,000 inhabitants and over. In New York it is required in all cities and in all incorporated villages of over 7,000 inhabitants. In Rhode Island non-taxpayers are required to register yearly before December 31. In Texas cities of 10,000 or over may require registration.

The registration of voters is not required in the state of Oregon. It is prohibited in Arkansas and West Virginia by constitutional provision.



Woman Suffrage.

The Legislatures of Connecticut and New York in their sessions of 1893 passed laws permitting women to vote for school officers. The privilege was used to a limited extent in both states, but in the November election a Supreme Court Judge in New York decided that the act of that state was unconstitutional. Notwithstanding this the Attorney-General of the state advised all election officers to treat the law as constitutional until the question could be adjudicated by the highest tribunal. The Iowa and Ohio Legislatures in 1894 granted suffrage in school elections to women.

In the New York State Convention in 1894 to revise the Constitution a woman suffrage amendment was defeated by a vote of 97 to 58.

The Michigan Legislature of 1893 adopted a law authorizing women to vote at municipal elections. In October the Supreme Court of the state declared the law unconstitutional.

In Wyoming women have full suffrage and vote for all officers, including Presidential electors. The woman suffrage law was adopted in 1870.

In the state election in Colorado in 1893 the people voted in favor of general woman suffrage.

In Kansas women exercise the suffrage largely in municipal elections. In November, 1894, the people voted upon a constitutional amendment providing for woman suffrage.

Women formerly voted in the territory of Washington, and until they were excluded by a decision of the Territorial Supreme Court. In adopting a state Constitution the question of allowing women to use the ballot was submitted to a separate vote of the electors and was defeated. Women voted in the territory of Utah until excluded by the Edmunds law.

But in some form, mainly as to taxation or the selection of school officers, woman suffrage exists in a limited way in Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

In many European countries, in Australia and New Zealand, in Cape Colony, in Canada, and in parts of India women vote on various terms for municipal or school officers.

The Ballot Reform Movement.

The following is a list of the states and territories which have adopted new ballot laws based more or less on the Australian system:

1888—Kentucky (applying only to Louisville), Massachusetts.

1889—Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Wisconsin.

1890—Maryland (applying to Baltimore), New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Vermont, Washington, Wyoming.

1891—Arkansas, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Maine, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Oregon, West Virginia, Colorado.

1892—Iowa, Maryland (whole state), Mississippi.

1893—Alabama, Kansas, Kentucky, Nevada, Texas, and in Florida for the city of Jacksonville.

1894—Virginia.

The only states in which some form of reformed balloting does not yet exist are: Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina.

FORM OF BALLOT.

The distinctive feature of the ballot practice in New South Wales is that the names of all the candidates being on one ticket, the names of persons for whom the voter does not wish to vote must be crossed off, a blue lead pencil being provided for the purpose by the authorities, while there are clearly printed on the ticket, in red ink, directions as to how many candidates must be voted for.

Under the New York and New Jersey laws each party ticket is printed on a separate ballot. For straight voting, therefore, no marking is required. For the benefit mainly of the illiterate or blind, as claimed, the paster ballot is permitted in New York.

In all the other states which have adopted the reform system of voting, the single or "blanket" ballot is used. All the names in nomination are printed on one sheet, the voter's choice to be indicated by marking. There are two methods used of grouping the names of the candidates. The Australian plan arranges the titles of the offices alphabetically, the names of the candidates, and usually their party connection being attached.

The states which follow this plan with more or less variation in the form, but preserving the feature of alphabetical arrangement of titles of offices to be voted for, are Cali-

fornia, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming.

The other form groups all names and offices by parties. The voter of a straight ticket marks a cross in the circle at the head of his ticket. The voter who scatters marks squares opposite the names of all the candidates on the tickets.

The states and territories which use this plan, with or without immaterial variations, are Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin and Oklahoma.

Causes and Effects of Trusts.

1. **Original Meaning.**—Trust, in its original meaning, is a good word and means a good thing, but it has got into bad company. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that there is a party of well-born and well-bred words which are sowing wild oats, and which there is every reason to fear will go to the bad. The other prominent members of the company are the words "combine" and "deal;" but "trust" is the ringleader.

2. **What Is a Trust?**—Let us define it as a corporation of corporations, or a corporation of the second degree. A corporation is an artificial person. It is a creation of the law. It has some of the civil rights of individual citizens, and is subject to a corresponding degree of obligation. The corporation may sue and be sued; it is entitled to the protection of its property; it is required to pay taxes. Where as a man has certain natural rights, a corporation has those only which are conferred by the Legislature.

3. **Our Grandfathers.**—Our grandfathers watched the beginning and the growth of corporate wealth and power with extreme jealousy. More than one state political convention in the first half of this century declared its opposition to the chartering of any corporation for business purposes. The "trust" is an extension of the principle of the corporation. But it does not follow that, because some of the early objections to corporations were unreasonable, therefore the hostility to trusts will be found to have been based on prejudice and passion.

4. **Without the Permission of the State.**—A trust is a combination of corporations, banded together under one management for the purpose of controlling the manufacture



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of or trade in some article of extensive use. Usually it is not chartered, that is, it is not a corporation in the ordinary sense of the word, but is a voluntary association, which keeps secret its organization, its doings and its profits. Thus it may be, and in some cases is, an "artificial person" which exists without the permission of the state.

5. **The Chief Objection.**—The chief objection to the trust is that a practical monopoly may be created. In fact, if a monopoly is not established the purpose of organizing the trust fails of accomplishment. For example—to take an illustration from a trade in which there is no trust—there are 1,200 or more corporations, firms and persons in this country engaged in the cotton manufacture. Some of the corporations are huge affairs. One in New Hampshire is the greatest in the world which is engaged in this trade. No harm results from the existence of these great corporations because, being scattered over the country and having diverse interests, they compete with each other. But if they were all to combine they would control the labor of spinners and weavers, they would regulate production in such a way as to maintain prices at a surely profitable level, and in various other ways would deprive the community of the advantages of competition.

6. **Concentrating Great Capital.**—Moreover, there is a strong feeling in the minds of many people who are by no means infected with socialistic views that discouragement and not encouragement should be given to the practice of concentrating great capital, and consequently great power, in the hands of a few men, officers and managers of such aggregates of corporations.

7. **Grander Scale.**—These are the reasons urged against sanctioning trusts. There is something to be said in their favor, namely, that they make industrial developments possible, on a grander scale than ever. But not many men hold that this advantage counterbalances the necessary evils; and no person, at least no one who desires political preferment, ventures to say even as much as that in their favor.

8. **High Protection.**—It is no doubt true that the system of high protective tariff has a tendency to produce trusts. Trusts are nothing more nor less than schemes to rob the consumer. The poor simply are compelled to contribute to the wealth and support of the privileged and protected classes of manufacturers.

COMPETITION IS DEAD



J. M. C. C. C. C.



RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

Canadian View of "Monroe Doctrine."

Canada has no fault to find with the "Monroe" Doctrine, as evolved, in 1823, from the Message of President Monroe, and the international correspondence of that time. The fact is, the principle expressed in that kind of "doctrine" is as old as the first nation. It is simply that of self-preservation, which, in 1823, the young Republic found it necessary to assert in an official way, in view of the propaganda of the Holy Alliance, which had a special reference to the circumstances of growing American nationalities on both sides of the equator. Great Britain approved of the principle enunciated in President Monroe's message, and even suggested the assertion of the principle. When such a national pronouncement of a fundamental principle becomes necessary

in a country's history, it marks a step in that history. In the long-standing relations of European nations, a complete system of international law had been worked out by which they maintained their "balance of power." The Holy Alliance unwisely challenged the position of the young American nation in reference to the "old world" system, and forced it, in 1823, to declare itself through its President. National or Imperial autonomy is a sacred right, to be maintained resolutely.

Canada expressed her opinion upon such doctrine eleven years before President Monroe uttered a sentence of his famous message. Several Presidents since have added paragraphs to, or altered the language of, the original message, according to the fashion of talking in their day; but the original doctrine stands, is recognized by all parties, and is sufficient for any one nation to carry out. Senator Cullom, in Congress, lately put the modern phase of the question, "the United States must look after the United States." That is the whole question in nine words, and if the other nations will also each appropriate the injunction to itself, the arts of peace will be the sole occupation of the nations on this side the Atlantic.

The "Monroe Doctrine."

1. Explanation.—The Monroe doctrine introduced a modification of this general policy. It relates to the interference of foreign, or European countries, with the affairs of the American continent. It was announced by President Monroe in his annual message to Congress of December 2, 1823. It is expressed in two paragraphs of that message, which were distinct from each other and were separated by other matter. The two paragraphs referred to different events.

2. The Occasion for the Expression of the First Paragraph.—One of these paragraphs asserted that the American continents, "by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The occasion for the expression of this view was that Russia had made a claim to a large part of the coast line upon the western shore of the North American



THE CZAR OF RUSSIA.

continent. This passage was written by John Quincy Adams the Secretary of State, and was inserted by Mr. Monroe in the message.

3. **The Occasion of the Other Paragraph.**—The occasion of the other paragraph of the message was as follows: The Holy Alliance, the name given to the alliance formed by the emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia, was a very powerful combination, professedly in the interest of the Christian religion, but really in the interest of absolute power.

4. **Danger to Our Peace and Safety.**—In the midst of a passage of some length Mr. Monroe said that we owed it to the friendly relations existing between the United States and the European powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and that we could not view any attempt by any European power to oppress the Spanish-American countries which had become independent "in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

5. **The Policy of Congress.**—The Monroe doctrine thus announced became the settled policy of Congress and of the successive administrations, and has been repeatedly approved by national conventions of the great parties. It has been extended, with more or less logical consistency, in more than one direction.

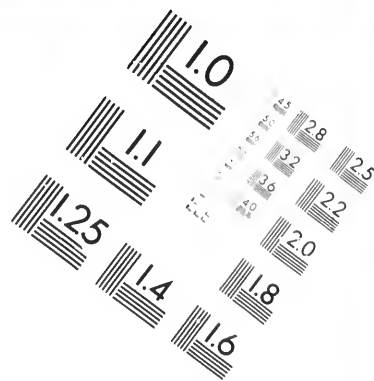
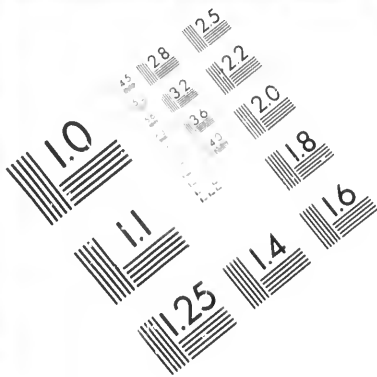
6. **Different Views.**—Some people understand that the United States has taken a position which implies a general oversight of the affairs of all American republics. Moreover, according to one view, the Monroe doctrine gives us rights and obligations not only toward the adjacent islands of the West Indies, but toward Hawaii.

7. **Enforcing it.**—The doctrine in its original form no longer requires a threat on our part to enforce it, for the United States has become so great that no foreign power would think of violating either of its principles we have quoted.

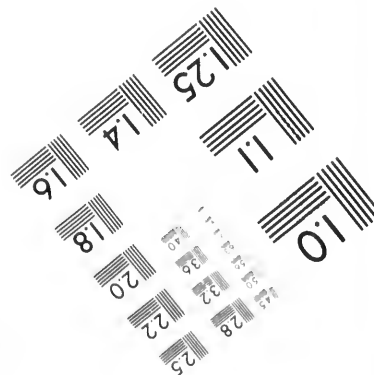
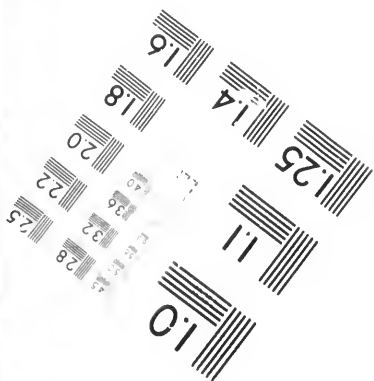
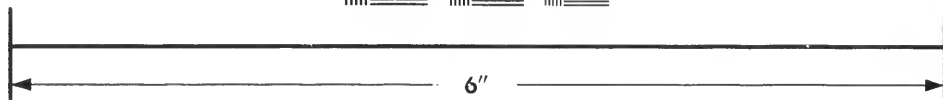
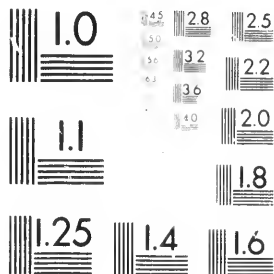


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Wars of the United States.

BY WHAT NAME KNOWN.	LENGTH OF WAR.		FORCE ENGAGED.	
	From.	To.	Regulars.	Militia and Volunteers.
War of the Revolution..	April 19, 1775	April 11, 1783	130,711	164,080
Northwestern Indian....	Sept. 19, 1790	Aug. 3, 1795	.....	.....
War with France.....	July 9, 1798	Sept. 30, 1800	.....	.....
War with Tripoli.....	June 10, 1801	June 4, 1805	.....	.....
Creek Indian.....	July 27, 1813	Aug. 9, 1814	600	13,181
War of 1812, Gt. Britain..	June 18, 1812	Feb. 17, 1815	85,000	471,622
Seminole Indian.....	Nov. 20, 1817	Oct. 21, 1818	1,000	6,911
Black Hawk Indian.....	April 21, 1831	Sept. 31, 1832	1,339	5,125
Cherokee disturbance...	1836	1837	.....	9,494
Creek Indian War.....	May 5, 1836	Sept. 30, 1837	935	12,483
Florida Indian.....	Dec. 23, 1835	Aug. 14, 1843	11,169	29,953
Aroostook disturbance..	1838	1839	.....	1,500
War with Mexico.....	April 24, 1846	July 4, 1848	30,954	73,776
Apache, Navajo and Utah	1849	1855	1,500	1,061
Seminole Indian.....	1856	1853	.....	3,687
Civil War.....	1861	1865	.....	2,772,408
Number of Confederate troops engaged in Civil War.....			.....	600,000

Cost of Wars of the United States.

Revolutionary.....	\$ 135,193,703.00
War of 1812-15.....	107,159,008.00
Mexican War.....	100,000,000.00
Rebellion.....	6,189,929,908.53
Estimated cost of Indian wars from July 4, 1776, to June 30, 1886.....	696,339,277.68

Losses in wars—	
Revolution (English).....	50,000 men.
1812-15 killed and wounded.....	5,614 "
Mexican War.....	3,420 "
Rebellion, { Union—died.....	279,376 "
{ Confederate—died.....	300,000 "

In the War of 1812-15 there were 10 battles, 8 combats and assaults, 52 actions and bombardments. In the Mexican War there were 11 pitched battles and 35 actions, combats, sieges and skirmishes. In the Civil War of 1861-5 there were 107 pitched battles, 102 combats, and 362 actions, sieges, and lesser affairs. Since 1812 the United States army has had over 640 battles, fights, and actions against Indians. Since 1789 there have been 912 garrisoned forts,

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THE MISSION OF PEACE.

Plowing the Field of Appomattox.

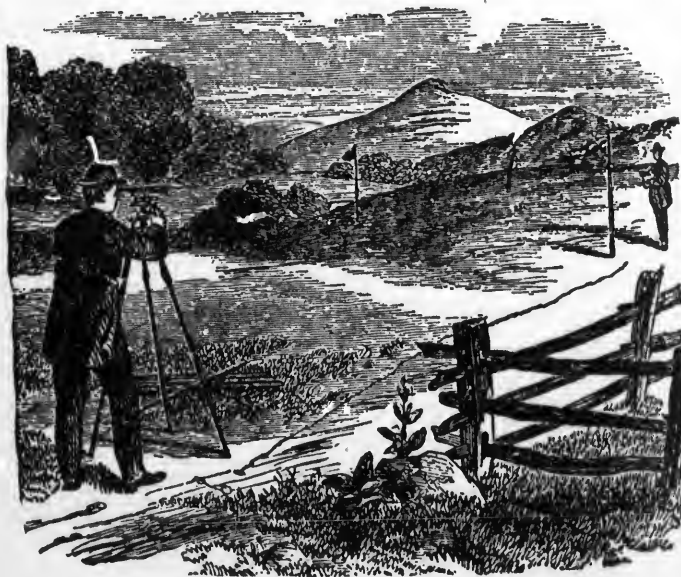
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arsenals and military posts in the United States. At the present time (1891) there are 144 garrisoned forts, arsenals and military posts.

Up to and including June, 1861, there were 1,966 graduates of the Military Academy, and of these there were living at the outbreak of the Civil War of 1861-5 1,249.

Of the 1,249, 428 were in civil life, and 821 were in the military service of the United States. Of those in civil life, 292 took sides with the Union and 99 joined the Confederacy, while 37 are unknown. Of the 821 in the army, 627 sided with the Union, 184 joined the Confederacy, and 10 took neither side. Of the 99 who joined the Confederacy from civil life all, except one, were either born and brought up or were residents of southern territory. On the other hand, of the 350 graduates born or appointed from southern states, 162 remained loyal to the United States. Of the graduates who served in the Civil War, one-fifth were killed in battle, while one-half were wounded.—*Lieutenant W. R. Hamilton, U. S. A. (From World Almanac.)*



LAND SURVEYS.

The System of United States Land Surveys.

1. **Land Surveys.**—As Macy says, the Department of the Interior has charge of the public lands until they become the property of individuals or of states. Before land can

be sold to individuals it is necessary that boundaries be accurately fixed. For this purpose, a system of land surveys was adopted during Washington's administration.

2. Townships.—The honor of devising our admirable system of United States surveys has been attributed to Thomas Jefferson and to Albert Galatin. According to this system, the land is first divided into squares by meridians and parallels, six miles apart. These squares are called townships, and serve the double purpose of locating land and of furnishing the boundaries for local governments. A row of townships running north and south is called a range. As civil governments, townships receive proper names, as Washington or Madison; but for the location of lands they are designated by numbers.

Canadian Homesteads.

The land available for this purpose consists of the ungranted lands of the Old Provinces, which are under provincial control, and those of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, administered by the Dominion Government.

1. Provincial Lands.—These lands are surveyed, and may be appropriated for settlement by applicants, if a single man over eighteen years of age, or by any person, male or female, who is sole head of a family. Of the provincial lands, the limit is: to the single man, one hundred acres; to the head of a family, two hundred acres, with the privilege of purchasing an additional one hundred at fifty cents per acre. In all the provinces full particulars as to settlement duties may be obtained by addressing the Crown Lands Department of the province in which a homestead is desired.

2. Dominion Lands.—The method of survey of these lands is the same as that pursued with regard to the new States and Territories of the United States, shown on pages 381-383. The only difference for the reader to note is that the numbering of Canadian sections is the reverse of that shown on page 383. In Canada the numbering *commences* at the south-east corner, and *ends* at the north-east corner. The same rule applies to the quarter sections, as shown in diagram on page 384. The Dominion lands are classified, in each township, as *even-numbered* and *odd-numbered* sections. Of the *former* those numbered 8 and 26 are allotted to the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the *latter* lots 11 and 29 are reserved for school purposes. Excepting these numbers, the other even-numbered sections are open for *homestead*

entry, and the other odd-numbered sections are for *sale*, unless granted by Government to aid colonization railways. Applicants must be of the age mentioned for provincial lands. On making application to the Local Dominion Land Agent of the district, and paying a fee of ten dollars, the applicant may obtain a homestead entry for a quarter-section, or 160 acres. He has three years in which to complete his settlement duties of residence and cultivation. In that time he must have cropped twenty-five acres, and prepared



HON. SIR RICHARD J. CARTWRIGHT, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Trade and Commerce.

fifteen more for the fourth year. Having fulfilled his three years, the Crown will issue to him a patent for the land. Homestead rights may be conveyed by will or otherwise, but all duties must be fulfilled.

The privilege of homestead entry only applies to agricultural lands. Any one desiring to make such entry may apply either personally to the Dominion Land Agent of the district, or, if at a distance, by letter, to the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, at Winnipeg.



How Land is Surveyed.

1. **History.**—Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin are supposed to be the authors of our system of United States land surveys.

2. **Townships.**—The land is first divided into squares by lines, six miles apart. These squares are called *townships*, and a row of townships running north and south is called a *range*. Townships are given proper names, but for the purpose of location they are designated by numbers.

3. **Principal Meridians and Base Lines.**—First the surveyors select some prominent object or point, and drawing a straight line north and south through this point make what is known as the *principal meridian line*. Then drawing a line at right angles across the *principal meridian*

they establish what is called a *base line*. Marks one-half mile apart are left on each of these lines throughout their entire length.

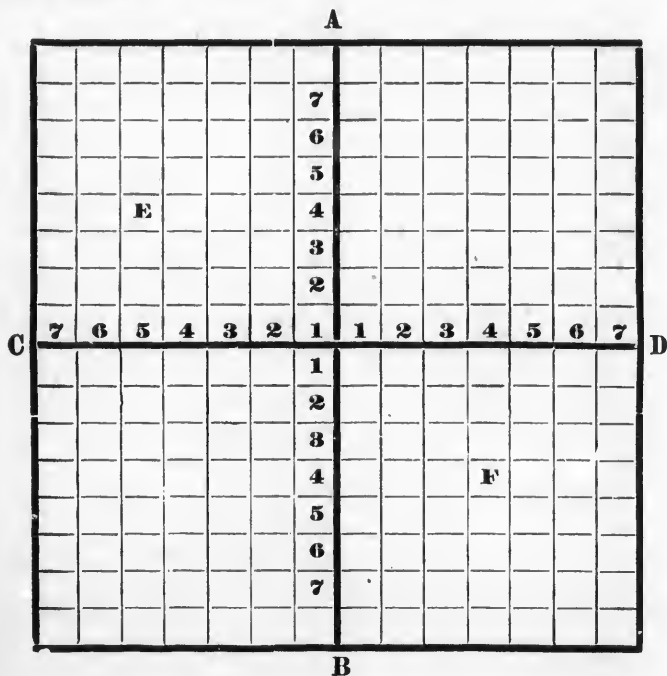


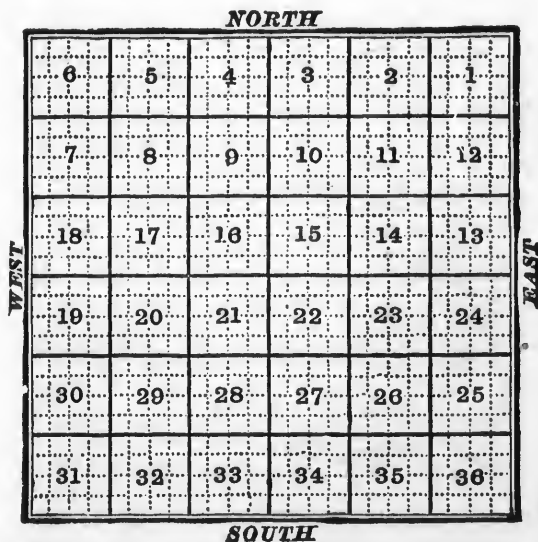
Illustration: A. B.=Principal Meridian. C. D.=Base Line. The numbers on the line A. B. mark the *township lines*, and the numbers on the line C. D. mark the *range lines*.

Range lines are run north and south six miles apart on both sides of the principal meridian and numbered as shown in diagram above. Township lines are run six miles apart, parallel to the base line and numbered as shown above.

Example: E. is in range 5, west, and in township 4, north, or 30 miles west from the principal meridian and 24 miles north of the base line (each square represents a township six miles each way). F. is in range 4, east, and is in township 4, south, or 24 miles east of the principal meridian and 18 miles south of the base line.

How to Locate Land and Read and Write Descriptions.

A township is 36 sections, each a mile square. A section is 640 acres. A quarter section, half a mile square, is 160 acres. An eighth section, half a mile long, north and south, and a quarter of a mile wide, is 80 acres. A sixteenth section, a quarter of a mile square, is 40 acres.



A TOWNSHIP WITH SECTION LINES.

1. United States survey ends with the location of the section lines. Marks are, however, made by the surveyors at the corners of the section and also half-mile marks between the corners. By these marks any piece of land may be accurately located.

2. Land is generally bought and sold in lots of 40 acres or 80 acres or 120 acres or 160 acres, etc.

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C	D		
	Z	X	Y

Sec. 25.

Example: Lots A, B, C and D, taken together, are one-fourth of the entire section, and described as the N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

A is described as N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

C D is described as S. $\frac{1}{2}$ of N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

X Y is described as N. $\frac{1}{2}$ of S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

Z is described as N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 25.

N. B. Where the government surveys cannot be used a full description has to be written out by the county surveyor.

The United States Homestead Laws.

The laws give to every citizen, and to those who have declared their intention to become citizens, the right to a homestead on SURVEYED lands to the extent of one-quarter section, or 160 acres; or a half-quarter section, or 80 acres; the former in cases in the class of lower priced lands, held by law at \$1.25 per acre, the latter of high priced lands, held at \$2.50 per acre, when disposed of to cash buyers. The pre-emption privilege is restricted to heads of families, widows, or single persons over the age of twenty-one.

Every soldier and officer in the army, and every seaman, marine and officer of the navy during the recent rebellion, may enter 160 acres from either class, and length of time served in the army or navy deducted from the time required to perfect title.

The Problem of the American Tramp.

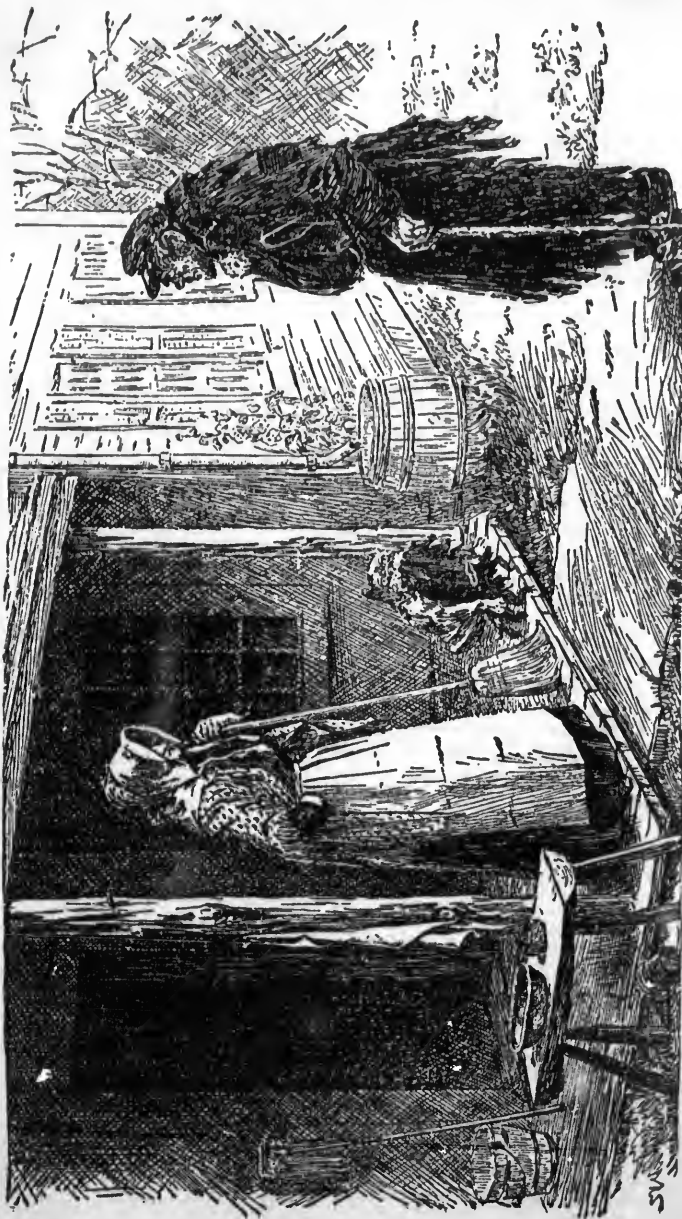
1. **Honest Laboring Men.**—Any one whose memory reaches back a score of years can well remember that the first tramps were honest laboring men seeking employment. Men driven from home and the restraint of home life, and thrown into contact with others of their class with nothing to do, could not long remain innocent; smarting under an indefinable sense of wrong done them by society, soon becoming objects of suspicion, they naturally became more or less criminals.

2. **The Terrible Tramp.**—Find fault as we may, the terrible tramp is upon us; he has tramped out, and goes on tramping out the sense of security enjoyed by dwellers in town and country alike. He has well nigh tramped out that beautiful hospitality once habitual with us, so that we dare not use hospitality to strangers, and so fail of the privilege of "sometimes entertaining angels unawares," and of obeying the Scriptures' injunction. His heavy footfall has well nigh smothered out our love for men as men, and I fear, has seriously impaired our love for their Creator. "If a man love not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" If history, as it is wont to do, repeats itself in our case, our posterity may find that the tramp has changed the whole aspect and customs of our country.

3. **Drunkenness.**—Drunkenness is a tramp-producing vice. Few of the men who are to-day tramping the country for bread and shelter no doubt found plenty of employment and friends when they were sober and honestly sought work. But when they began to drink they went rapidly down from bad to worse until they were forced from community to community in search of employment among those who knew not of their vices, but their appearance and character soon condemned them and they were doomed to become outcasts.

4. **Crime.**—There is but one step from drunkenness to crime and many of those who are tramping to-day have been guilty of some lesser or greater crime and in seeking to escape the penalties of the law they have become habitual tramps unknown and unknowable.

5. **Remedy.**—The first thing in restoring the reign of justice and to help the helpless and to protect the innocent is to break down the terrible power of strong drinks. With the intellect sobered and the hands steadied a man may soon be able to see plainly for himself and make provisions for his own prosperity. A clear head and a strong



THE PROFESSIONAL TRAMP BEGGING FOR A BREAKFAST.

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arm is all that is necessary to make life a success. Wipe out the saloons and you will destroy one of the most fruitful sources of the present tramp nuisance.

6. **Mistaken Ideas.**—It must be remembered that every man who is traveling over the country in search of employment is not a tramp; many of them are honestly seeking employment, this has been demonstrated repeatedly and every man deserves respect until by some work or act he has proved himself unworthy.



HOMELESS, BUT WILLING TO WORK.

The author and compiler of this work was once a boy tramp. He tramped the country with all his worldly possessions under his arm in search of employment, but when employment was found he faithfully served one employer, six years at hard farm labor. If a sober-looking fellow with an honest-looking face comes along and you need help give him a fair trial. The writer found one of the best and most faithful of men by giving breakfast to a hungry man and then set him to work. Be charitable and thank God that your lot is not that of a poor man out of employment.



THE RAMP WHO HAD TO EARN HIS MEAL.

7. **The Great Problem.**—What shall be done with the tramp who will not work, who is not seeking to better his present condition, but has drifted into this habit of a tramp simply because he does not care to be anything else? is the great problem staring the people of this country in the face. Laws have been enacted by different municipal corporations to work the tramps upon the streets; imprisonment and other punishments have been tried, but yet the tramp nuisance increases, it is growing instead of becoming less. There is not a scarcity of work, but the difficulty lies in a proper adjustment between labor and capital. It is no doubt true that the present revenues lost to the legitimate business of the country by the manufacturing sale of liquor would feed and clothe and give employment to every man willing to work.

8. **The Best Remedy.**—Never feed a tramp unless you first have him earn his meal. It is an education that has a good effect upon a hungry stomach and it is a proper time to impress a good wholesome lesson. If you have nothing to do buy a cord of wood and keep it in readiness for the hungry tramp. Thirty minutes' work will fully demonstrate his worthiness for charity. By enforcing this rule—no work no meal—you will soon cease to be annoyed by the professional tramp.



U. S.—WHERE AM I AT, B'GOSH?

MEAL.

Naturalization in Canada.

All residents of a country are not subjects. In Canada the population is made up of British subjects and aliens.

1. **British Subjects.**—(a) Persons born in any part of the British Empire, (b) or on a British ship, (c) or in a foreign country, if their parents were at the time British subjects by birth or naturalization, or if the grandfather on the father's side were a British subject.

Any of these classes are British subjects unless they have renounced their birthright, that is, taken the oath of allegiance to a foreign State.

2. **Aliens** are those residents who are, by birth or oath of allegiance, subjects of a foreign State. A certificate of naturalization granted in any other part of the British Empire confers no rights or privileges upon an alien in Canada.

3. **Naturalization** in Canada is the renunciation of his former allegiance by an alien, and taking the oath of allegiance as a British subject. The requirements are three years residence in Canada, bringing certificates of good character, and taking the oath before a judge, commissioner, or magistrate, and causing the same to be registered in a court of record. He can then receive his certificate of *naturalization*, and enjoy all the privileges of a British subject. Alien women, married to British subjects, become by that act naturalized British subjects.

4. **Expatriation** is a term which designates those who, being under no legal disability, renounce their British allegiance and take the oath of allegiance to a foreign State.

5. **Repatriation** is the return of an expatriated subject to his allegiance to the British Crown. In Canada such a person must qualify in the same way as an alien.

6. **Right of Aliens in Canada.**—Aliens may hold property, whether real estate or the stock of corporate companies, and transmit the same by will, or otherwise, in the same way as a British subject. An alien may not be the owner of a British ship, nor can he serve as a jurymen, nor exercise the franchise at municipal, provincial, or Dominion elections.

“The consideration as to whether any person is a subject or not becomes material in relation to certain offences against the Crown. None but a subject can be found guilty of treason; or, rather, what is treason in a subject may be no more than a felony in a foreigner.”—(O'Sullivan, *Manual of Government in Canada.*)



OUR FOREIGN FRIEND FURNISHING MUSIC FOR THE PUBLIC.

Naturalization Laws of the United States.

The conditions under and the manner in which an alien may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States are prescribed by the Revised Statutes of the United States.

DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS.

The alien must declare upon oath before a circuit or district court of the United States or a district or supreme

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court of the territories, or a court of record of any of the states having common law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, two years at least prior to his admission, that it is, *bona fide*, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince or state, and particularly to the one of which he may be at the time a citizen or subject.

OATH ON APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION.

He must at the time of his application to be admitted declare on oath, before some one of the courts above specified, "that he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, and particularly, by name, to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or subject," which proceedings must be recorded by the clerk of the court.

CONDITIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court to which the alien has applied that he has made a declaration to become a citizen two years before applying for final papers, and has resided continuously within the United States for at least five years, and within the state or territory where such court is at the time held one year at least; and that during that time "he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same," he will be admitted to citizenship.

TITLES OF NOBILITY.

If the applicant has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility he must make an express renunciation of the same at the time of his application.

SOLDIERS.

Any alien of the age of twenty-one years and upward who has been in the armies of the United States, and has been honorably discharged therefrom, may become a citizen on his petition, without any previous declaration of intention, provided that he has resided in the United States at least one year previous to his application, and is of good moral character. (It is judicially decided that residence of one year in a particular state is not requisite.)

MINORS.

Any alien under the age of twenty-one years who has resided in the United States three years next preceding his

arriving at that age, and who has continued to reside therein to the time he may make application to be admitted a citizen thereof, may, after he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, and after he has resided five years within the United States, including the three years of his minority, be admitted a citizen; but he must make a declaration on oath and prove to the satisfaction of the court that for two years next preceding it has been his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen.

CHILDREN OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

The children of persons who have been duly naturalized, being under the age of twenty-one years at the time of naturalization of their parents, shall, if dwelling in the United States, be considered as citizens thereof.

CITIZENS' CHILDREN WHO ARE BORN ABROAD.

The children of persons who now are or have been citizens of the United States are, though born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, considered as citizens thereof.

CHINESE.

The naturalization of Chinamen is expressly prohibited by Section 14, Chapter 126, Laws of 1882.

PROTECTION ABROAD TO NATURALIZED CITIZENS.

Section 2,000 of the Revised Statutes of the United States declares that "all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of persons and property which is accorded to native-born citizens."

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote comes from the state, and is a state gift. Naturalization is a Federal right and is a gift of the Union, not of any one State. In nearly one-half of the Union aliens (who have declared intentions) vote and have the right to vote equally with naturalized or native-born citizens. In the other half only actual citizens may vote. (See Table of Qualifications for Voting in each State, on another page.) The Federal naturalization laws apply to the whole Union alike, and provide that no alien may be naturalized until after five years' residence. Even after five years' residence and due naturalization he is not entitled to vote unless the laws of the State confer the privilege upon him, and he may vote in several States six months after landing, if he has declared his intention, under United States law, to become a citizen.



THE MARKET WAGON OF FIFTY YEARS AGO. USED BY EMIGRANTS.

Immigration into the United States, 1820-1893.

Year.	Total Immigrants.	Year.	Total Immigrants.
1820.....	8,385	1860.....	150,287
1821.....	9,127	1861.....	89,724
1822.....	6,911	1862.....	89,207
1823.....	6,354	1863.....	174,524
1824.....	7,912	1864.....	193,195
1825.....	10,199	1865.....	247,453
1826.....	10,837	1866.....	163,594
1827.....	18,875		
1828.....	27,882	Fiscal year ending June 30.	
1829.....	22,520	1867.....	298,967
1830.....	23,322	1868.....	282,189
1831.....	22,633	1869.....	352,569
1832.....	60,482	1870.....	387,203
1833.....	58,640	1871.....	321,350
1834.....	65,365	1872.....	404,806
1835.....	45,374	1873.....	459,803
1836.....	76,242	1874.....	313,939
1837.....	79,340	1875.....	227,498
1838.....	38,914	1876.....	169,986
1839.....	68,069	1877.....	141,857
1840.....	84,066	1878.....	138,469
1841.....	80,289	1879.....	177,826
1842.....	104,565	1880.....	457,257
1843.....	52,493	1881.....	669,431
1844.....	78,615	1882.....	788,992
1845.....	114,371	1883.....	603,322
1846.....	154,416	1884.....	518,592
1847.....	234,968	1885.....	395,346
1848.....	226,527	1886.....	394,203
1849.....	297,024	1887.....	490,109
1850.....	369,986	1888.....	546,889
1851.....	379,466	1889.....	444,427
1852.....	371,603	1890.....	455,302
1853.....	368,645	1891.....	560,319
1854.....	427,833	1892.....	623,084
1855.....	200,877	1893.....	502,917
1856.....	195,857		
1857.....	246,945	Total.....	16,507,016
1858.....	119,501	From 1789 to 1820, esti-	
1859.....	118,616	mated.....	250,000

THE MARKET WAGON OF FIFTY YEARS AGO. USED BY EMIGRANTS.





**NATIVE TURKS THREATENING THE LIFE OF
THE EMIGRANT AGENT.**

Corner Stones of American History.

1. **Rights of Man.**—No part of our history is more necessary to be understood than these first official steps taken to form a nation out of the material at hand in the New World, for by these the foundation of our government was laid on those principles which grew into being through a just view of the rights of man.

2. **The First Continental Congress.**—The First Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Though composed of representatives of each colony, its delegates were not elected by the people, but were sent there by the advice and counsel of the ablest men in each colony.

3. **The Second Continental Congress.**—The next year (1775) the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10. Under its authority the war began with the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the invasion of Canada; not for the avowed purpose of independence, but for the redress of grievances.

4. **The Declaration of Independence.**—The next year, July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was published

to the world. It was the result of deliberate counsels, and fully expressed the demands of the colonists.

5. **Articles of Confederation.**—Even at this time the resolution or conviction that all the thirteen colonies were to unite under one government was not universal; and it was not until July 9, 1778, that the delegates to Congress from each colony under instructions from their constituents, signed articles of confederation and perpetual union. This was another important step in the great chain of events which made the American Nation.

6. **What the Continental Congress Did.**—Under the direction of this old Continental Congress, the first machinery of our government was set in motion. Armies were raised, taxes levied, debts contracted and money issued; and by its authority, after victory had crowned its armies in the field, and the respect of European nations had been won by the wisdom of its acts, peace was made with England at Paris, September 3, 1783.

7. **American Commissioners.**—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay were the American Commissioners who signed the definite treaty.

8. **General Washington Resigned His Commissions to Congress.**—On the 23d of December, 1783, Gen. Washington resigned his commission to Congress and retired to private life at Mount Vernon. But the labors of the Continental Congress were not yet completed. It had become evident that the loose confederacy, at whose head it stood, had served its purpose, and must soon fall to pieces.

9. **The New Constitution Formed.**—On February 21, 1787, a resolution was moved and carried in Congress recommending a convention to meet in Philadelphia, to revise the articles of confederation.

The convention met in Philadelphia, and on May 25, 1787, unanimously elected George Washington its President.

The convention sat with closed doors, and remained in session till the 17th of September following, when they reported the draft of the present Constitution.

After very full and excited discussion, the Constitution was adopted, and on the 30th of April, 1789, was put into complete operation by the inauguration, at New York, of George Washington, as the first President under it.

This constitution provides for the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial Departments of the Government.

10. **The Legislative Department.**—The Legislative Department consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. Laws are enacted by the concurrent action of both these houses, and the approval of the President, by signing his name to them. When a bill has passed both houses of



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CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER.

Congress, and been presented to the President for his signature, if he does not approve it, he may send it back to the House in which it originated, with his objections. After this, if both Houses pass the bill, by a two-thirds vote, it becomes a law without the signature of the President. If any bill is not returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after being presented to him, it becomes a law without his signature, unless Congress has sooner adjourned.

11. The Executive Department.—The Executive Department consists of the President and his cabinet, appointed by him with the approval of the Senate, numbering eight, one being at the head of each of the following departments of the government: The state, treasury, war, navy, post-office, justice, interior, and agriculture.

12. The Judicial Department.—The Judicial Department consists of the supreme court and the inferior courts. The former is composed of one chief justice, and eight associate justices. It is the tribunal in the nation, and its decisions are looked to, to construe the true intent and meaning of the laws of the land, and to decide appeals from inferior courts.

The British Flag "Union Jack."

"Whose flag has braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze."

So the British poet, Campbell, sang of "The meteor flag of England."

Of the same flag sang the Nova Scotian, Joseph Howe :

"All hail to the day when the Britons came over
And planted their Standard, with sea-foam still wet,
Around and above us their Spirits will hover
Rejoicing to mark how we honor it yet."

And from Ontario, Alexander Muir, the author of the Canadian National Hymn, "The Maple Leaf Forever," has sung to another of his national songs the chorus :

"We're Britons born, are Britons still,
And Britons aye shall be;
The Union Jack, the flag we love,
Shall guard our Maple tree."

No one asks, "What is the Union Jack?" It is known the world over. Flying above every British ship, whether of war or commerce ; over every British land, and fort, and post ; it is met on every sea, and floats in every port, the *ensign* of the British Empire.

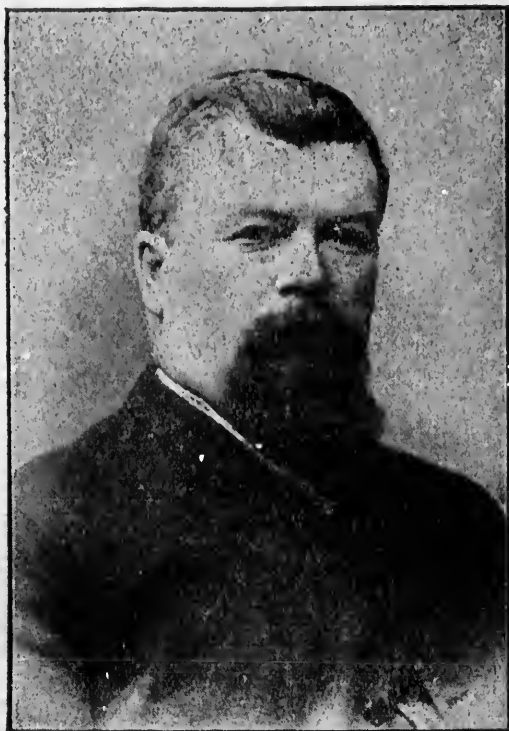
Why its form? and Whence its name? would be questions well asked. It takes its form from the "Union" of the three crosses—of St. George for England, St. Andrew for Scotland, and St. Patrick for Ireland, the distinctive emblem of their banners in the days when they were separate nations. The flag of St. George was an upright red cross upon a white ground, that of St. Andrew a diagonal white cross upon a blue ground, while St. Patrick's was a diagonal red cross upon a white ground. In the "Union Jack," the white edging of St. George's cross shows the white field of that flag. In the diagonal the cross is reversed on each side, showing that the other half of the cross is covered over. The *broad* white band is St. Andrew's cross, while the *narrow* white edge is the white field of St. Patrick's cross.

The word "Jack" also has old custom for its explanation. In mediæval times soldiers wore for defence a surcoat of coarse leather called a *jacque* or *jack*, and bearing on it the national emblem.

"Their horsemen are with *jacks* for most part clad."

The English soldiers wore the cross of St. George upon their *jacks*.

The first "Union Jack" consisted of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, united by James I. in 1606, and



HON. THOMAS GREENWAY,
Premier of Manitoba.

made the national flag of Great Britain in 1707. In 1801 the cross of St. Patrick was added, and on the 1st of January it floated over the Tower of London as the ensign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It is the flag of the Empire, the flag of the Colonies, the flag of Canada,



The House in Philadelphia where the first
"Stars and Stripes" was made.

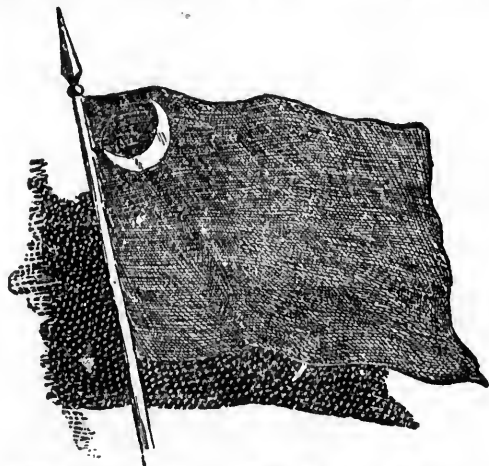
Origin of Our National Flag.

Up to June of 1777 the troops of the various American colonies which had declared their independence of the mother country had fought under any ensign which chanced to please their fancy. Most of the New York forces had fought under a flag in which the stripes and the orange,

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white and red of the old Dutch republic were prominent; the Connecticut soldiers had displayed a red flag with the inscription, "An Appeal to Heaven," on one side, and the Latin motto of the colony, "*Qui transiit sustinet*,"* on the



The First South Carolina Flag, (blue with white crescent, 1775).



The Gadsden Flag, 1776.

other; the South Carolina men at one period used a palmetto banner, and other colonial forces had flown flags which had special and local significance.

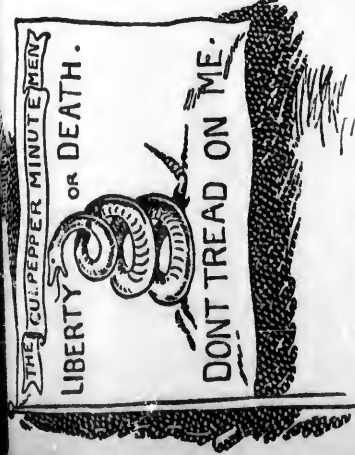
* "He who has transplanted us will sustain us."

THE CULPEPPER MINUTE MEN

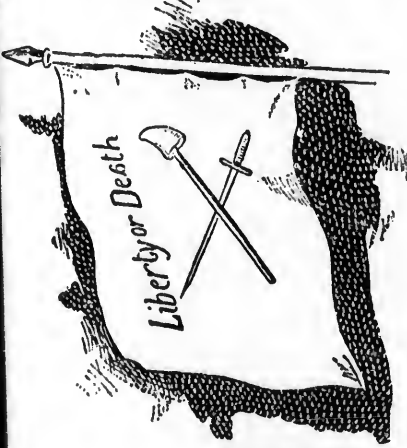
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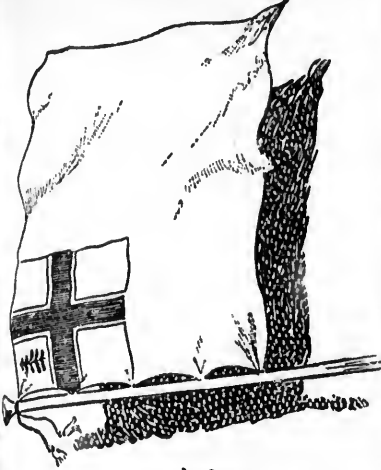
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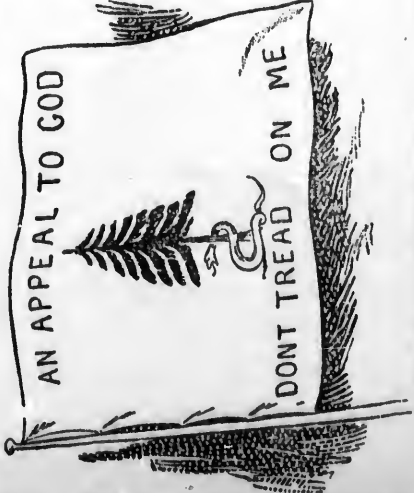
A "Minute Men's" Flag.



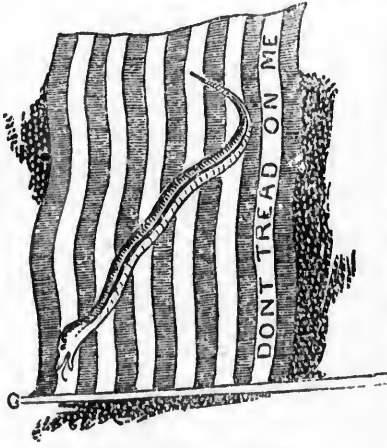
A Flag of White Plains, 1776.



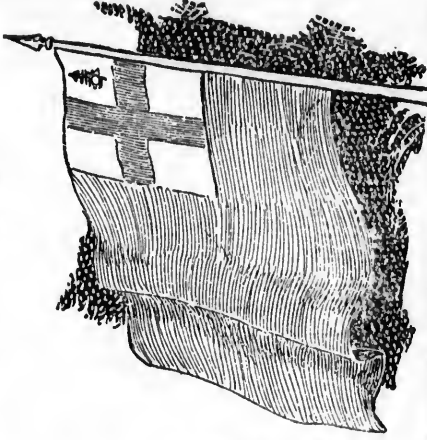
A Bunker Hill Flag, (white ground).



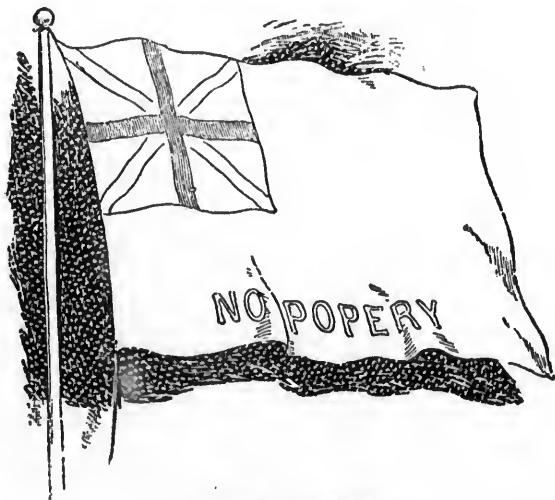
Paul Jones' First Flag.



Cornmodore Hopkins' Flag, 1776. A Bunker Hill Flag, (blue ground).



Commodore Hopkins had put to sea in February, 1776, with the first revolutionary fleet, displaying a flag of thirteen alternate red and white stripes, with the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew charged on a blue "canton" or square in the upper corner. This flag was used more than any other one at the time, June, 1777, when the Continental Congress, in session at Philadelphia, appointed a committee to construct a common flag for the colonies.

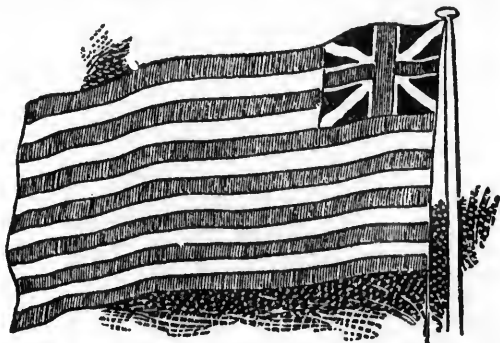


A Liberty Flag.

On June 14 this committee made its report. It advised that "the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." The report was thereupon put into the form of a resolution, and the resolution was unanimously adopted without discussion.

The Colors.—Red, white and blue are a modification of orange, white and blue, the colors of the Dutch republic, and the ones used by New York's forces. They were chosen by the flag committee for the same reason that stripes were decided upon. Red was later explained to be typical of the blood patriots were ready to shed; white, of the purity of their cause, and blue of the favor of Heaven.

Contrasting colors, white and either blue or red, were necessary to be utilized for the color of the stripes. Red was preferred to blue, because it was more distinct at a dis-



Flag of the Royal Savage, 1776.

tance. For this same reason, red, instead of white, was chosen as the color of the topmost stripe, and consequently of the lowermost, also. Red and white having thus been already used, the color assigned the Union was necessarily blue, and the stars in the Union were appropriately made white. The Union was made square and was brought down to the eighth stripe, that its blue might be showed against white (a contrasting color), the color of that stripe.



Nailing the Colors to the Mast Head.
The "Stars and Stripes."



GEN. ALGER, Ex U. S. Senator.

**The Great Changes in Congress from
the First Extra Session Called by
President Adams and the Last
Extra Session Called by
President Cleveland.**

Each member of the House of Representatives is theoretically the mouthpiece of just 173,901 persons—a decided increase over the 30,000 that a representative stood for in the first Congress. The smaller number was provided for by the Constitution, the larger is based on the last census. Every member of the present Congress may reasonably be presumed to have read the proclamation calling the extra session within twenty-four hours after it was issued. When the first extra session of Congress ever held was called by President John Adams in March, 1797, many a member did not even learn the fact for six weeks. Small as the country then was—some sixteen states mostly along the Atlantic seaboard—it would have been impossible for Congress to assemble in the single month allowed by President Cleveland for the legislative branch of the government to come together, although scattered over a territory nearly as large as all Europe. Indeed, one gentleman who had raced across the country on horseback to attend



**JERRY SIMPSON, Ex-U. S. Representative of
Kansas.**

he special session of 1797 did not reach Philadelphia—then the nation's capital—until after Congress had adjourned. In that year the Senate and House assembled in a little brick building with a few rooms in it. The White House was just a block away and likewise of brick and very modest. The reason for the special session was that war with France was imminent. It never came, no thanks to the fifth Congress. The government at that time paid no salary to the President's private secretary nor to the executive clerks, pages, or other more or less useful functionaries. When Congress opened, President Adams appeared before the Senate and House and made a speech to the members. When he had finished everybody stood up respectfully as he passed out. No such scene was witnessed on the 7th of August. President Cleveland did not enter the halls of Congress. The cabinet in 1797 contained five members: Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State; Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury; James McHenry, Secretary of War; Joseph Habersham, Postmaster-General, and Charles Lee, Attorney-General. There was no Secretary of the Interior, no Secretary of the Navy, and no Secretary of Agriculture. In fact the Postmaster-General was not a member of the cabinet in 1797, and the presidential advisers were therefore but four in number when Congress first met in special session. The states were sixteen all told—the thirteen original colonies and Vermont, Kentucky and

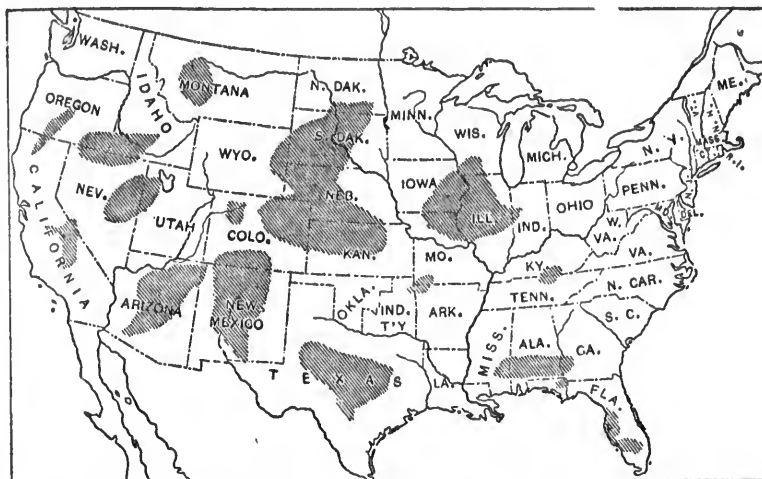


T. C. PLATT, Ex. U. S. Senator, from New York.

Tennessee. The Senate numbered thirty-two members instead of eighty-eight. There were no territories. The city of Washington did not exist. The White House of 1797 has disappeared from the face of the earth. Its site in Philadelphia is unmarked by anything but a hideous brick structure that is leased for a shirt factory and a photograph gallery. The old Independence hall still stands, but so changed in many respects that the members of the fifth Congress would not recognize it could they see the structure.

The Congress summoned by President Cleveland contained 444 members, not counting the four territorial delegates.





A MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF LAND OWNED BY FOREIGNERS.

Securities, Property and Lands Owned by Foreigners.

1. **A Surprising Fact.**—It is a surprising fact that the chief bureau of statistics shows that foreign investors and syndicates own controlling interests in many of our large buildings in the cities, and controlling interest in many of our prominent enterprises. They own a large number of our factories, breweries, and almost the majority of our insurance companies.

2. **Foreign Land Owners of American Soil.**—Viscount Scully, of England, owns 3,000,000 acres of land in Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska; a London syndicate owns 3,000,000 acres of land in Texas; Sir Edward Reid owns 2,000,000 acres of land in Florida; another English syndicate owns 1,800,000 acres in Mississippi. The Anglo-American syndicate owns 750,000 acres in Missouri, Kansas and some of the other western states; Bryan H. Evans owns 700,000 acres in Mississippi; the Duke of Southerland, 125,000 in the southwestern states; the British Company, 320,000 acres in Kansas; the Missouri Land Company, 300,000 acres in Missouri; Lord Houghton owns 60,000 acres in Florida; the



ATTY. GEN. R. OLNEY.

English Land Company, 50,000 acres in California, and 50,000 acres in Arkansas; Alexander Grant, of London, owns 35,000 acres in Kansas; a foreign syndicate, of which the Earl of Vemlan and the Earl of Laukeville are at the head, owns 110,000 acres in Wisconsin; M. Effenhauser, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, owns 600,000 acres of land in West Virginia; a Scotch syndicate owns 50,000 acres in Florida.

3. Grand Total.—It is claimed that fully 20,000,000 acres of American soil are owned by land owners of England and Scotland alone. This does not include other foreign syndicates who own over 7,000,000 acres of land in other portions of the country.

4. The Duties of the American Congress.—It is evident that to allow foreigners to own such vast areas of land in America is not good for the country. The revenue coming from such land only enrich foreigners who have no interest in our institutions, only to reap the profits from the investments. They do nothing to add to the development and prosperity of the country; they are not interested in perpetuating our free institutions. The investments coming from these vast areas of land should be kept in the country to develop it and build up its commercial prosperity.

Congress should pass a law compelling every foreigner who owns land in America to reside within its boundaries. No non-resident foreigner should be permitted to own our valuable soil.

Territory Acquired and Ceded to the United States.

1. **The Original Thirteen Colonies.**—The 827,844 square miles, by conquest, ceded by Great Britain, includes the original states and their territories, the lakes forming the northern boundary, and the Mississippi river forming the western boundary as per map.

2. **The French Purchase.**—The 1,171,931 square miles purchased from France for \$15,000,000 are described as follows: Up the Sabine river to and along the 94th meridian, to and along the Red river, to and along the 100th meridian, to and along the Arkansas river to its source, thence due north to and along the 42d parallel to the Pacific ocean, the northern boundary conforming to the parallel west of the Lake of the Woods as the southern boundary of the British possessions, thence easterly to and down the Mississippi river as far south as the 31st parallel, thence easterly to the Perdido river, thence southerly to the Gulf of Mexico. Ratified by treaty with France, April 30, 1803.

3. **The Spanish Purchase.**—59,268 square miles purchased from Spain for \$6,500,000. Spain ceded to the United States the peninsula of Florida lying south of the 31st parallel, west of the river St. Mary's, and east of the Mississippi river excepting the island of Orleans. Treaty concluded February 22, 1819. Signed by the King of Spain, October 20, 1820. Full possession obtained July 17, 1821.

4. **The Annexation of Texas.**—376,133 square miles for \$10,000,000. Cession being made from the Gulf of Mexico up the Sabine river to and along the 94th meridian, to and along the Red river, to and along the 100th meridian, to and along the Arkansas river, to the source of the Rio Grande, and southward along the Rio Grande to the Gulf of Mexico. March 2, 1845.

5. **Purchased from Mexico.**—545,783 square miles purchased from Mexico for \$15,000,000. Commencing in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called the Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea, from thence up the middle of that river following the deepest channel where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico, thence westwardly along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence northward, along the western

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THE MORTGAGE GRIP
Crushing the American People.

line of New Mexico, until it intersects the branch of the river Gila (or, if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same), thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river

until it empties into the Rio Colorado, thence across the Rio Colorado following the division line between Upper and Lower California to the Pacific ocean.

Treaty concluded February 2, 1848, at Guadalupe Hidalgo. Ratifications exchanged at Queretaro, May 30, 1848. Proclaimed July 4, 1848.

6. **The Second Mexican Purchase.**—45,535 square miles purchased from Mexico for \$10,000,000, described as follows: 31 degrees 47 minutes north latitude crossed (Rio Grande) due west 100 miles south to the parallel of 31 degrees 20 minutes north latitude; thence along the said parallel of 31 degrees 20 minutes to the 111th meridian of longitude west of Greenwich; thence in a straight line to a point on the Colorado river twenty English miles below the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers; thence up the middle of said river Colorado until it intersects present line between the United States and Mexico.

7. **The Purchase from Russia.**—The territory of Alaska, containing 577,390 square miles, was purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000, March 30, 1867.



THE HON. DANIEL LAMONT,
Secretary of War.

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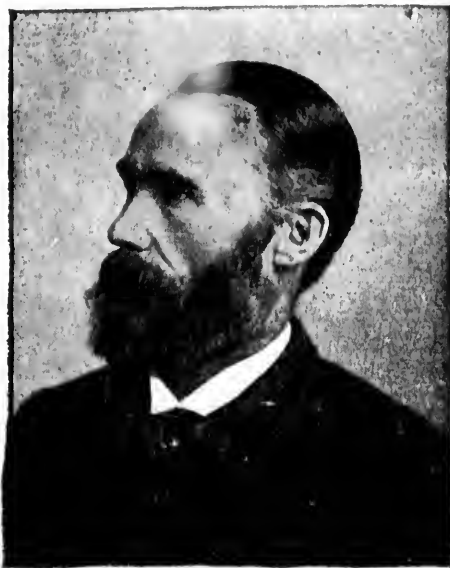
Education in Canada.

In treating of this theme it is not proposed to give a description of those details of system which are common to the experience of every Canadian family, and of which the official information is so complete and of ready reference in every municipality. It will better serve the purpose of this book to state briefly, the *national influence* of educational work in Canada, and the reason for the large political consideration given to it.

If a Canadian, in his travels, were asked as to the system of education in Canada, he might describe the graded character of the schools from kindergarten to university, and illustrate his description by the statement, that a pupil removing from one province to another, or from city to rural district, would find his proper "form" with little inconvenience, and so produce the impression that there is but one system of education throughout the Dominion. And, as regards the principle of graded schools, he would be in a large measure correct. Whatever differences may exist over so large an area, and among so many units, arise from local causes, and are differences of degree rather than of system.

Again, he might produce an altogether different impression upon a foreigner, if he were to describe the legislative side of Canadian education. If he were to state the fact that education is a matter of provincial control and support, his hearer would conclude that each province has its own educational system, and that there are as many systems in Canada as there are provinces. And here his conclusions would also be correct. A survey of the educational field in Canada reveals these *two facts*: first, provincial support and independent control of education within provincial limits; and, secondly, a remarkable uniformity of operation in carrying out the practical details of education under so many heads of control. While these facts have the roots of their existence in the beginnings of Canada, they only began to assume their present related form with the inception of the Dominion. Education is one of the most important of the *exclusive* powers included in "provincial autonomy" by the British North America Act, 1867. Hence the first fact. The second has grown out of the same event. The senti-

ment of union begat friendly observation of one another, and friendly rivalry among the provinces to stand equal in the promotion of national intelligence. Education is one of those forces of national life in reference to which national, provincial, or State emulation does not permit the ignoring of the characteristics of the other's advancement, but rather compels the adoption of those principles and methods,



HON. G. W. ROSS, LL.D.,
Minister of Education for Ontario.

wherever found, which will give the citizens of one province advantages equal to those of another.

It is just such a wise and friendly rivalry which has operated to *assimilate* the educational legislation of the Provinces, and promote that *uniformity* in the grading and curricula of the schools of the Dominion, which is doing more than anything else to make Canada a unit in national senti-

ment and development. This movement is the distinguishing characteristic of education in Canada.

It would seem, therefore, that nothing should impede the progress of so desirable a work, but, unfortunately, the racial and religious differences, referred to in the early history of the country, became centered in this important subject of education, and threw it, as an "apple of discord," into the arena of provincial and Dominion politics. Hence arose the division of system in the Old Canadas into Public schools and Separate schools, and the insertion of the following section in the British North America Act, 1867:

EDUCATION.

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

- (1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.
- (2) All the powers, privileges and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.
- (3) Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union, or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any Act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.
- (4) In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any Appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this section.

As separate schools, whether Protestant or Catholic, must, in the nature of things, be the schools of the minority in a province, the meaning of the above section of the Canadian constitution is, that whatever provincial legislation had been passed regarding such schools previous to a province joining Confederation, should not thereafter be diminished as to any rights granted by such legislation. And the same confirmation seems to be given to any legislation establishing separate schools passed by a province after joining Confederation. In a word, it would seem that "minority schools" once granted by a province cannot be taken away,

except with the consent of the minority in that province, and the sanction of Imperial authority. Inserted in the Constitution from a deep sense of justice, and for the security of justice, it was thought, in 1867, that by this provision of the Act, "all sectional legislation and agitation should be avoided. Everyone is aware that such has not been the fact. On the contrary, the very terms of the Act must ever make it the ambition of a minority to obtain the constitutional ground of a provincial measure, while the majority, desirous of a national system of schools, will as strenuously resist the passing of immovable legislation. Herein is nursed the "school question" of Canada. No matter where or how it may arise, at any time, it must ever be a "constitutional" question. Strange to say, although always a "religious" question, bitterness has often marked its discussion. Although from its nature a "political" question, it is always avoided by the politician, unless by it he may be able to fasten an arrow in the heel of his opponent.

The "question," however, while it has made a partition of educational resources, has not lessened the desire of either majority or minority for the extension of national intelligence and sentiment.

Should any reader desire information regarding the schools of any province, the following are the names of the educational authorities in each Province :

Prince Edward Island.—Superintendent of Education, D. J. McLeod, Charlottetown.

British Columbia.—Minister of Education, Hon. J. B. Baker; Superintendent of Education, S. D. Pope, Victoria, B.C.

New Brunswick.—Provincial Ministry—Chief Superintendent of Education, D. J. McLeod, Fredericton, N.B.

Nova Scotia.—Provincial Ministry—Superintendent of Education, Alex. H. McKay, LL.D., Halifax, N.S.

Quebec.—Superintendent of Public Instruction, Hon. P. Boucher de la Bruère; French Secretary of the Department, Paul de Cazes; English Secretary, George W. Parmalee, B.A., Quebec.

Manitoba.—Provincial Ministry—Chief Clerk of Provincial Board of Education, Dr. E. A. Blakely, Winnipeg.

North-West Territories.—Superintendent of Education, D. J. Goggin, Regina.

Ontario.—Minister of Education, Hon. G. W. Ross, LL.D.; Deputy Minister, J. Millar, B.A., Toronto.



IN THE JAIL YARD.
The Schoolhouse Makes No Criminals.

The Origin and History of the Common School System.

The thought that man as man, without reference to any special practical end, should be educated seems to have occurred first to the Greeks, but it was not until the Reformation that men began to hold the opinion that every man's intellect should be so trained as to be able to read and inquire and think for itself.

During what are called the dark centuries a state of deplorable ignorance prevailed all over Europe. It is refreshing to find in the history of this dark middle age two monarchs who strove to give to their subjects the inestimable privilege of lifting themselves out of the depths of ignorance in which they were immersed. At the accession of Charlemagne to the throne of France no means of education existed in his dominions. This monarch, who it is said was incapable of writing, invited men of letters from abroad

to come and reside at his court and instruct himself and his family. He also established schools in various cities of his empire.

In the ninth century Alfred the Great, of England, made similar efforts, but they died with him, his successors being too much occupied with warfare to continue the educational work thus initiated.



NO SCHOOL IN REACH.

Down to the time of the transitional movement in Europe from the mediæval ages to the modern world, there is little of interest to the cause of popular education to record.

The influence of the reformation upon education was made manifest early in the seventeenth century. In 1616

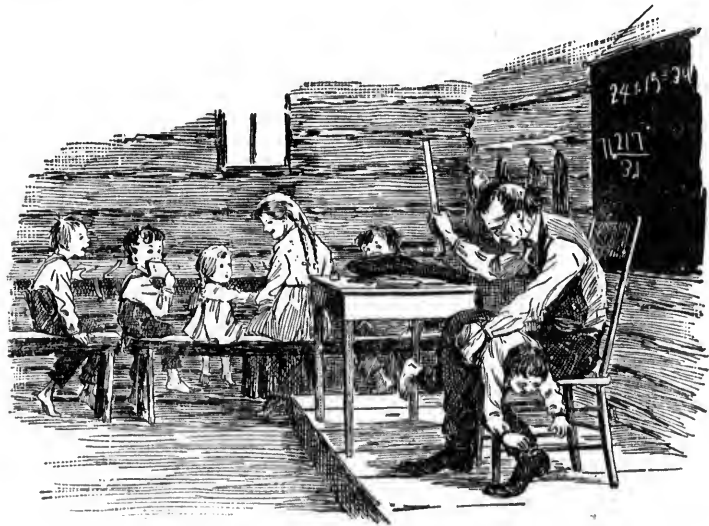
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the Scotch Parliament adopted measures for settling and supporting a public school in each parish at the expense of the heritors or landed proprietors. The legislation was repealed at the restoration of Charles II., but was re-enacted by the Scottish Parliament in 1696.

Lord Macaulay says: "By this memorable law it was, in the Scotch phrase, statuted and ordained that every parish in the realm should provide a commodious schoolhouse and should pay a moderate stipend to a schoolmaster. The effect could not be immediately felt, but, before one generation had passed away it began to be evident that the common people



THE OLD WAY OF TEACHING SCHOOL.

of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. To whatever land the Scotchman might wander, to whatever calling he might betake himself, in America or in India, in trade or in war, the advantage which he derived from his early training raised him above his competitors. If he was taken into a warehouse as a porter, he soon became foreman. If he enlisted in the army he soon became a sergeant. Scotland, meanwhile, in spite of the barrenness of her soil and the severity of her climate, made such progress in agriculture in manufactures, in commerce, in letters, in science, in all

that constitutes civilization, as the Old World has never seen equaled, and as even the New World has scarcely seen surpassed.

"This wonderful change is to be attributed, not indeed solely, but principally, to the national system of education."

Since then every power of the civilized world has adopted some system of public schools.

What little objection has been made to taxation for universal education in this country has come from wealth, which says it cannot properly be taxed for the education of the people. We must not forget that without law the ownership of that wealth could not exist.

Jeremy Bentham says: "The idea of property consists in an established expectation, in the persuasion of being able to draw such or such an advantage from the thing possessed, according to the nature of the case. Now this expectation, this persuasion can only be the work of the law. I cannot count upon the enjoyment of that which I regard as mine, except through the promise of the law which guarantees it to me. Property and law are born together and die together. Before laws were made there was no property; take away laws and property ceases."

The words, "I cannot count upon the enjoyment of that which I regard as mine, except through the promise of the law which guarantees it to me," come home with significant meaning in this day of socialism and of clashing between capital and labor, which now so often occurs in the monarchies of the Old World, and even in our own land. The law guarantees the right of property, but instantaneous with the creation of the right of property must exist the paramount claim of the government to such portion of it as may be necessary fully to effectuate that guaranty. The law must be upheld and respected, or else all rights of ownership are in jeopardy and industry paralyzed.

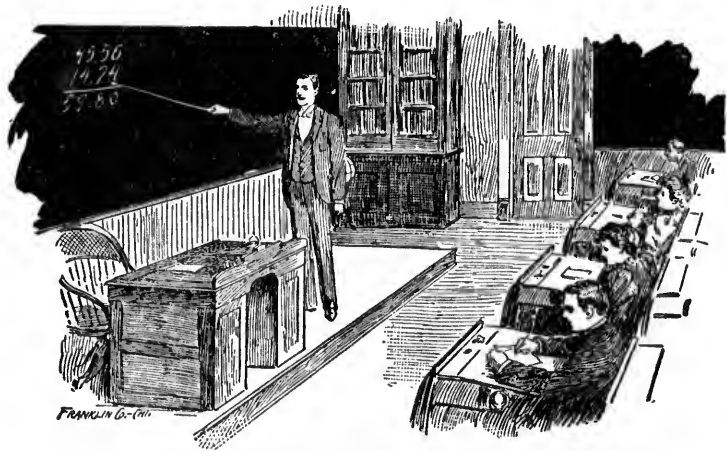
To maintain the law, education of the people is more potent than standing armies.

Lord Brougham, in the House of Commons, said: "There have been periods when the country heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. That is not the case now. Let the soldier be abroad; in the present age he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less important person in the eyes of some, an insignificant person, whose labors have tended to produce this state of things. The school-master is abroad! And I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do the soldier in full military array, for upholding and extending the liberties of his country."

"It is intelligence," said Daniel Webster, "which has reared the majestic columns of our national glory, and this alone can prevent them from crumbling into ashes."

State education, being so important to national existence, is therefore a very appropriate object of taxation.

In the English colonies of this country the people were accustomed to support the church by taxation. In many of the New England towns they had their church, and the town chose its pastor and supported him, and in many cases the pastor was also the schoolmaster. In the course of time, however, the sects multiplied, and the church in conse-



THE NEW WAY OF TEACHING SCHOOL.

quence became disconnected from the town government; but the work of education by the government was continued.

One of the first legislative acts of the Continental Congress was in 1787. It was enacted that schools and means of education should forever be encouraged, and in pursuance of this policy the government set apart the sixteenth section in each township for the support of public schools. This enactment was for the territory north of the Ohio river. Notwithstanding the educational interests begun in this small way, it has developed great results. It was in this way that education was extended to the west, and since the abolition of slavery in the Southern states our public school system has been carried South, and the youth of all the states of the Union are now blessed with the privileges of a free public school.

The Origin of the School District.—Children cannot properly be required to go further than two miles to school, and wherever the rectangular survey prevails, of course, there is a regular system of locating schoolhouses. The township is six miles square. It is customary to locate a public highway on each section line. These highways divide the township into little squares of one mile each, and it is customary to locate a schoolhouse at each alternate cross-roads. This plan gives to each township nine schoolhouses two miles apart. A school district is thus made two miles square with a schoolhouse in the center. But this is an unfavorable shape. Those who live at the corners of the district are two miles from school. A more convenient method for forming district is recommended by Jesse Macy. By this plan a district is formed, containing five square miles instead of four, and no one who lives upon a public highway can be more than a mile and a half from school. On this plan the children living on the same highway go to the same school, while on the other plan they often go to different schools.

The Hope of Our Public Schools.

1. **The Safety of American Institutions.**—When the American people gained their independence they established the free public school. The founders and fathers of our country early saw that the safety and perpetuity of our country depended upon education. The nations that lead in civilization, in prosperity in invention and in general progress are those who have adopted some system of compulsory education and what is true of other nations is also true of ours. If civilization advances the public school must lead the way.

2. **What Is Education.**—It is the uplift of one soul by the personal contact and effort of a superior soul, not in a material, but in a moral and intellectual sense. And no appliance or method can take the place of the superior soul. How infinitesimal appear all educational machinery when Arnold of Rugby arises before us. To rub against such a man for an hour was worth all the machine work of a whole year.

3. **Our Supreme Need.**—Our supreme need in the schools of to-day is men, not machinery, not methods, not appliances. We need men of character, of conviction, of steadfastness of purpose.



THE SCHOOL TEACHER CLOSING SCHOOL.

First we need pure men. One coarse or vulgar slipshod utterance from the teacher might corrupt a dozen budding minds. One act of impurity might poison a score of miniature life fountains. There is as great demand for pure teachers as there is for pure preachers. Indeed, the demand is the greater for pure teachers; for the preacher has the children but one hour per week, while the teacher has them thirty hours; we need pure teachers.

4. **Enthusiastic Teachers.**—Second we need enthusiastic teachers. We should have the same enthusiasm in the school room that there is in the board of trade. The teacher should be as great a zealot, educationally, as the consecrated missionary is religiously, or the Jesuit is politically and ecclesiastically.

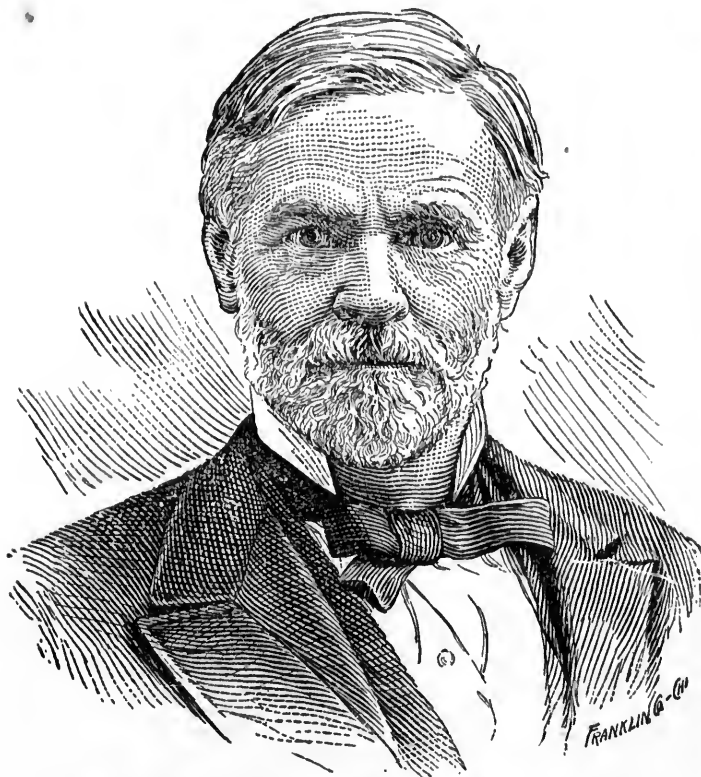
Third, we need godly teachers. I say nothing of creed or dogma. I emphasize the need of godly teachers in antithesis to the teacher ungodly. I think of Ingersoll teaching and fashioning the minds of the children; yet Ingersoll was once a school teacher. We do not want our children Ingersollized, but Christianized, and only a Christian teacher can Christianize. A non-committal teacher will not do. A teacher who simply does not antagonize the religion of Christ is not good enough. A positive faith and a corresponding character are the *sine qua nons*.

5. **Brainy Teachers.**—Fourth, we need brainy teachers. Unfortunately we have not held out sufficient inducements to induce men of brains in large numbers to devote their lives to the cause of education. Men and women as a rule, teach, not as an end but as a means; they use the teacher's profession as a stepping stone to something financially and socially and politically higher. When an individual consecrates himself for life to teaching, we look upon him as something as a missionary—as a martyr, indeed. The legal and medical professions are usually the goals of the teacher's ambition. The teachers are not to blame. Their constituents are at a fault. Magnify the teacher's office; make it financially desirable; give it a sort of a social transfiguration. Water seeks its level; so do brains. Water will find its level; so will brains. Magnify the teacher's office and lay contribution upon the best brains.

6. **Patriotic Teachers.**—Fifth, we need patriotic teachers. It is no more important for the President of the United States to be inducted into office with vows of fidelity to the Constitution, than for the teacher in the humblest backwoods district school. A flag should float from every schoolhouse, and the open Constitution should be spread upon every teacher's desk. As the twig is bent against a



government, so the tree is inclined. The rampant rebellion of the South was instilled into the minds of the children by disloyal teachers. With a loyal teacher, true to the Constitution, in every schoolhouse, south of the Mason and Dixon line, a quarter of a century hence, the South would be thoroughly northernized and unionized. Why should it not be so? This is a matter of supreme concern to our country, and to every loyal law-abiding citizen.



THE HON. JOHN SHERMAN, of Ohio.

School Savings Banks and How to Organize Them.

1. **What Parents Owe to Their Children.**—It is a lamentable fact that few children have any knowledge of the value and use of money. Few parents give their children little, if any discipline, in the art of saving money, and consequently children grow from childhood to manhood and womanhood without any knowledge of business.

2. **Teaching Children the Value and Use of Money.**—Children should be taught the practical lessons of business in connection with their school studies. The study of arithmetic is but a theoretical system of business, and if the lessons can be made practical and applied, there will be ten times the benefit to pupils. There is nothing better than a school savings bank to bring out that which will be most available later in life. Business training cannot be begun too young; every school should have a school savings bank, and no doubt it will be the means of making many prosperous and successful business men as well as furnishing valuable lessons to the girls, which will make them competent and available in supporting themselves, should it ever be necessary to do so.

3. **The School Savings Banks System.**—The school savings banks system, so favorably known and acceptably used in some European countries, has attracted considerable attention in the United States during the past year. Its experimental introduction in a few schools here has proven it a successful and valuable educational factor. It would appear that only a wider knowledge of the simplicity of inculcating thrift, in connection with book learning, was required to insure its general adoption.

4. **In Three Hundred Schools.**—School savings banks are in use in three hundred schools in this country, and the 28,000 scholars who are depositors have about \$140,000 to their credit. These school banks are in eleven different states, Pennsylvania having one hundred and forty of them and New York sixty-five; the others being in Nebraska, Vermont, Maine, Indiana, California, Ohio, North Dakota, Massachusetts and New Jersey. These have, with few exceptions, been established since 1888; most of them during 1890, 1891 and 1892. Frequent inquiries as to the practical working and advantages of the system betoken popular interest in this method of teaching economy.

5. **Noble Examples.**—Madame Carnot, wife of the late French president, gave a Christmas entertainment in 1888

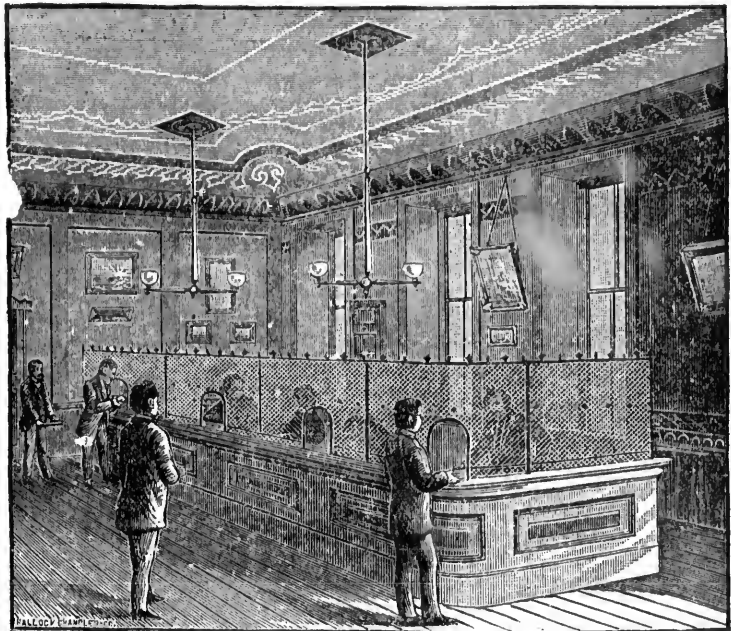
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to 400 of the poorest school children in Paris at Elysee Palace, and gave each child a school savings bank book with credit of 10 francs. Many lesser instances of practical encouragement to the poor are cited by the French press. The greatest assistance that can be extended to an individual is to teach him to help himself, to see and understand his own resources and responsibilities. Pope Leo XIII. at a papal jubilee gave a bank book and 100 francs to each



DOING BUSINESS WITH SCHOOL BOYS.

boy and girl in a certain district, born on New Year's day. A contribution of one franc or a half franc to start a school account, given to a child, or better, an opportunity shown him to earn the same amount, instills the initial lesson of economy quite as effectually.

6. How to Establish a School Savings Bank.—In order to establish the system successfully it is necessary to have the co-operation of a bank and the approbation of the school authorities. The distribution of a few facts in regard

to the practical economy through printed literature, the newspapers or a little meeting called to present the work seldom fails to win the desired support. The banks in most towns are so anxious to secure the children's deposits that they have gladly assumed the expense of printing the required forms; indeed, in some instances it has been a delicate matter to decide which bank should have the privilege. The managers realize that if the children deposit with them they are likely to become customers in later life, and from a business standpoint they are always ready to encourage habits of thrift.

7. School Authorities Endorse It.—The school authorities are usually in glad accord with the idea of teaching economy in the schools; the teachers themselves, in most instances noted, are enthusiastic in the work. The children enter with zest into the accumulation of their earnings and savings, while the development of their individuality and self-dependence is a matter of general comment. When the system is about to be instituted the teacher explains to the scholars the end and aim of the school savings banks; that it is to teach them the practical value of money, how it grows by attention, the benefit of industry, the delight of giving and spending wisely, with other salutary lessons in thrift as opportunity occurs. The roll is called every Monday morning for the collection of the children's savings. This occupies only a very short time, even the morning the work is instituted. Each child who is a depositor has the little copyrighted savings bank card, on the face of which is his name, that of the teacher and the school. On the back are the regulations. The card is folded, and on the inside is the date for each Monday in the school year, with space opposite for amount of deposit.

8. Names Are Called.—When the names are called by the teacher each pupil who desires to deposit steps up with his card and money, handing them quickly to the teacher, saying, "Yes, 5 cents," or whatever the sum may be. She with a figure credits the amount on the child's card and on her roll book; passing the card back to the child, who keeps it always in hand as a memorandum and receipt. The first collection in the school is deposited in the bank as a general school fund. When a scholar has deposited 50 cents or one dollar, as the authorities may agree, he is given a bank book and the money is placed to his personal credit by the bank; when he has \$3 an interest of 3 per cent. is allowed him by the bank, and he has the privileges of an adult depositor, acting through school facilities.

10. Teachers' Monthly List of Depositors.—With the last collection of each month the "Teachers' Monthly list of

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9. Outside of School Savings Banks Card.

Copyright to J. H. Thiry, Long Island City, 1886.

Privilege to print this card for

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by Mrs. Sara Louisa Oberholtzer, Norris-town, Pa.

SCHOOL SAVINGS BANK OF

.....

U. S. A.

Account with

Teacher.

Depositors are requested to keep this card clean, remembering that cleanliness is next to Godliness.

"Take care of the pennies and the dollars will take care of themselves."

REGULATIONS.

Deposits will be received every Monday morning only, at the morning session, by the teachers of each school. The amount will be delivered to the Principal who will deposit it in the.....

Savings Bank in the name of each depositor.

One cent or upwards can be received by the teacher. When a pupil has a deposit of one dollar or more, a bank book will be given, free of charge, from the bank.

Deposits of three dollars and over will bear interest at 3 per cent. per annum.

The bank books of the pupils are kept by the Principal or teacher as long as they attend school. If they leave the school, or at vacation, the book will be given to them and they can withdraw their money, but they will require the presence of their father or mother, and the signature of the Principal or teacher.

During the summer vacation deposits may be made or money withdrawn from the bank direct; the cashier acting during that time for the teacher; if the applicant is unknown to the cashier he must be identified before receiving the money.

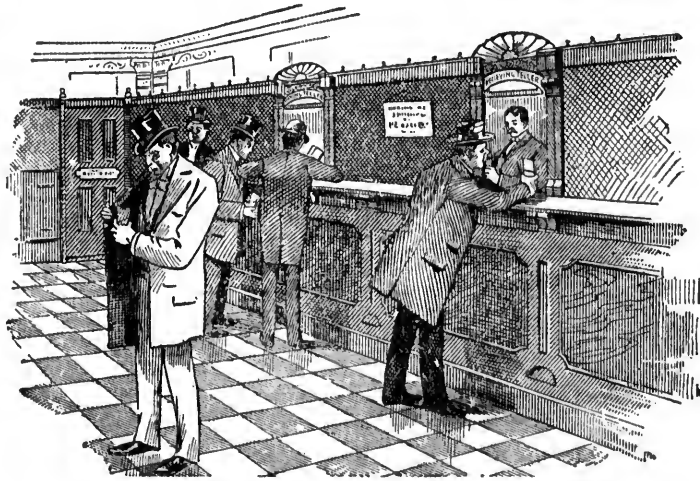
"The habit of saving is an essential part of a true practical education."

..... "The masses know how to earn better than they know how to save."

"Good principles and good habits are in themselves a fortune."

Depositors" is sent by each teacher to the principal of the school, and by him to the bank with the children's bank books that individual credits may be properly made. These lists are returned by the bank to the principal with the scholars' bank books during the week. The bank books are given to the children to take to their homes the last Friday of the month, to be returned with the following Monday deposits.

11. Signature of Parent or Guardian and Principal.—The check with which pupils withdraw their money requires



A SCHOOL SAVINGS BANK.

the signature of parent or guardian and principal. The principal uses the general school fund bank book, received when the first school deposit was made. It is always sent with the week's deposits and returned to him by messenger with full amount of credit. This frees him from responsibility, and the arrangement is such that any error can be at once traced to its source.

12. No Power to Withdraw Money.—The principal or teacher has no power to withdraw money personally. The bank books taken into the home once a month arouse family interest, and parents often have been interested to curtail needless expenses by the practical lesson in the accumulation of small savings thus taken to them. I have several

of themselves."

Principal or teacher.
During the summer vacation deposits may be made or money withdrawn from the bank direct; the cashier acting during that time for the teacher; if the applicant is unknown to the cashier he must be identified before receiving the money.

"The masses know

tical education."

Teacher.

Depositors are requested to keep this card clean, remembering that cleanliness is next to godliness.

Good principl

examples of this in mind. The children enjoy this instruction which fits them for everyday life and must develop to more self-reliant manhood and womanhood.

13. A Thorough Trial.—This system has been on trial for two years in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, now having it in use in sixty of our schools. We have heard no discouraging word of it save from the cigarette and candy vendors, who complain that it injures their trade. The teachers express much gratification in the credits of the scholars, and have themselves acquired some practical knowledge of banking.

14. The Young Man with a Future.—One principal tells me of a boy who was obliged to stop school to learn a trade at fourteen preparatory to family support, but who is so interested in his school fund that he walks to it, one and a half miles, every Saturday evening for a year past with 25 cents to add to his account. This boy will doubtless make a provident successful man, and is only one of the many who are being aided through this easy instrumentality to know the value of systematic thrift.

15. May Solve the Problem of Daily Existence.—The child becomes an active rather than a passive agent; he is a recognized part of the nation, an individual factor, gaining with his book learning an acquaintance with the principles of thrift, a knowledge wherewith he may solve the problem of daily existence. The average boy and girl who have thus deposited their small savings go out into the broader life from the public school having \$100 or \$200, perhaps more, to his or her individual credit.

16. Rich and Poor Children.—The children of the rich and the children of the very poor perhaps need this economic instruction most, though there are many women and some men in the middle walks of life to-day who cannot without aid make out a bank check and endorse it or give the simplest receipt in form. This instruction gives the children familiarity with these forms, through practical use, with their earliest learning. The children of well-to-do people, who have money given them as a regular allowance, have surprised their parents by the amount saved in this manner. In some cases they have kindly given, in an unostentatious fashion, pennies to schoolmates, enabling them to start accounts.

17. Voluntary Deposits.—The deposits are all voluntary on the part of the pupils. From one-third to one-half of the scholars in the schools where the system has been introduced become depositors, some making additions weekly, others less frequently. The work is entirely philanthropic,

bringing reward to the children, the neighborhoods, and, through them, to the nation—our nation, great in its strength, great in its need of purifying and enlarging influence to insure perpetuity as God's nation.

18. **Late Records.**—Records of late school meetings in Belgium and Denmark report the Trustees of Public Instruction and School Inspectors as speaking ably to the pupils on improving and keeping in mind through life the lessons of thrift allowed them through the school banks.



THE HON. CARL SCHURZ, of Missouri.

Military Defence of Canada.

Several allusions have been made in the "Story of Canada" to the prompt and efficient service rendered by her militia in the troublous times of her history. Previous to Confederation the militia was a matter of provincial interest. Being such, resources for its development were limited, and its organization was largely confined to the census rolls. In several cities volunteer corps were formed, and clothed, by private enterprise. Throughout the period prior to 1867 several garrisons of Imperial troops were maintained in the various provinces. Since then these have been withdrawn from all points except Halifax, on the Atlantic, and Victoria, on the Pacific seaboard, which have now small garrisons. The Imperial forces are under a Lieutenant-General of the British Army, with headquarters at Halifax. These two points are also the rendezvous for the British fleet in the North Atlantic and Pacific, respectively.

Under the Dominion, "Militia and Defence" was made a department of the Government, and, through the Minister, everything in connection with this important national item is laid before Parliament. In 1868, a "Militia Act" for the Dominion was passed, by which the militia was put upon a permanent and serviceable footing. The force consists of all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 60, who are obliged to serve as the Government may decide in the interests of the country, in the order of the following classification: (1) Those between the ages of 18 and 30, being unmarried, or widowers without children; (2) Those between the ages of 30 and 45, being unmarried, or widowers without children; (3) Those between the ages of 18 and 45, being married, or widowers with children; and (4), Those between the ages of 45 and 60. Certain callings are exempted from service, such as judges, clergymen, professors and teachers in religious orders, certain Government officials, and any person being the only son of a widow and her only support.

The whole force, as ascertained by census, is divided into the *Active* and *Reserve* force. The Active force is raised by voluntary enlistment or by ballot, that of the Reserve

consists of all who are not enrolled in the Active force. The enrollment is for three years.

The *organization* of the Active force embraces the *permanent corps* and the *volunteer corps*, each of which consists of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The *permanent corps* are enlisted for continuous service for three years, and are limited to one thousand men for the three arms, and are intended to form nuclei of full regiments, if such should be required. In peace they occupy important garrison points.

The *volunteer corps* are armed and clothed by Government, and paid during annual drill. The total force, comprising cavalry, artillery, engineers, and infantry, number about 35,000 of all ranks.

As stated, under "Parliament of Canada," the command-in-chief of all naval and military forces of and in Canada is vested in Her Majesty the Queen.

The *administration* of the militia is under the Minister of Militia. Attached to his department is a Major-General, selected from time to time from the Imperial service, and who, during appointment, is the General commanding the militia of Canada, with headquarters at Ottawa. He is assisted by a full permanent staff of experienced officers. The Dominion is divided into twelve military districts, each with its military staff, under a Deputy Adjutant-General. The whole Active force is subject to the "Queen's Regulations."

For the instruction of the force, and to enable the officers to qualify for their commissions, nine military schools are maintained at convenient points in the provinces. The Royal Military College was founded, in 1875, at Kingston, for the purpose of affording young Canadians the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge in all branches of military education, and of qualifying for positions of command and appointments upon staff. The Imperial Government, annually, offers commissions in the regular service to the highest graduates of this college, and all who have won this distinction have borne it with honor.

The total *militia expenditure*, as shown by the *Blue Book*, for 1895, for the Active force, was \$1,574,013.76.

Besides this amount there was paid for *pensions*, in the same year, \$24,270. Among the pensioners were twenty-four survivors of the War of 1812.

The Coming American National Guard.

1. **Detailing of Officers from the Regular Army.**—A bill introduced in the United States Senate by Mr. Hawley, of Connecticut, provides for the detailing of officers from the regular army as instructors to the public schools throughout the country, and the issuance of guns to these school corps by the Secretary of War. Representative William T. Coombs, of Brooklyn, introduced a similar bill in the House last December. These bills are the outgrowth of the rapidly growing movement in favor of military instruction in the public schools, and when passed will materially help the plan. It is expected that the New York Board of Education will officially recognize military training as a part of the curriculum when Congress lends the stamp of its approval to the project.

2. **Military Instruction is Obligatory.**—In Boston, Washington, and a dozen or more smaller cities, military instruction is obligatory in the public high schools; in those of nearly a score of others it is voluntary, while in several cities it has also been instituted in the grammar schools as well. The by-laws of the New York Board of Education prescribe that the pupils in each school shall be exercised daily in order to promote physical development. A number of the principals have adopted a military drill for this purpose, as the method of exercise is left to their discretion. Several battalions of the "First Regiment, American Guard," have thus been organized in the schools here, while in Brooklyn a similar move has been made, and a number of schools have military corps drilling regularly as a part of the proposed American Guard, as the school-boys will be known.

3. **What Is Being Done.**—These boys are instructed either by volunteers from military organizations or by the principals. Their military course consists of the "setting-up" exercises adopted at West Point; facing, saluting and marching, the manual of arms and regular evolutions by company and battalion. They are most of them uniformed at their own expense. In Grammar School No. 87, which has the pioneer corps of New York, the uniform, including coat, trousers, cap, gloves and accoutrements, costs each cadet \$9.96. In Brooklyn's Grammar School No. 15 the expense is only \$6.50 each. Some of these companies do not carry arms, others are supplied with wooden guns, while a few have real rifles, cast off by our regular army and sold from the arsenals at Governor's Island.

4. **Eight Million Men in the Militia.**—There are said to be over eight million men in the militia of the United States, for the law prescribes that every able-bodied man between 18 and 45 is a member of the militia, whether in the National Guard and bearing arms or not, and it is accordingly claimed that we have a larger available force to call upon in case of extreme necessity than any other country in the world.

5. **Teach the Youth.**—Teach the youth of the country the first principles of the military; teach them how to handle a gun and to obey orders; instill the true idea of discipline into their minds while they are still forming, and twenty-five years from now, the military authorities claim, the United States will have the strongest available fighting force in the world.

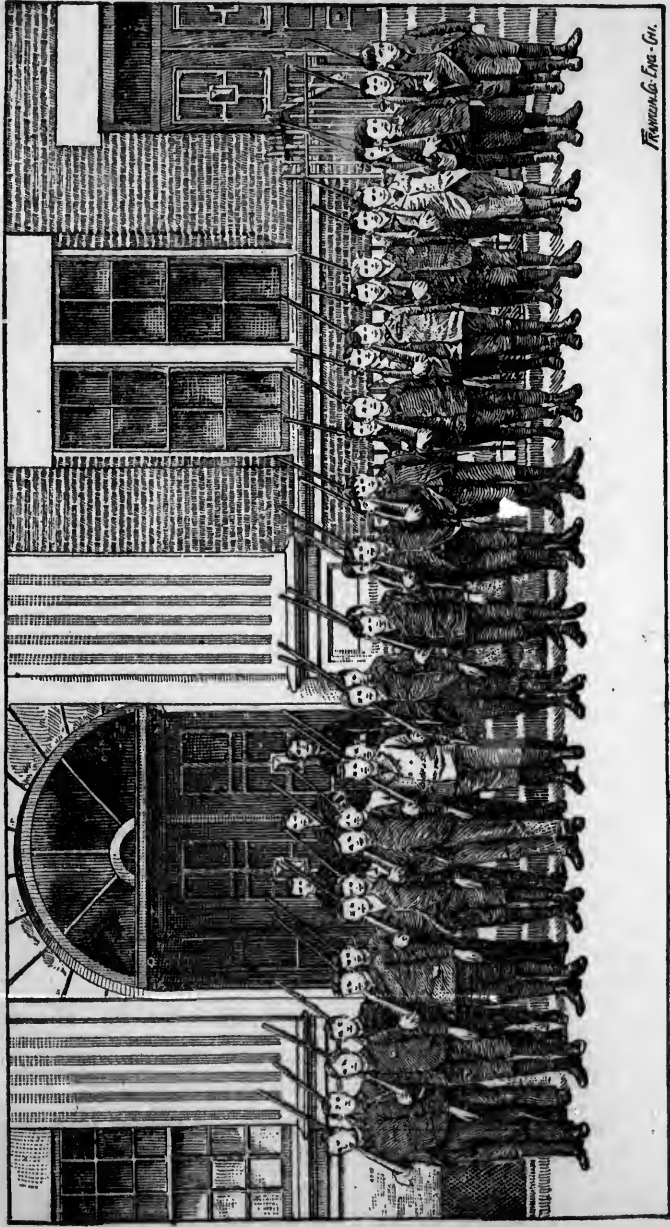
Military Training in Public Schools.

1. **Discipline.**—Discipline and good government make a school. Without proper subordination and a due respect on the part of the pupils for law and order, there can be no intellectual progress. Discipline consequently is the essential principle of a successful school, and the first lessons of civil government and respect for law are thus early impressed upon the mind of the pupil of the public school.

2. **Military Discipline.**—The monotony of the school work can be broken and a greater interest manifested on the play ground by organizing the different grades into small military companies or bands; teachers should become familiar with the common military tactics, and should drill the school in marching and the use of arms. Wooden guns and a wooden cannon can be easily made at a small expense, and the boys will take great pride in the work, and the teachers will find it not only pleasant, but a profitable influence among the students.

All pupils should be first trained in grades and then all united into one company for general drill and parade. After pupils have attained some proficiency, officers should be elected or appointed and a regular military organization perfected.

3. **Good Government.**—Military discipline and drill are found to be of great assistance in preserving good government, in holding the student's attention to study and in sharpening the intellectual faculties. There results an in-



MILITARY TRAINING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

creased excellence in academic work. Obedience and a proper respect for authority become second nature. The cadet in learning to obey develops in himself that rarest and most precious gift, the power of self-control, which marks the noblest type of man. Moreover, there is a charm and an incentive in a military atmosphere that appeal to the most sluggish nature and inspire one to increased effort to excel.

4. **Indifferent Students.** Hence it is that many indifferent students, on passing from a common school to a military institution, surprise their former teachers and acquaintances by earnest application and brilliant results. Rank and office being the reward for a good deportment and scholarship, the student is impelled by a motive power not existing elsewhere. The cadet officer in performing his duties in commanding and in directing his fellows, learns lessons that will be of lasting value to him in after-life. Both as officer and as private the cadet learns to attend carefully to matters of personal neatness and exemplary deportment. There is no other system by which are instilled so thoroughly order, patience, punctuality, cheerful obedience, respect for one's superiors, and a sense of duty, honor and manliness.

5. **Good for Brain Work.**—"Under a system of military education it would seem that there must be a loss in the time and energy available for the usual academic work. Experience shows that the very opposite is true. It is seen that the time devoted to military instruction and exercise is more than compensated by the increased mental activity and vigor of the student. His attention is sharpened and his intellect quickened. He is more alert and can acquire more in a given time. It is not every youth who is studious by nature and who acquires knowledge from the love of acquiring."

6. **To Accomplish the Best Results.**—"To accomplish the best results the young student should be placed in surroundings favorable to industry; he should breathe a busy atmosphere. In the common school left to himself to regulate his hours of study, and exposed to the innumerable temptations of society and good fellowship, the pupil unconsciously or heedlessly loses valuable time. In a military school it is otherwise. Life is regular as clock work. Not only recitation and drill, but also recreation, study and even sleep have their allotted hours. In this way the pupil learns method and acquires good mental habits."

Admission to the Government Naval School at Annapolis.

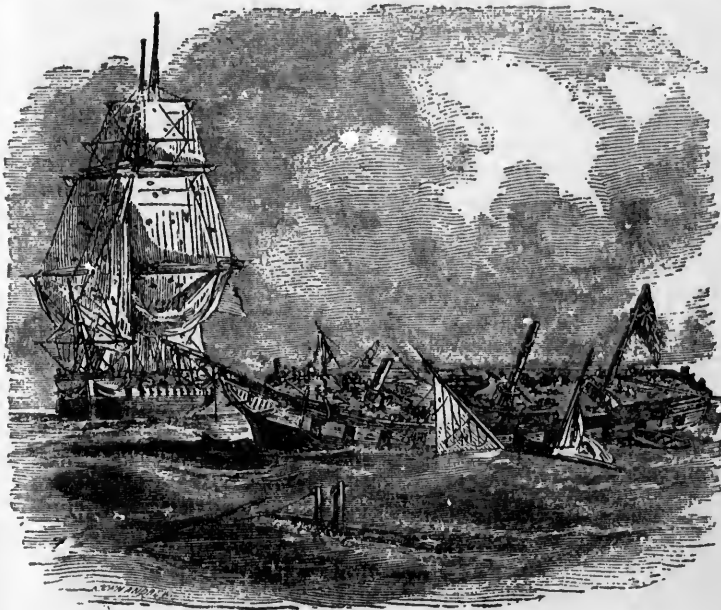
1. **Naval Cadets.**—In 1882 an act of Congress provided "that all the undergraduates at the naval academy shall hereafter be designated and called 'naval cadets,' and from these naval cadets who successfully complete the six years' academic course appointments shall hereafter be made as it is necessary to fill vacancies in the lower grades of the line and engineer corps of the navy, and of the marine corps."

2. **Number of Appointments.**—It was provided further, however, "that no greater number of appointments into these grades shall be made each year than shall equal the number of vacancies which has occurred in the same grades during the preceding year. And that these appointments to be made from the graduates at the conclusion of their six years' course shall be in the order of merit; the assignment to the various corps to be made by the Secretary of the Navy upon the recommendation of the academic board. And if there be more graduates than vacancies, those who do not receive appointments in the service shall be given a certificate of graduation, an honorable discharge and one year's sea pay."

3. **The Appointments.**—Let us see how the appointments to this great government school are made, and the requirements, both physical and mental, of a candidate for admission. The revised statutes say: "That there shall be allowed one naval cadet for every member or delegate of the House of Representatives, one for the District of Columbia, and ten at large. The Secretary of the Navy shall, as soon after the 5th of March in each year as possible, notify in writing each member and delegate at the House of Representatives of any vacancy that may exist in the district. The nomination of a candidate to fill said vacancy shall be made upon the recommendation of the member or delegate, if such recommendation is made by the first day of July of that year; but if it is not made by that time the Secretary of the Navy shall fill the vacancy."

4. **Actual Residents.**—The candidate allowed for the District of Columbia and all the candidates appointed at large shall be selected by the President. Candidates allowed for Congressional Districts, for territories, and for the District of Columbia must be actual residents of the districts or territories respectively from which they are nominated.

5. A Candidate.—A boy who has the appointment in hand or in view should have himself thoroughly examined by some competent physician. It not frequently happens that a candidate who may be admirably equipped mentally finds himself sadly deficient physically. Many a lad who, in his country home, was the leader in athletic sports, or whose name upon the village streets stood for a prowess of strength, learns to his amazement, when subjected to the scrutiny of the board of surgeons, that he has some disabil-



THE OUTCOME OF A SEA BATTLE.

ity of which he never dreamed. Impaired vision, disease of the organs of vision, imperfect color sense, impaired hearing or disease of the ear, any impediment of speech, loss of many teeth or many teeth generally unsound, are some of the conditions that are sufficient to cause the rejection of the candidate.

6. Mental Requirements.—Next, as to the mental requirements: All candidates are to be examined mentally by the academic board in reading, writing, spelling, arithme-

tic, geography, English grammar, United States history and algebra. Deficiency in any of these subjects will be sufficient to insure the rejection of the candidate. Only a sketch of the mental examination can be given within the limits of this article.

7. Reading and Writing.—In reading and writing candidates must be able to read understandingly and with proper accent and emphasis, and to write legibly, neatly and rapidly. In spelling they must be able to write from dictation paragraphs from standard pieces of English literature, and the spelling throughout the examination will be considered in marking the papers.

8. Arithmetic.—In arithmetic the candidate must possess such complete knowledge of the subject as will enable him to proceed at once to the higher branches of mathematics without further study. The examination in algebra will be elementary in character, and is limited to questions and problems upon the fundamental rules, factoring, algebraic fractions, and simple equations of one or more unknown quantities.

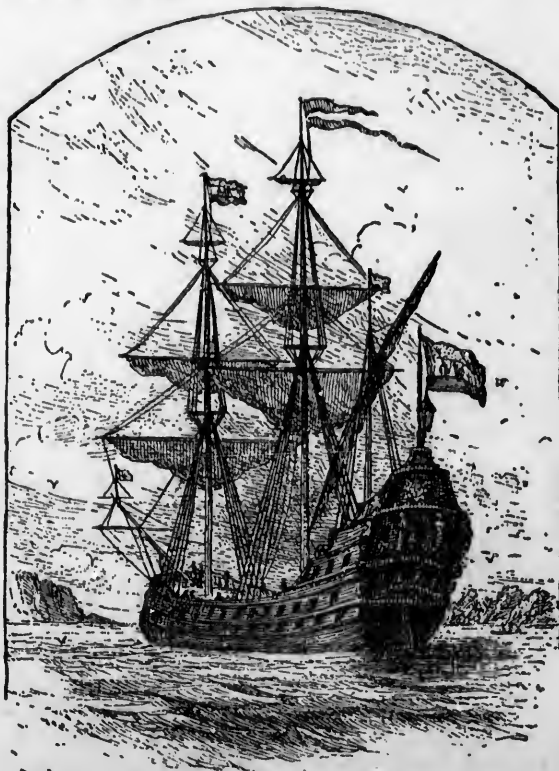
9. Grammar.—In grammar candidates must exhibit a familiarity with all the parts of speech and the rules in relation thereto. They must be able to parse any ordinary sentence given to them, and generally must understand those portions of the subject which are usually taught and comprehended under the heads of orthography, etymology and syntax.

10. Descriptive Geography.—Candidates will be required to pass a satisfactory examination in descriptive geography, particularly of our own country, and it is well for the candidate to bear in mind that his knowledge of the geography of the United States cannot be too full or specific.

11. History of the United States.—Candidates should also be familiar with as much of the history of the United States as is contained in the ordinary school histories.

12. Where to Go for Examination.—Candidates for admission to West Point are now by law allowed to present themselves at certain designated army posts for examination, but unfortunately no like condition exists for the naval academy candidates, and they are all obliged to present themselves for examination at Annapolis. Those who have been nominated in time for them to reach the academy by the 15th of May will receive permission to present themselves on that date to the superintendent for examination for admission. Those that may not be nominated in time to present themselves at the May examination will be examined on the first of September following.

13. **Other Requirements.**—The candidates who successfully pass the mental examination will be notified to present themselves for their physical examination; and this having been successfully passed, they receive their appointments as naval cadets, and become students at the academy. Each cadet will be required to sign articles by which he binds himself to serve in the United States Navy eight years, including his time of probation at the naval academy, unless sooner discharged. The pay of a naval cadet is \$500 a year, commencing at the date of his admission. Each cadet must, on admission, deposit with the pay-officer about \$200, to be expended for clothes and text-books. One month after admission each naval cadet is credited with the amount of his actual traveling expenses from his home to the naval academy.



"QUEEN OF THE OCEAN."

The History of the World's Fair City.

Chicago was originally platted and surveyed August, 1830; incorporated as a town February 11, 1835; as a city March 4, 1837.

The first newspaper printed in Chicago was published November 26, 1839.

Where the post office now stands there was wolf hunting in 1831.

The city was first lighted by gas September, 1850.

The great fire of 1871 started Sunday night, October 8. There had been on the previous evening a disastrous conflagration on the West Side, involving a heavy loss of property in the lumber district. Within 24 hours after the flames began to spread, that portion of the South Side, north of Harrison street, and nearly all of the North Side, was consumed. The total area swept by the great fire was about three and one-third square miles; 18,000 buildings were destroyed, at an estimated loss of \$190,000,000. About 200 persons perished.

One year after the fire many of the best business blocks were rebuilt; five years after the fire the city was more handsome and prosperous than ever; ten years after the fire nearly all traces of the calamity had disappeared.

The United States census of 1891 gave Chicago a population of 1,098,576; the city directory of 1892 increased the number to 1,428,000.

In point of population Chicago is the sixth city of the world, taking its place in line with London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin and New York.

The city is 26 miles long, greatest width 15 miles, total area 100 square miles. Lake frontage 22 miles, 2,210 miles of streets, of which 658 are improved. Fifty-nine miles are boulevards.

The longest street is Halsted street, 21½ miles in extent.

There are about 400 miles of street-railway tracks grid-ironing the city and furnishing transportation for upward of three-quarters of a million people.

The floating population of Chicago averages 75,000 daily; the hotel and other accommodations for transients being great enough to care for 150,000.

It is interesting to note the statistics bearing upon the shipping of Chicago. In 1891 there entered and cleared at New York 16,000 vessels, while at Chicago 20,000 vessels entered and cleared.

Practically Chicago is the terminal point of all the trunk lines of railway, north, south, east, and west, in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

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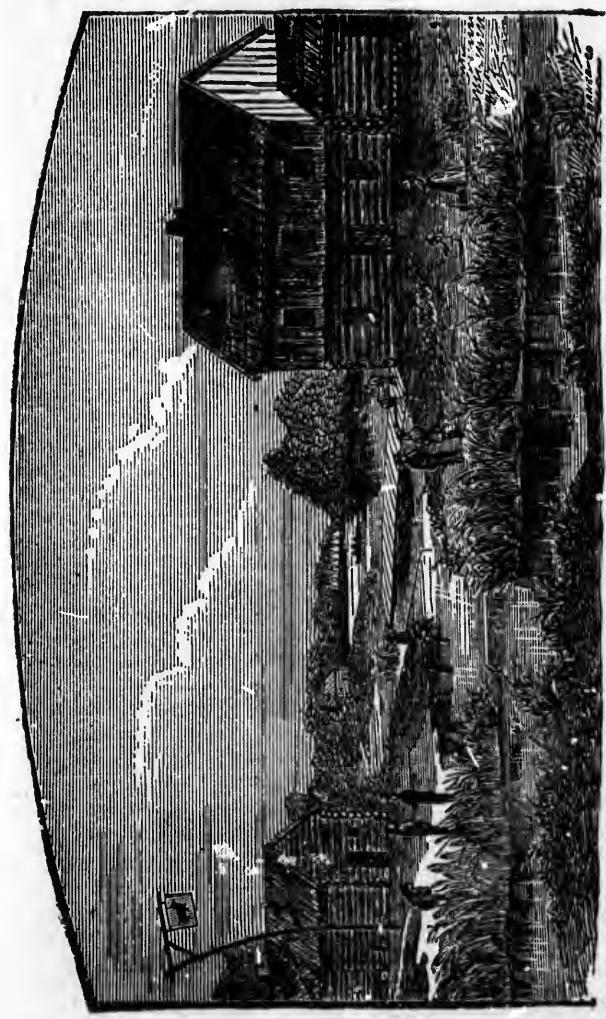
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CHICAGO IN 1832.

Over 90,000 miles of railroads center in Chicago at the present time. It is admitted to be the greatest railroad center in the world.

Estimates have been made showing that more passengers arrive and depart, more merchandise is received and shipped daily, than at any other point on earth.

The commerce of the city for 1891 was \$1,459,000,000, against \$20,000,000 for 1850. In the same year the amount of money paid to employes in manufacturing establishments was \$104,904,000, while the capital employed in manufacturing was \$240,302,000.

It is everywhere acknowledged that Chicago is the most magnificently built city on the sphere to-day, and this in the face of the fact that about a score of years ago the entire business district and part of the residence section was wiped out by a great conflagration.

- Chicago is destined to be the first city in America.
- Is the largest cattle market in the world.
- Is the largest lumber market in the world.
- Is the largest grain market in the world.
- Is the greatest stove market in the world.
- Is the greatest packing center in the world.
- Is the greatest railway center in the world.
- Chicago has the largest stock yards in the world.
- Has the finest hotel buildings in the world.
- Has the largest office buildings in the world.
- Has a greater area than any city in America.
- Has the greatest elevator capacity in the world.
- Has the largest agricultural implement manufactory in the world.
- Has the largest mining machine factory in the world.
- Has the largest commercial building in the world.
- Has the greatest retail dry goods house in the world.
- Has the largest cold storage building in the world.
- Has the largest library circulation in the United States.
- Has the largest percentage of bank reserves in America.
- Has the most complete cable system in the world.
- Has the most complete water system in the world.





ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

One of the leading spirits in framing the Constitution of the United States.

Constitution of the United States of America.

PREAMBLE.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America:

ARTICLE I.

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Legislative Powers.—All Legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. House of Representatives.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

Qualifications of Representatives.—No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Appointment of Representatives.—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to whole number of free persons including those bound to service for a term of years and, excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.

Number of Representatives.—The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative, and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five and Georgia three.

Vacancies.—When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers, How Appointed.—The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and their officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. Senate.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Classification of Senators.—Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications of Senators.—No person shall be a Senator who shall have not attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

President of the Senate.—The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Senate, a Court for Trial of Impeachments.—The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United State is tried the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction.—Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States. But the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

Section 4. Elections of Senators and Representatives.—The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Meeting of Congress.—The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. Organization of Congress.—Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Rule of Proceeding.—Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Journal of Congress.—Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment of Congress.—Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Pay and Privileges of Members.—The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Plurality of Offices Prohibited.—No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. Revenue Bills.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills Become Law.—Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States. If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journals and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Presi-



REV. DR. PARKHURST.

dent within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Approval and Veto Powers of the President.—Every order, resolution or vote to which concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect; shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section 8. Powers Vested in Congress.—The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science, and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

Powers Vested in Congress.—To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. Immigrants, How Admitted.—The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Habeas Corpus.—The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

Attainder.—No Bill of Attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed.

Direct Taxes.—No Capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

Regulations Regarding Duties.—No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

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Money, How Drawn.—No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

Titles of Nobility Prohibited.—No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state.

Section 10. Powers of States Defined.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Executive Power, in Whom Invested.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Electors.—Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors. Proceedings of the House of Representatives.—The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such a majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should

remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

Time of Choosing Electors.—The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of the President.—No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Resort in Case of Disability.—In case of removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Salary of the President.—The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath.—Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. Duties of the President.—The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer, in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

May Make Treaties, Appoint Ambassadors, Judges, etc.—He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law, but the Congress may by law vest the appointments of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

May Fill Vacancies.—The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. May Convene Congress.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. How Officers May Be Removed.—The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE III.

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Section 1. Judicial Power, How Invested.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.



HENRY WATTERSON.

Section 2. To What Cases It Extends.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens

of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.—In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Rules Respecting Trials.—The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. Treason Defined.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

How Punished.—The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Section 1. Rights of States and Records.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved and the effect thereof.

Section 2. Privileges of Citizens.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Executive Requisitions.—A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and may be found in another State shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Law Regulating Service or Labor.—No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. New States, How Formed and Admitted.—New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

Power of Congress.—The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. Republican Government Guaranteed.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

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ARTICLE V.

Power of Amendment.—The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

Validity of Debts Recognized.—All debts contracted and engagements entered into before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

Supreme Law of the Land Defined.—This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution of Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Oath; of Whom Required and for What.—The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

Ratification.—The ratification of the convention of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Article I. Religion, Free Speech, Redress for Grievances.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

Article II. Bearing Arms.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Article III. Soldierly.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article IV. Right of Search.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V. Capital and Criminal Arrest.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or other infamous crime, unless on a pre-

sentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI. Right of Speedy Trial.—In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article VII. Trial by Jury.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive Bail.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

Enumeration of Rights.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

State Rights.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

Judicial Power.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

Electors in Presidential Elections.—The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballot the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the last of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this

purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

1. **Slavery Forbidden.**—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

1. **Equal Protection.**—All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

2. **Appointment of Representatives.**—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State, being of twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

3. **Public Official Debarred.**—No person shall be a senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or holding any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

4. **Public Debt Responsibility.**—The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any

claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

1. **Right of Suffrage.**—The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

2. The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

Grave Danger in Our Presidential-Election System.

1. **Behind the Times.**—For more than one hundred years our Federal Constitution has been in full operation; and yet ninety-nine years have elapsed since the proposal and adoption of any amendment to that instrument except



THE MAN WHO NEVER READS THE PAPERS,
But Votes His Party Ticket Straight.

those three which abolished human slavery and closed the civil war. Not a single state of the Union shows such stagnation in constitutional reform. On the contrary, our increasing states, each in its own jurisdiction, have modeled and remodeled their fundamental institutions to check legislative and other abuses and yield more closely to popular control; yet the antiquated machinery of the Federal Government still creaks on its operations unchanged, exposing us repeatedly to the dangers of national anarchy and confusion.

2. **Choosing the Chief Executive.**—In the first place, our anomalous method of choosing the chief executive by electoral colleges has become, in the course of a century, not only a senseless, but dilatory and dangerous duplication. We know how utterly the expedient of 1787, for obstructing popular suffrage on a national scale, has failed of its original purpose, and how truly in consequence the quadrennial assemblage of our present age, when millions of voters undertake, on an autumn day, to choose by their own ballots a President and Vice-President of the United States, has become in spirit a complete perversion of what the Constitution itself intended.

3. **The Original Provisions of Our Constitution.**—The original provisions of our Constitution, indeed, were soon found so faulty with respect to presidential elections in other particulars that after the famous tie vote in 1800 between Jefferson and Burr, when President and Vice-President were not named apart, those provisions had to be amended. But two prime evils of the original plan still confront us, showing how utterly unsuited are those provisions to the present Republican age: Colleges of electors still elect the Executive, and consequently the choice of a chief magistrate is not legally made in early November, but about a month later; and in addition to the injurious delay the voter who casts his ballot for electors at the polls is exposed not only to peculiar misconceptions concerning his own functions, but to the far more insidious danger that corrupt and crafty politicians may yet, at some later crisis, when voting runs close, baffle the wishes of the people.

4. **Bargain and Corruption.**—Whenever, as happened in 1892 and as may happen again, some third party is strong enough to carry a state or two, or political issues have temporarily faded out, and the choice lies chiefly as among individuals, "bargain and corruption" may once more be the cry over an election by the House, as it was in 1825, and with far more substantial reason. Two years ago, dur-

ing the last presidential canvass, and while the chances appeared close in October, two distinct conspiracies for forestalling final results and controlling the succession, in case the choice should devolve upon a House already

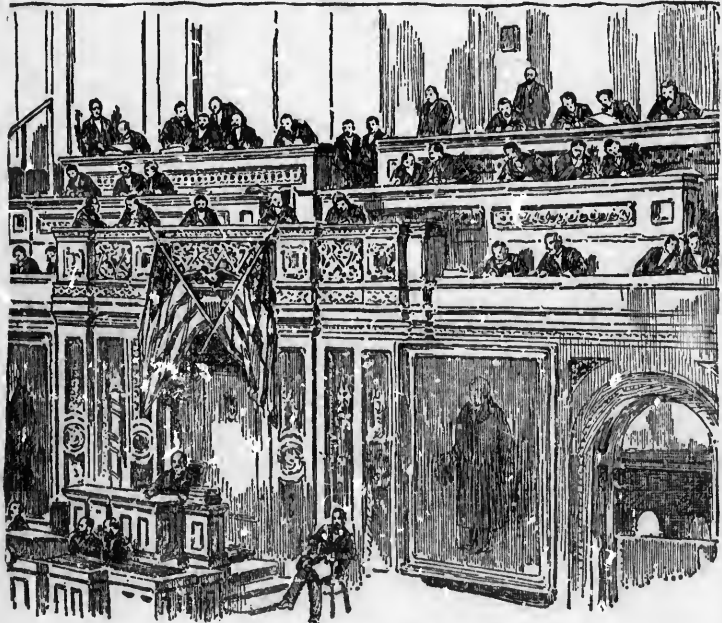


THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

Democratic, were divulged by the press to augment the popular uneasiness.

One was for the friends of the third candidate to keep the eventual election for the colleges to decide in December, by causing their own presidential electors to invite bids for Populist principles from the two highest candidates, and then turn the scale as between them. The other plan was from another quarter, to resist all choice by the

House as then constituted, upon the claim that its representation had not been based upon the new census of 1890, and ought, therefore, to be changed. From such dangers, which might otherwise have become positive ones, a sweeping majority of electoral votes for Mr. Cleveland delivered us.



ASSEMBLED IN CONGRESS.

5. The Disadvantages of Having a New Congress.— The members of Congress are elected in November, but it is generally a year from the following December before they benefit the country with their law-making powers. Usually thirteen months intervene before the new Congress is called into power to act for the people. In 1892 the new Congress was overwhelmingly Democratic but the Republican Congress continued to control till April 4, until their actions and theories had been repudiated by the people. In 1894 the Democratic majority in the Congress were overthrown and a surprising Republican majority elected, yet the Democrats after being overthrown and repudiated,

were permitted to make laws until the first of March. When the people have lost confidence in the representatives of a party they should not be permitted to continue in power, but yield to the new elected representatives who represent the popular will of the people. The newly chosen Congress should enter at once upon work at New Year's so that the country may not be embarrassed by the privileges of an independent Congress.

6. **Inauguration Day.**—Inauguration Day should be set later in the season. In March the weather is generally uncertain, and if the time could be made May 4 it would be a much pleasanter season of the year and the people would be more interested in visiting the National Capitol and witnessing the inauguration of the President of the United States in his high office.

7. **The Electoral College.**—The electoral college should be entirely dispensed with, and the people should vote direct for President and Vice-President of the United States the same as they vote for Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the state.

8. **United States Senators.**—United States Senators should be elected by the people. It is proven at every election that the masses of the voters can be more safely trusted than the different members at the state Legislature. The people are more honest than their representatives. The people themselves should elect the high officials, and thereby be directly represented.

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First Administration.

POLITICAL ISSUES AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

1. **The First Cabinet.**—Washington appointed for his Cabinet, Alexander Hamilton for the Treasury Department; General Henry Knox for the War Department; and John Jay for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, all of whom were Federalists. Thomas Jefferson was appointed Secretary of State, and Edmund Randolph for Attorney General, both of whom were Anti-Federalists.

2. **The First Extra Session of Congress.**—During an extra session of Congress, called for pressing business, ten amendments to the Constitution were made, the chief design of which was to vouchsafe broader principles of freedom than the Federal party had conceded or even intended; freedom not having been guaranteed by the original wording of this instrument, all of which, in the estimation of the Anti-Federalists were necessary, as a safe guard against monarchy. An act regulating commerce and a tariff bill were passed at this session; the latter being barely sufficient for a revenue, though it was ostensibly for protection as well.

3. **First Regular Session.**—The next regular Congress met at Philadelphia, March 4, 1790. It was the first regular session, and began the work of bringing the elements of a nation into practical working order. The financial question was the most important issue to meet. The debts due France must be paid in full. The domestic debt was also equally binding on the honor of the nation, but besides these were the debts due various other States.

The Burden of Debt.—How to provide for the liquidation of these was a difficult thing, and seemed to set at defiance the doctrine of state rights, so dearly prized by the Anti-Federalists. If the United States assumed them, it was taking business out of the State that had contracted them. The Federalists were in favor of the United States assuming the responsibility of these debts regardless of the state rights doctrine. The Anti-Federalists would not consent to this, but the issue was finally decided by two Anti-Federalists deserting their party and voting on the other side, which arbitrarily settled a question that had come as a necessity and no other way for whose solution seemed possible, though done by what was termed a loose construction of the binding forces of the Constitution, which could hardly be con-



GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732

President April 30, 1789-March 4, 1797.

Died at Mt. Vernon, Virginia, December 14, 1799.

sidered in any other light than a violation of that sacred instrument, but it was claimed that the end justified the means, and the best apology for it was that it partook of the necessities characteristic of war measures to practically control the States, though unconstitutionally, in order to do justice to them.

After this terms "loose constructionists" and "strict constitutioners" came into party lines.

5. **The Third Session of Congress. Increase of the Tariff. Locating the Capitol. Charter of a United States Bank.**—The third session of Congress met at Philadelphia December 6, 1790. During this session Vermont and Kentucky were admitted into the Union. A bill for a slight increase of the tariff on distilled spirits was passed, also provisions made for locating the capitol on the Potomac, and another bill for the charter of a United States bank, capital of \$10,000, \$2,000 of which were to be subscribed for by the United States. All these were federal measures, but had not been tenaciously opposed by the other party, who by this time had become more reconciled to centralized power, which had wrought visible improvements in the financial interests of the country, besides increased respect for us abroad.

6. **Washington Unanimously Re-elected.**—Washington's impartial position secured the Anti-Federalists' support for a second term, and they agreed to give their unanimous support to him for re-election, but each party had its own separate candidate for Vice-President, the Federalists choosing John Adams, and the Anti-Federalists, or Republicans, as their party had begun to be called, George Clinton. Washington's vote was unanimous. Adams had 77 votes, Clinton 50, Jefferson 4, and Aaron Burr 1. Washington and Adams were inaugurated March 4, 1793.



THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY.

Second Administration.

THE RISE AND RAGE OF POLITICAL ISSUES.

1. **A General Feeling of Confidence.**—At the opening of this administration there was a general feeling of confidence in the stability of the constitutional form of government just adopted, and what gratified all parties the most and added to the strength of the Federal party, was the fact that the prophesying of a Conservative press in England, that there was not material in America out of which to construct a permanent government had been proven false by the auspicious beginning already made in the adoption of the constitution, an arrangement which our enemies in England had pronounced impossible. "The forces to govern a nation must be inherited" said the English Tory press, but to be just to the crown officials it should not be omitted that no offensive prophesies were made by them, whatever opinions they might have on this subject.

2. **The Public Debt.**—But though the political skies seemed bright, the public debt had been funded and provision made for liquidating it, yet there were significant evidences of party friction which needed critical but charitable attention from the administration, and it was a fortunate thing that no extreme partisan had been elevated to the office of President, to fill the chair during the second administration when the strong arm of conservatism, tempered with the spirit of both justice and charity, was so necessary, in order to set the sails of the ship of state to ride the high seas of nationalism. Washington was the best man to do this, and it is only a fair inference to conceive that the Anti-Federalists supported him for President, not because they entirely approved of his policy, but under a conviction that he would take no radical steps that might endanger the general cause.

3. **The Critical Condition.**—The critical condition of the political outlook at this time may be inferred from a passage in a letter to Washington from Mr. Randolph, the Attorney General, during the first administration. He says: "It can not have escaped you that decisions in our politics as systematically as those which prevail in Great Britain, such as opposed the Constitution from a hatred of the Union, can never be conciliated by any overture or atonement. By others it is mediated to push the construction of the Federal power to every tenable extreme."

4. **A Fatal Error.**—A third class, Republican in principle, and thus far in my judgment happy in their discern-

ment of our welfare, have notwithstanding mingled with their doctrine a fatal error that the State Assemblies are to be resorted to as the engines of correction to the Federal administration. The animadversions between Hamilton and Jefferson at this time perhaps justified the apprehensions of Mr. Randolph, but Washington wrote letters to both of them which had the effect to pour oil on the troubled waters, giving offense to neither party.

5. **English Complications.**—Pending these dangers at home, clouds were gathering in the eastern horizon from over the waves that, happily for America, diverted attention from home issues that time was bound to settle more amiably than could be done during the present existence of personal resentment. England entered on her road to grandeur on the high seas. Here was her realm, tenable only by maintaining her superiority over other nations, and controlling the laws of trade for the world. America, as yet, had no right on the ocean, she wished to find a market for her produce, and to do this a commercial treaty with England was the only channel through which this desirable end could be attained. Hitherto England, the arbiter of the ocean, would not allow an American vessel to sail with merchandise to any port than her own, and the hapless monger in American goods had to pay English merchants a profit on all foreign exportations.

6. **A Commercial Treaty with England.**—The first necessity was a commercial treaty with England, for which end Washington sent John Jay to the Court of St. James.

England had already had abundant evidence of Mr. Jay's culture in diplomacy at the treaty of Paris, and he was received with becoming respect. A treaty was made with no unnecessary delay, recognizing certain rights to American commerce, among which was direct trade with the East Indies, but the assumed right of search and impressment of American seamen was not given up. England exercising the business of this aggressive policy by the pretense that the seamen she took from American decks, were deserters from her naval force.

7. **The Treaty.**—Washington did not hesitate to ratify the treaty, notwithstanding this omission, and the Anti-Federalists thereby gained great strength, for the general dissatisfaction as to the so-called "ignominious" result of the treaty was almost universal. The Federal party did not attempt to justify this omission in the treaty, but took the ground that it was the only way to escape a war with England, for which the country was illy prepared.

Even in this day many people condemn the policy of

Washington in ratifying a treaty with no redress for such a humiliation in it. How much more, then, would it fall short of the demand of the old revolutionary soldiers. The Republicans saw this and made the most of it. Added to the rest, much popular indignation, owing to the demand of Genet, the first minister sent to represent the new French Republic, had been manifested among the commoner element of the Anti-Federalists, but Jefferson took no part in this sentiment, because Genet had abused his rights as a minister by enlisting men for the French service and then obliged the administration to give him his passport, even in violation of the popular verdict.

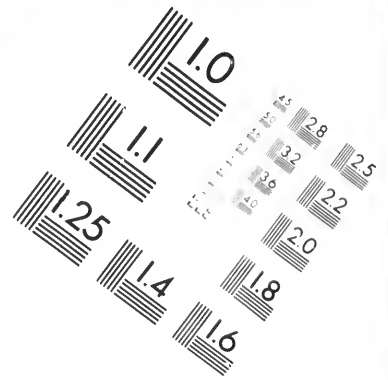
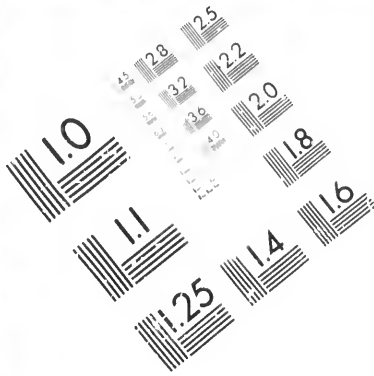
8. **The Opposition.**—At the head and front of the opposition to the Federalists stood Thomas Jefferson. He had opposed the banking policy and other Federal measures, whenever they, in his estimation, unnecessarily abridged either individual or state rights.

His letter to Monroe, dated Monticello, June 12, 1796, is inserted here to show his position at that time:

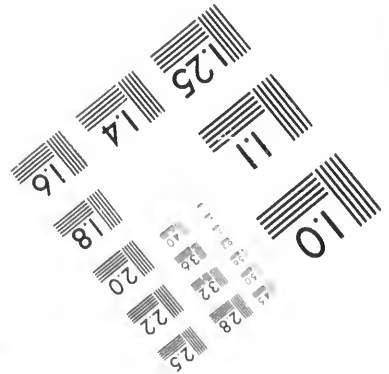
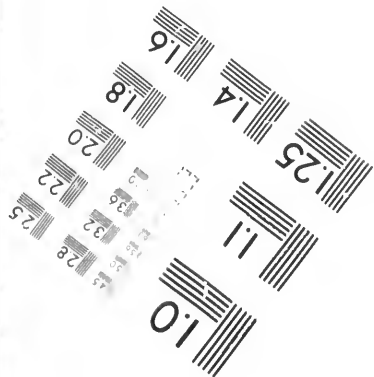
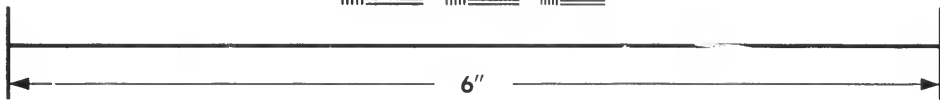
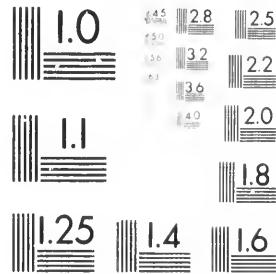
MONTICELLO, June 12, 1796.

TO COLONEL MONROE,

Dear Sir: Congress has risen. You will have seen by their proceedings the truth of what I always observed to you, that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people who have supported his judgment against their own and that of their representatives. Republicanism must lie on its oars, resign the vessel to its pilot, and themselves to the course he thinks best for them. I had always conjectured from such facts as I could get hold of that our public debt was increasing about a million of dollars a year. You will see by Gallatin's speeches that the thing is proved. You will see further that we are completely saddled and bridled, and that the bank is so firmly mounted on us that we must go where they will guide. They openly published a resolution that, the national property being increased in value, they must by an increase of circulating medium furnish an adequate representation of it, and by further additions of active capital promote the enterprises of our merchants. It is supposed that the paper in circulation in and around Philadelphia amounts to twenty millions of dollars, and that in the whole Union to one hundred millions. I think the last too high. All the imported commodities are raised about 50 per cent. by the depreciation of the money. Tobacco shares the loss, because it has no competition abroad. Wheat has been extraordinarily high



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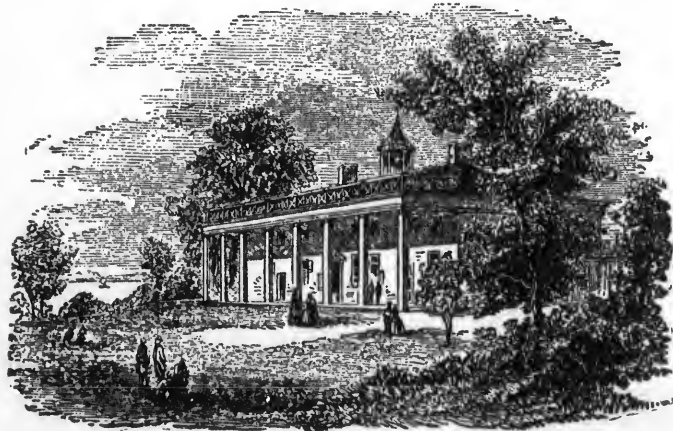
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from other causes. When these cease it must fall to its ancient nominal price, notwithstanding the depreciation of that, because it must contend in markets with foreign wheats. Lands have risen within the vortex of the paper and as far out as that can influence. They have not risen at all here. On the contrary, they are lower than they were twenty years ago. Those I had mentioned to you, to wit, Carter's and Colle, were sold before your letter came, Coile at two dollars the acre. Carter's had been offered me for two French crowns (13s. 2d.). Mechanics here get from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day, yet are much worse off than at the old prices.

Volney is with me at present. He is on his way to Illinois. Some late appointments, judiciary and diplomatic, you will have heard, and stared at. The death of R. Jouett is the only small news in our neighborhood.

Our best affections attend Mrs. Monroe, Eliza and yourself. Adieu affectionately,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.



MT. VERNON,
The Home of George Washington.

9. A Partisan Campaign.—The second term of Washington was now drawing to a close, and in the popular heart there seemed to be a dread of inaugurating a partisan campaign in the next Presidential election, and Washington was urged by the moderate men of both parties to ac-

cept the nomination for a third term. This he declined, and on September 17, 1793, issued his famous farewell address.

The bitterness manifested in the attacks upon Washington by his political opponents was his incentive to writing this address. To these attacks he made no reply, giving as a reason that they were too illogical to merit one, but he intended his farewell address to be a general answer to the accusations against him.

At that early date no provision had been made for making presidential nominations, but John Adams was the true representative of the Federal party, second only to Washington; and the popular voice confirmed him as candidate for President, and Thomas Pickney was the Federal candidate for Vice-President for the same reason.

ro. John Adams Elected.—Thomas Jefferson was the true ideal of Republicanism, and next to him was Aaron Burr. These men had earned the confidence of the new party, the former by his master mind together with his zeal in the cause of freedom, and the latter by his equally acknowledged zeal, if not by his executive ability.

The election took place in November, 1796. In the Electoral College 71 votes were cast for Adams, 68 for Jefferson, 59 for Pickney and 30 for Burr and 2 for Washington.

Jefferson having the next highest number of votes to Adams, was the Vice-President elect, while Adams was President.

The two were sworn into office March 4, 1797.

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Third Administration.

THE RISE AND RAGE OF NEW POLITICAL ISSUES.

1. **The Most Stalwart Federalists.**—The election of Adams, one of the most stalwart Federalists of the party in the face of so many unpopular issues that the Federalists had taken against the Republicans, was looked upon as a triumph of conservatism over radicalism, and his administration was marked with decision begotten of confidence,



JOHN ADAMS,

Born at Braintree (now Quincy), Norfolk County, Mass.,

October 19, 1735.

President March 4, 1797-March 4, 1801.

Died at Braintree, July 4, 1821.

but not more than was needed to meet the foreign emergencies about to come before America.

2. **French Revolution.**—The success of the American Revolution had inspired the French to undertake one with the same end in view, and however justifiable this attempt might be, it was the misfortune of France that the inflammable material that gave the momentum to her lacked the restraining influence that characterized the American statesmen, and even the conscience of the common citizen.

The American Revolution astonished the world by the wisdom and moderation of its demands; while the French Revolution shocked its sense of mortality, by its horrors and its sacrilegious disregard of all divine sentiments. But by a miracle of courage and zeal, it had succeeded in establishing a Republic on the ruins of a dynasty, that fell under the recoil of crushed liberty, asserting the rights of nature in man.

3. **Trouble with France.**—On assuming the responsibility of President, Mr. Adams was confronted with unfriendly, not to say hostile, words and acts from France by way of retaliation for asking France to recall Genet for his alleged abuse of his prerogatives as minister to the United States. The French government refused to receive our minister, annulled our treaty of 1778 with them, and their cruisers forced our vessels into French ports on the ground that they carried munitions of war for their enemies.

It was an unhappy state of affairs that we were then placed in; a hostile attitude toward the nation whose alliance had been instrumental in securing independence for us, but our apology for it lies in the fact that it was not the nation that we opposed, but an extreme faction of that that now held a transient lease of power. As might be supposed, there was a strong element of sympathy with the French among the Republicans of America, and to this day there are many who would not approve of the heroic treatment of this foreign issue by Mr. Adams. It is no far-fetched deduction that Jay's treaty with the English was an offense to France and an infringement on the spirit of our treaty of alliance with that nation of 1778, which was still in force.

4. **Acts of Aggression on American Commerce.**—November 13, 1797, the Republican members voted against a bill for arming vessels to defend American commerce from French spoliation. But Mr. Adams disregarded their views. In the meantime, the French continued their acts of aggression on American commerce; but when the possibility of war came the Republicans were enforced to acqui-

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esce in the defensive policy of the administration, even if war should result. To this end appropriations were made to raise an army and equip a fleet to be used against France, should diplomacy prove unavailing in the settlement of the unfriendliness which Genet's official acts in the United States had created between the Red Republicans of France and the Federal party in the United States.

5. **Sympathy with France.**—Notwithstanding this, Democratic clubs used their utmost influence to oppose the administration by appealing to the chivalric sentiment of the country based on gratitude toward France for past services during the revolution, and it cannot be denied that their argument touched a sympathetic chord in the heart of young America, brimful of patriotism. These clubs had been established in the United States by Genet in his untempered zeal in the revolutionary cause of France, and that their design was to reverse the Federal policy and bring the country into alliance with the French seemed probable.

6. **The Alien and Sedition Laws.**—This supposed danger was the cause incentive to the alien and sedition laws, giving the President power to banish from the country any one whom he considered dangerous to the peace, or to fine and imprison such persons as should be supposed guilty of conspiring together to oppose any measure of the Government.

It is no marvel that the Republicans opposed this bill and made it the occasion of renewing their charges of despotism against the Federalists, for such a stretch of authority injured the Federal cause, but was soon offset by the Republicans passing the Virginia, and soon afterward the Kentucky resolution, which although they were passed by but two state Legislatures, the whole Republican party were responsible for them. These resolutions held that the alien and sedition laws were unconstitutional, and that the states ought not to be bound by them, and that they set the National Government at defiance by holding up the supremacy of the states.

7. **The Part Taken by Genet in America.**—The part taken by Genet in America, though justified by his patriotic zeal for the cause of his country was impracticable. To undo what he begun here was the excuse for the Alien and Sedition Laws, though far fetched as is claimed. His recall was not a partisan measure, but to undo his insidious work. As soon as the French saw the true situation in America, it was apparent to them that there was no issue between the two nations, but between the Jacobins of France and the Federal administration. The former were not crushed

in the fall, Robespierre and France made overtures of peace to America, much to the satisfaction of every class, and resulted in a treaty called "The Convention of 1800."

8. **Decline of the Power of the Federalists' Power.**—The Federalist party, now near its downfall, had brought the American Revolution through all the dangers that had threatened it, and united the nation under a constitution, not as a popular measure, but perforce of logical arguments, to overcome the objections of sticklers for state rights. It was incarnation of regal dignity, far exceeding it in moral force and executive ability; especially diplomacy, as history proves.

Some of the leading men were undecided in their choice between a monarchical or republican government, but the great body of them were uncompromising Republicans in principle. Albeit their sun set in a halo of glory, when the transcendent power of Young America, now casting off his swaddling clothes, as personified by the Republican party, took the helm.

9. **A Hot Presidential Contest.**—For the next presidential candidates, the Federalists nominated Mr. Adams for a second term, and C. C. Pickney, of South Carolina, for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson, the present Vice-President, and Aaron Burr of New York for Vice-President. The popular election was very evenly balanced, and but for a quarrel between Mr. Adams and Mr. Hamilton might have gone in favor of the Federalists. There were for Jefferson 73, for Aaron Burr 73, for Adams 65, for Pickney 64, and for Jay 1, votes in the electoral college in the succeeding February.

10. **First Election by the House of Representatives.**—No single candidate having a higher number of votes than any other, there was no choice and the election went to the House of Representatives, where ten States voted for Jefferson and four for Burr and two voted blank, after six days' balloting. This elected Jefferson President and Burr for Vice-President, who were sworn into office on the 4th of March following.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Born at Shadwell, Albemarle County, Va., April 2, 1743.

President March 4, 1801-March 4, 1809.

Died at Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826.

Fourth Administration.

OUR HEROIC AGE AS A NATION.—THE RISE AND REIGN OF A NEW PARTY.—THE SETTLEMENT OF OLD QUESTIONS AND THE RISE OF NEW ISSUES.

1. **The First Republican President.**—The election of a Republican President was a rebuke to the old Federal party, who beheld in Jefferson an able captain at the head of a popular element which might lead the country into excesses in Democracy, inconsistent with the dignity of the governing power, as well as the best interests of the nation.

2. Cause of Distrust.—Another cause of distrust in Jefferson among the Federalists grew from an impression that he was an advocate of the doctrines of Thomas Paine on religious questions, but these objections soon disappeared under the overshadowing influence of other minds. The VIIth Congress assembled. Political parties were at first nearly equally divided in the Senate, but eventually there was a majority for the administration. Jefferson then discontinued the custom established by Washington of delivering in person his message to Congress.

3. Uniform System of Naturalization.—This Congress, pursuant to the recommendation of the President, established a uniform system of naturalization, and so modified the law as to make the required residence of aliens five years, instead of fourteen, as in the act of 1798, and to permit a declaration of intention to become a citizen at the expiration of three years.

4. First Sinking Fund.—By his recommendation also was established the first sinking fund for the redemption of the public debt. It required the setting apart annually for this purpose the sum of \$7,800,000.

5. First Law in Relation to the Slave Trade.—At this session the first law in relation to the slave trade was passed. It was to prevent the importation of negroes, mulattoes, and other persons of color into any part of the United States, within a state which had prohibited by the law the admission of any such person. The penalty was \$1,000 and the forfeiture of the vessel.

6. The Slave Trade Was not then Prohibited by the Constitution.—The slave trade was not then prohibited by the Constitution nor was the subject then generally agitated, though it had been as early as 1793, when, as previously stated, an exciting sectional debate followed the presentation of a petition from Pennsylvania to abolish the slave trade.

7. The Purchase and Admission of Louisiana.—Probably the most important occurrence under the first administration of Jefferson was that relating to the purchase and admission of Louisiana. There had been apprehensions of a war with Spain, and with a view to be ready, Congress had passed an act authorizing the President to call the executives of such of the states as he might deem expedient, for detachments of militia not exceeding 80,000, or to accept the services of volunteers for a term of twelve months. The disagreement arose over the southwestern boundary line and the right of navigation of Missis-

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sippi. Our government learned in the spring of 1802 that Spain had, by a secret treaty made in October, 1800, actually ceded Louisiana to France. Our government had, in 1795 made a treaty with Spain which governed the right of deposite at New Orleans for three years, but in October 1802, the Spanish authorities gave notice by proclamation that this right was withdrawn. Excitement followed all along the Valley of the Mississippi and it was increased by the belief that the withdrawal of the privilege was made at the suggestion of France, though Spain still retained the territory as the formalities of ceding it had not been gone through with. Jefferson promptly took the ground that if France took possession of New Orleans, the United States would immediately become allies of England, but suggested to Mr. Livingston at Paris, that France might be induced to cede the island of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States. It was his belief, though a mistaken one, that France had also acquired the Floridas.

8. **An Aggressive War Against Jefferson's Administration.**—The Federalists in Congress seized upon this question as one upon which they could make an aggressive war against Jefferson's administration, and resolutions were introduced asking information on the subject. Jefferson, however, wisely avoided all entangling suggestions and sent Monroe to aid Livingston in effecting a purchase. The treaty was formed in April, 1803, and submitted to the Senate in October following. The Republicans rallied in favor of this scheme of annexation, and claimed it was a constitutional right in the government to acquire territory, a doctrine widely at variance with their previous proposition, but occasions are rare where parties quarrel with their administrations on pivot measures. The Federalists claimed that we had no right or power to acquire territory, and that the acquirement of Louisiana would give the South a preponderance which would "continue for all time, since southern would be more rapid than northern development;" that states created west of the Mississippi would injure the commerce of New England, and they even went so far as to say that the admission of the Western World into the Union would compel the eastern states to establish an Eastern empire. Doubts were also raised as to the rights of Louisiana, when admitted to citizenship under our laws, as their lineage, language and religion were different than our own.

9. **The Inhabitants of the Purchased Territory.**—Its inhabitants were French and descendants of French, with some Spanish creoles, Americans, English and Germans—in all about 90,000, including 40,000 slaves. There were

many Indians, of course, in a territory then exceeding a million square miles—a territory which, in the language of First Consul Napoleon, “strengthens forever the power of the United States,” and which will give to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride.

10. **Ratifying the Treaty of Purchase.**—Little chance was afforded the Federalists for adverse criticism in Congress, for the purchase proved so popular that the people greatly increased the majority in both branches of the VIII. Congress, and Jefferson called it together earlier, for the purpose of ratification. The Senate ratified the treaty on the 20th of October, 1803, by a vote 24 to 7, while the House adopted a resolution for carrying the treaty into effect by a vote of 90 to 25. Eleven millions of dollars of the purchase money was appropriated, the remaining four millions being reserved for the indemnity of American citizens who had sustained losses by French assaults upon our commerce, from which fact subsequently came what is known as the French spoliation bill.

11. **Prestige and Success to the Republican Party**—Fortunately for the success of the new party Jefferson, while he had omitted the imposing ceremonial which had accompanied all the official conventions and assemblies of the Federalists, had preserved the respect due to executive officers with simpler formalities, all the more grateful to the common people whose affection for their rulers is heightened by easy familiarity. And this, more than all other causes combined, gave prestige and success to the Republican party.

12. **Our Heroic Age.**—“The stately ceremonials of Washington’s administration were appropriate at the time. And we confess that they seem to us not unbecoming the man. This was our heroic age—the half mythical epoch of nation founders. We cannot, like the ancients, translate the latter to demi-gods. But it seems to us very harmless that they should drift down the tide of tradition associated in the national memory with science accompanied which in the distance appear grand and high. We never expect to see Washington painted on the canvas in pantaloons, and a round hat. and we should as soon think of quarreling with the costume as with the manners of the first presidency.”

13. **Jefferson’s Re-election.**—Jefferson was elected for a second term by an overwhelming majority, having received 162 votes in the electoral college of February, 1805. George Clinton was elected Vice-President by the same number, while Charles C. Pickney and Rutus King, the Federal candidates, had but 14 votes,

The Great Issues of the Fifth Administration.

POLITICAL EVENTS, PARTY CONTESTS, PARTY STRUGGLES, ETC.

1. **The Federal Party's Influence.**—During the three Federal and one Republican administrations preceding this time the issues between the Federal and Republican parties had been clearly defined. But though the Federalists were politically crushed, they maintained an influence in the councils of the nation that could not be disregarded by their opponents, especially as they embraced the most respectable portion of the people—the clergy of all denominations, the most noted lawyers, the wealthiest merchants, and all that class of men who are slow to oppose the “powers that be.”

2. **Attitude of the Republicans, or Democrats, as They Called Themselves.**—On the other hand, the Republicans were composed of the active spirits of the country—men who cared little for inherited name or fame; men who glorified in their individuality and valued everything for what it showed itself to be, stripped of the garb of pretension.

3. **The Position of the Two Parties.**—The Federalists had censured Jefferson for his friendly act to Thomas Paine, in sending a war vessel to convey him from France to the United States. Thomas Paine's political writings and political influence had done much to educate the people in self government and make a great nation of the American people.

The Republicans had in their ranks the masses who belonged to no church and had no faith to defend. All those who had embraced the cause of the French Revolution were Republicans. The men of quick impulses and salient points of character were Republicans, while the men of more immutable thoughts were Federalists. One party was the balancing force of the other through the natural and educational convictions of the respective minds.

4. **A New Treaty with England.**—Whoever has studied the character of Jefferson cannot fail to see in him the representative of Republican Democracy, but while he fully represented it, his quick sense of practicability served him in various exigencies which came upon him in his official responsibility. He well knew that his constituency favored France and hated England. Neutrality was essential in order to avoid a war with England. The commercial treaty of 1794 with England as far as it affected commerce,

expired by limitations in 1802, and the convention of 1800 made no provision for commercial relations, therefore, American trade with both of these countries rested on transient acts of Parliament with the one, and French decrees with the other. American vessels bound for French ports were liable to seizure by English cruisers, and if sailing for English ports liable to seizure from French cruisers.

As a means of relief, Jefferson, in 1806, appointed James Monroe and William Pickney as commissioners to the court of St. James to make a treaty. On the 31st of December this end was effected on very favorable terms to the United States, commercially; but even through the utmost exertions of the American commissioners, the English commissioners, Lords Holland and Auckland, could not be prevailed upon to concede to the right of search, and Jefferson refused to ratify this treaty, for the reason that it lacked the concession of this right, which was the only consistent course he could take, he having censured the Federalists for ratifying Jay's treaty because it did not prohibit the right of search.

This gave offense to the Federalists, who claimed that it was better than no treaty, and it caused great dissatisfaction in the New England states, whose commercial interests demanded the encouragement of foreign trade.

5. **The Next Great Event.**—The next great event during the administration of Jefferson was the attack of the British frigate, *Leopard*, upon the United States ship, the *Chesapeake*, off Hampton Roads, in June, 1807, and taking from her deck four English seamen, and impressing them into the British service. In this encounter three Americans had been killed and eighteen wounded. The British promptly offered reparation but refused to relinquish their rights to search American vessels. The grounds on which they claimed this right being that it was their only way to reclaim deserters from the British service who had enlisted in the American service.

6. **The Embargo Act.**—The Embargo Act was passed on the 18th of December, 1807, as a retaliatory measure. The substance of this act was to prohibit vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States from sailing for foreign ports. Very little notice was taken by England of this new act of the American administration. On the contrary, its effect was a recoil on American commercial interests, and the Federal party, especially in the New England states, raised an effective clamor against the Republicans for a measure that had proven so disastrous to the commercial interests of the country.

7. **Foreign Complications.** Only a few weeks after the Embargo Act had been passed British orders in council had been issued, bearing date of November, 1807, that "All trade directly from America to every port and country of Europe, at war with Great Britain, is totally prohibited." Previous to the issuing of the British orders the decrees of Berlin, and later those of Milan, had been issued by Napoleon, and while they aimed a blow at British commerce they disregarded the rights of neutrals, and Americans suffered from them the same as that of other neutral nations. The following report made to the House of Representatives November, 1808, will show the situation at the time:

"The aggression of England and France collectively, affecting almost the whole of our commerce, and persisted in, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, explanations and propositions, the most candid and unexceptionable, are, to all intents and purposes, a maritime war waged by both nations against the United States. It cannot be denied that the ultimate and only effectual mode of resisting that warfare, if persisted in, is war. A permanent suspension of commerce after repeated and unavailing efforts to obtain peace, would not properly be resistance; it would be withdrawing from the contest and abandoning our indisputable rights freely to navigate the ocean. The present unsettled state of the world, the extraordinary situation in which the United States are placed, and the necessity, if war be resorted to, of making it at the same time against both nations, and these two the most powerful in the world, are the principal causes of hesitation. There would be none in resorting to that remedy, however calamitous, if a selection could be made on any principle of justice or without a sacrifice of national independence."

8. **The Federalists Opposed the Embargo Act.**—The Federalists had opposed the Embargo Act, and the New England states were almost unanimous against it, because it sacrificed their interests to what the Republicans claimed to be a necessary foreign policy wherewith to force the English to make a treaty favorable to the United States.

9. **"The Non-Intercourse Law."**—March 1, 1809, an act was passed by Congress called "The Non-Intercourse Law." It was intended as a substitute for the embargo, on the following conditions, to-wit: "That if England and France would both repeal their restrictions on American commerce then the United States would repeal both the embargo and non-intercourse acts." Much diplomacy but no relief was the fruit of this proposition. The Federalists accused the Republican party of passing the embargo act

as a vindictive measure against the New England Federalists, which charges had little effect, as the Republican policy was vindicated by their popular vote on the coming Presidential election.

10. **James Madison Elected President.**—The Republican candidates were James Madison, for President, who received 122 electoral votes, and George Clinton, for Vice-President, who received 113 electoral votes. The Federal candidates were C. C. Pickney, for President, who received 47 electoral votes, and Rufus King, for Vice-President, who received 47 electoral votes. Besides these there were some scattering votes for other candidates. The successful candidates were sworn into office on the 4th of March, 1809.

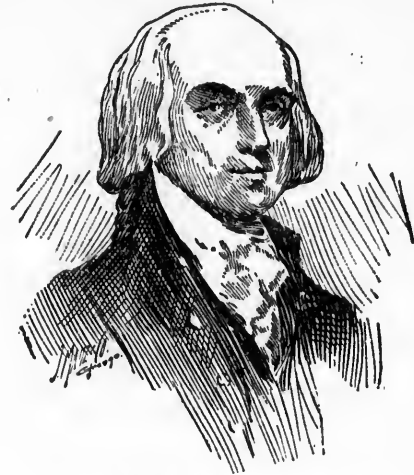
Sixth Administration.

POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE SIXTH ADMINISTRATION.—THE SUCCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

1. **Republican or Democratic Party.**—The fall of the Federal party, and, on its ruins, the rise of the Republican or Democratic party as the Republicans began to call themselves now, had subordinated partisan issues to the national question of foreign commerce.

2. **A Bad Feeling Against England.**—The war between France and England had taken such a phase, that neutral nations who had any commerce on the ocean, were almost as badly punished as the belligerents themselves. They had no immunity from capture from either one belligerent or the other. If bound for the ports of either belligerent the other would seize their vessels. Both parties wished to avert war, but in their policy they were not sustained by the people, who were exasperated against England, not only for claiming the right of search, but for selling guns and scalping knives to hostile Indians on our frontiers.

3. **Popular Indignation Demanded War.**—But a change of foreign policy was demanded during Madison's first term. Popular indignation demanded war, and forbearance had reached its limit. This feeling was universal among the Republicans, who now gloried in the name of Democrats, and even the Federal masses, despite loyalty to party ties, began to have vengeful thoughts for late English aggressions.



JAMES MADISON,

**Born at Port Conway, King George County, Virginia,
March 16, 1751.**

President March 4, 1809-March 4, 1817.

Died at Montpelier, Virginia, June 28, 1836.

Pending this agitation, Mr. Erskine, the English minister to America, in April, 1809, made a proposition to the President to the effect that if the United States would repeal the Non-Intercourse Act, the English orders in council, of which the Americans complained, should be repealed. This proposition was hailed with delight by the chief executive, and he hastened to give it force by proclamation. All that was wanting now to restore quiet was the ratification by the English Government. On the following July, dispatches came that the happy compromise had failed to be ratified on the ground that Mr. Erskine had exceeded his instructions in some of the provisionary details of the article in question.

4. To Checkmate the English.—Both parties were disappointed that peace had been averted through such a capitious ruling of the British Cabinet, and war was the result. Since 1778 there ever has been, and still is, a friendly feeling in America for France, and although the decrees of

Berlin a charitable construction was put upon them, on the ground that they were necessary to checkmate the English, whose orders in council had been so disastrous to America, and although the diplomatic correspondence between the two countries ever since the inauguration of the "The Continental System" had been antagonistic, yet the French Minister evidently felt a partial assurance that a wedge of disintegration could be inserted between America and England by an adroit piece of coquetry towards her (England) on the part of France.

5. **Trying to Avert War.**—To this end, on the 5th of August, 1810. M. de Champagny, the French Minister, proposed to the American Minister in Paris, General Armstrong, that the Berlin and Milan decrees should be revoked on two conditions, which were that England should repeal her orders in council and that America should repeal her non-intercourse laws. This proposition was promptly submitted to English Court, but it was declined on the ground that in its estimation Napoleon had no intention to repeal his offensive decrees in their application to England.

6. **A Formal Declaration of War Against England.**—Much fruitless diplomacy followed, succeeded by a formal declaration of war against England, made June 18, 1812. Though not a party measure, the opposition to it in New England was emphatic. The governors of Massachusetts denied the constitutional right of the President to call their militia out of the state, except for defense in case of invasion.

7. **Madison Re-elected.**—The next presidential election gave 128 votes for Madison, a second term; Gerry, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, 131 votes. Clinton, the Federal candidate for President, had but 89 votes, and Ingersol, the Federal candidate for Vice-President, had but 86 votes. Madison and Gerry were inaugurated March 4, 1813.



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Political Events of the Seventh Administration.

1. **The War Against England.**—The war against England was now the inevitable policy of the United States, war not conducted on party lines, although the feeble and unavailing protest against it, nearly the whole of it, came from the Federalists. Many New England people opposed it, alleging that it might expose them to an invasion, and that it was waged on issues that time only would settle without drawing the sword. To oppose it a convention assembled in Hartford December 15, 1814, composed of delegates from the different New England States.

2. **Secret Session.**—Several days were spent in secret session, and its proceedings were not published till 1833, during which long interval a treasonable indictment rested on the heads of those who composed it, by implications, in the minds of the people, more onerous than their actions, had it been known, would justify. The secretary, Theodore Dwight, was the one who relieved the suspicion by publishing the whole proceedings, nothing of which were treasonable.

3. **Negotiations for Peace.**—After the war had progressed two years, negotiations for peace were begun at Ghent, in Belgium, in August, 1814. Though American arms had won laurels, particularly at sea, yet we wanted peace. More victories on sea or land were not needed on the score of glory, but were we sure to win them, when England had the victors of Waterloo, now released from home service, ready to bring against us? Even Young America knows when to use discretion, and the President threw no fire brands into the council fires by raising any issues for which the war had been declared. England wanted peace, too. Her thirst for military glory had been satiated by the downfall of Napoleon, who was now her prisoner, and he who would have counseled a continuation of war, after the exhaustive struggle she had maintained in conquering him, would have been considered an enemy to mankind.

4. **Peace Declared.**—The articles of peace between England and America were signed December 24, 1814, by the American Commissioners, John Quincy Adams, Albert Galatin, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, and by Lord Gambier, Henry Gouldburn, and William Adams, on the part of England. The treaty was duly ratified by both countries. It settled no point in disputed theory, but practically settled all of them except the still

debatable northeastern and northwestern boundary lines between the two nations. It did another thing, which was to soften partisan asperities in America, and to pave the way for the "era of good feeling" which characterized the second administration of Monroe.

5. **American Diplomacy.**—The United States had crossed swords with England, in the main victoriously, and had demonstrated its discretion in diplomacy in its firmness on certain issues, in the decision of which it held the controlling power, and by its silence on other issues which time would solve in favor of the United States. All political parties shared the national pride, even the Federalists, who opposed the war. The experiences of the late war had shown the necessity of national money, as wars always do, and one of the first things to be done after peace had been restored was to make provision for this requirement.

6. **The National Bank.**—Hamilton planned the National Bank. It had answered the ends for which it was intended and went out of existence in 1811—which was the limited time of its charter. At this date an attempt to re-charter it had failed by one vote. The Republicans had opposed it from the first, but now, April 10, 1816, largely through Republican influence, a national bank was chartered for twenty years with a capital of \$35,000,000, of which one-fifth was to be subscribed by the general government.

7. **A Long Debate.**—A long debate preceded this act, the substance of which showed that the reasons for chartering the bank were to give the country a sounder and better currency than that which the state banks had furnished since the first United States bank had gone out of existence in 1811, the value of whose paper had sunk nearly twenty per cent., and caused a great loss to the people and even to the government. It should not be overlooked that the United States bank charter was this time a Republican measure in opposition to the Federalists, while the first one was just the reverse.

James Monroe Elected President.—The next Presidential election was now at hand, and the Republicans had only to walk over the course. James Monroe, the Republican candidate for President, had 183 votes, Daniel D. Tompkins, candidate for Vice-President, had the same number. Rufus King, Federal candidate for President, had 34 votes, while a few votes each were given to different Federal candidates for Vice-President. The successful candidates were inaugurated March 4, 1817.

Political Events and New Issues of the Eighth Administration.

1. **Result of the War.**—The war of 1812 never had a counterpart. On the part of America it was a test of nationality. Could the United States keep their name in the family of nations by defending those rights for which governments are designed? That was the question, and an emphatic "yes" was the answer which thundered from the guns of our infantine marine. The treaty of Ghent, which



JAMES MONROE,

Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia,
April 28, 1758.
President March 4, 1817—March 4, 1825.
Died at New York City July 4, 1831.

hushed the voice of the guns, made in haste and under the excited feelings on both sides, left some issues between the two countries practically unsettled, especially such as related to American foreign rights in a national point of view, as well as our commercial rights on the protection of American citizens abroad.

For the first time in the history of our country, these issues came before Mr. Monroe for the reason that he was the first president to represent the policy to be penned by a republic that had shown its ability on the ocean to protect its rights like other nations, conspicuous among which was the policy to be framed offensive and defensive towards our neighboring nation on the American continent. Up to this time the United States had never been consulted by



HENRY CLAY.

any European nation as to either conquest or any other disposition to be made of countries this side of the Atlantic.

2. **The Monroe Doctrine.**—At this time Spain was rapidly losing control of her conquered provinces in the Western World, and that other European nations were taking measures to secure footholds here was certain; hence the policy to be pursued by the United States in relation to this matter was looked for with great interest.

Mr. Monroe was well equal to the occasion in setting this forth in his own dignified plainness, which so well represents the sentiments of his peers that it has descended into history as the Monroe Doctrine. Let us quote his words.

3. Our Rights.—"In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part; nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately interested, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and importunate observers. The political systems of the allied powers are essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments, and, to the defense of our own, which has been abused by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of her most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

"With the existing Colonies or dependence of any European powers we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

4. Purchase of Florida.—The rapid growth of the United States had made Florida a very untenable colony for Spain, and on the 22d of February, she ceded it to the United States for the consideration of \$5,000,000 and by the same treaty relinquished any right she might have to territory on the Pacific coast, north of the 42d parallel. This was a humiliating measure for Spain, being a confession that her people could not keep pace with Young America in national progress.

5. Admission of Missouri as a Slave State.—The next year another question came up that had its opposers through the same channel that had produced so much friction in the national councils ever since the adoption of the constitution. The ordinance of 1787 had excluded slavery from all territory north of the Ohio river, and no constitutional objection had been made to the restrictive clause in that

ordinance. But now a large pecuniary interest in slaves had grown up in the South, and with it a disposition to defend that interest. To this end the people of Missouri territory in 1819 applied for admission into the Union as a slave state. Individual rights, state rights and constitutional rights were demanded by the people in the south, and to guarantee this, slavery must be allowed in the new state. On the other hand, the advocates of freedom declared that their rights would be violated by the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

6. **The Missouri Compromise.**—The compromise by which the bill was passed, was, that henceforward all territory west of Missouri and north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$ should be free from slavery. No political party fully represented either side of this issue, in its first incipiency, although, of the few Federal senators and representatives then in Congress, the majority were against the admission of Missouri as a slave state. On the other hand the Republicans or Democrats as they were by this time sometimes called, were largely in favor of admitting the state without restrictions. On this side the southern states were united irrespective of parties, the opposition coming entirely from the north, also, almost irrespective of parties.

7. **Not Strictly a Partisan Issue.**—The proof that it was not strictly a partisan issue is seen by the close vote by which the compromise was passed, which was as follows: In the house, against the restrictions, 86 yeas; 82 nays; the senate concurring by a vote of 26 against 15—this division of opinion being much more nearly balanced than a division separating the Federalists from the Republicans. Henry Clay was one of the most conspicuous advocates for the compromise, in which work he was assisted by the moderate men of both parties.

8. **Strict Constructionists and Loose Constructionists.**—Ever since the adoption of the constitution, in 1781, the term, **Strict Constructionists** and **Loose Constructionists** has been in vogue. They have been used more in a descriptive sense than as defined party names, although the loose or liberal constructionists had been chiefly found in the Federal ranks because they had been the advocates of a United States bank, protective tariff and international improvements.

The Anti-Federalists and their successors, the Republicans, had objected to these measures on the ground that the constitution authorized no such responsibilities in its strict construction, and only by a loose construction of its powers could the United States adopt them. Hence the origin of these terms.

9. **The Convulsive Issue.**—In the convulsive issue just passed as to slavery in Missouri, these terms had been applied in the settlement of a more irritating problem than ever before, the advocates for slavery having made it the occasion for bitter attacks on their opponents, on the ground of violating the rights of the constitution by their loose construction of its meaning and intent, in guaranteeing the rights of each state to make its own laws.

10. **The Friends of Freedom.**—The friends of freedom retorted that the true policy of the government, as to creating or admitting more slave territory, had been forecast when the ordinance of 1787 had excluded slavery forever from all territory north of the Ohio; and on that ground claimed to be strict constructionists.

11. **United States Bank, Protective Tariff and Internal Improvements.**—The question, whether a United States bank, protective tariff and internal improvements were in accordance with a strict construction of constitutional powers or not, was subsequently settled in the affirmative, though prior to the settlement of the question as to whether the constitution had power to limit slavery. During the late struggle Henry Clay had made himself very popular in the south, first by his favoring the admission of Missouri without the restricting clause in question, and next by his able and timely advocacy of the compromise on which the issue was settled. During the whole contest he had been speaker, but at the next session he resigned on account of private affairs, and John W. Taylor, of New York, was chosen to fill his place.

Mr. Taylor was the embodiment of one of those Abolition Whigs of a twenty-year-later day who cared more for his convictions than his party. He was opposed to the extension of slavery, and was in favor of internal improvements and protective tariff; and his election as speaker may be reckoned as the first sign of disaffection in the Republican ranks from which ultimately the Whig party germinated. His election was exceedingly offensive to the southern states.

12. **Monroe's Re-election.**—Mr. Monroe's first term was now near its close, and during the sanguinary conflict that it witnessed, his moderation had won universal confidence. No other one seemed so competent to guide the ship of state as he, and no candidate for the next presidential election was run against him.

The count of the electoral votes for President showed 235 for Mr. Monroe, and 1 for John Quincy Adams. Daniel D. Tompkins, the same Vice-President elected with Mr.

Monroe for the first term, had 215 votes for re-election, and 14 votes were scattering.

On the 5th of March, 1821, Monroe and Tompkins were inaugurated.

Political Events of the Ninth Administration.

1. **The "Era of Good Feeling."**—The "Era of Good Feeling" was no empty name wherewith to characterize the second term of Mr. Monroe, when at the assembling of the XVIIth Congress came together senators and representatives with no antagonistic issue before them. The Missouri compromise had quieted the apprehensions of any immediate danger to the slave interests, and the anti-slavery extensionists felt assured that this same obligation had pledged all territory north of 36° 30', the dividing line specified in the act, to freedom.

2. **New Issues.**—The limits and rights of Congress conferred by the Constitution as to the question of tariff, banking and internal improvements has never been defined, and, as these were the only questions now before the country, the only political parties then in practical working order were loose constructionists and strict constructionists, terms which were descriptive rather than nominal.

3. **Daniel Webster Opposed a Protective Tariff.**—Daniel Webster opposed a protective tariff as a national policy, but was willing to modify this rule to suit emergencies. Henry Clay advocated the other side, and the debates in the Senate between these two opponents on these opposing interests were exhaustive, and have since that time furnished material for the endless controversy that has, to use a metaphor, played "Yankee Doodle" with variations on thin vocal instruments of political music—that is, as a policy of political economy.

Europe had beaten her swords into plowshares and was now raising her own bread, and it almost seemed as if the farmer's occupation was gone. There was little earning to do on the high seas, and business was stagnated.

4. **Increase of Tariff.**—This revived the question of loose construction versus strict construction to ascertain what could constitutionally be done to give relief, and on this the House and Senate were nearly balanced, leaving but a small majority in favor of a protective tariff, which

resulted in slightly increasing the duties on articles of American manufacture.

5. Alliances with American Republics.—For the first time an issue involving a policy, as to alliances with American Republics, now came before Congress. At the suggestion of Bolivar, ex-President of Columbia, South America, a convention of representatives from Central and South American republics had been invited to meet at Panama to take into consideration measures wherewith to resist Spain in her determination to still retain American possessions by force of arms; and the United States were invited to send commissioners to this convention.

6. A New Contest.—A discussion ensued in which Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Hayne, Woodbury, and others engaged, chiefly defining the nature of the instructions to be given to the commissioners.

The President had already expressed an opinion in his message to Congress on this subject. On preceding pages it will be seen that the policy of the administration had been well defined, which was the frame work not only for the representatives to the Panama convention but an exposition of American policy on such issues ever since that time.

There was only one political party at this time, and the succeeding presidential election was necessarily a choice of such men as in the opinion of the electors were the best representatives of the paramount interests of the country.

7. Nominating Candidates.—A caucus for nominating candidates had been called by Congress, but it was a failure, so few had attended it. Moreover, all that a caucus could do in the way of nominating candidates for President had already been practically done in debating the tariff question in Congress, for that was the main issue before the country at this time, and he whose views on this subject came nearest to the general sense of Congress and the country stood the best chance for the presidency.

Henry Clay, Speaker of the House; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and Andrew Jackson were the leading candidates for the President, while John C. Calhoun was supported by a large majority for Vice-President.

8. The Election of John Quincy Adams by the House.—There were then 161 electors, and of these 99 voted for Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for Crawford and 37 for Clay; 182 were cast for Calhoun for Vice-President, and 78 for various other candidates. This elected him, but no one candidate for President having a majority over all the others, no choice was made, and the election went to the

House of Representatives, who were to elect a President from the three who had the highest number of votes at the electoral college convened in February, 1825, succeeding the November election of 1824.

There were 24 states, of which 13 voted for Adams, 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford, after having a long and exciting debate on the issue. Adams and Calhoun were inaugurated March 4, 1825.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

Born at Braintree, Norfolk County, Mass.,
July 11, 1767.

President March 4, 1825-March 4, 1829.
Died at Washington, D. C., February 23, 1848.

Political Events of the Tenth Administration.

I. A Bright Page in Our History.—The sterling virtues of John Quincy Adams when he assumed the Presidential chair, form a bright page in our history, all the more conspicuous for his simplicity and the absence of any subtlety in his policy. That the harmony which had pre-

vailed during the past administration had been substituted for a more heroic policy on the issues which were now accumulating as the country increased in wealth, was to be supposed.

2. **The Federalists were no more as a Party.**—Though the Federalists were no more as a party, yet they had bequeathed a conservative element to a future generation, which, blended with a veneration for their memory, survived their downfall, and to a certain extent is still manifest.

3. **The Charge of Conspiracy.**—Mr. Adams was not without this conviction, and both himself and Mr. Clay had enough independence of party spirit to give principles the preference to all else. When the House of Representatives had voted by states and elected Mr. Adams as President, the states choosing Clay electors had voted for him, thereby giving him a majority. This aroused the indignation of the states which had voted for Clay electors, and of the Democrats or extreme Republicans as well, and conspiracy was charged upon both Mr. Adams and Clay to insure the election of Mr. Adams, which suspicion was strengthened by Mr. Adams appointing Mr. Clay as Secretary of State. This charge was solemnly denied, and it is proper to state that the charge was never proven, even by circumstantial evidence.

4. **Adams and Clay Faction.**—Public convictions in favor of the principles, at a later date, destined to be the declared policy of the Whig party, seemed to be gaining strength, and it is a singular fact that although Mr. Adams favored the growing current of public voice toward liberal construction, yet up to 1828—the last year of his administration—Congress did not sustain him, and he was during all this time in an antagonistic position toward both houses.

Pending this interim, the term "Adams and Clay faction" was frequently applied to those who were in sympathy with them during various attempts to inaugurate a system of internal improvements. But this "faction," as it was called, finally triumphed, during the first session of the XXth Congress, when the tariff of 1828 was passed, giving manufacturers a still greater protection.

5. **Liberal Appropriations for Internal Improvements.** The same Congress made liberal appropriations for internal improvements which last act sustaining Mr. Adams' administration by adopting the measures he had recommended.

6. **A New Party.**—A new party sprang up now of which Adams was the acknowledged leader, which, though standing on the platform of the subsequent Whig party, styled itself National Republicans.

Jackson was the champion of the old trunk of the party that dated its patent as an inheritance from Jefferson, and this party now gloried in the name of Democrats.

Neither party claimed any credit as being the exponent of the old federal party, for the reason that the Federalists had opposed the war policy, albeit both alike revered the memory of Washington and of John Adams, the latter of whom had advocated the war, and the former was reposing in his honored tomb before the war had been declared.

7. Jackson Elected President. The time for selecting the candidates for the next presidential election was at hand, the system of national conventions now in use had not been adopted, but in lieu of it the different state legislatures made nominations, and common consent informally accepted them.

Hitherto Congress had made the nominations, and the results had been that twice the elections had been thrown into the House—the last time with a suspicion of corruption—Andrew Jackson for President and John C. Calhoun for Vice-President were the nominees of the Democrats, and John Quincy Adams for President and Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President were nominated by the National Republicans.

That the two were the ablest representatives of their respective parties that the country afforded in proven by their subsequent record.

In February, 1829, the electoral votes were counted, showing for Jackson 178 votes and for Adams 83. Calhoun had 171 votes and Rush 83. The popular vote was 647,231 for Jackson and 509,097 for Adams.

Jackson and Calhoun were inaugurated March 4, 1829.

Political Events of the Eleventh Administration.

1. Jackson's Greatness.—Andrew Jackson had made a record before his election by using cotton bales for bulwarks when New Orleans was attacked by Packenham. The victory he then won was as marvelous as his method was original. Packenham could not flank him, for he had the Mississippi on his right and Alligator Swamp on his left. Neither could a British officer retreat before half his number of raw Yankees, especially those who knew no more about rules of war than to crowd behind bales of cotton; hence the result.



ANDREW JACKSON.

**Born in Waxhaw Settlement, North Carolina,
March 15, 1767.**

President March 4, 1829-March 4, 1837.

**Died at the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tenn.,
January 8, 1845.**

But even if Jackson did not win this victory, he was nevertheless an original character whom everybody either loved or feared. Once a ruffian attacked him. Did he call for help? No. He pounded him into submission with his fist.

The writer, when a child, saw 5,000 girls, who worked in the factory at Lowell, Mass., dressed in white on parade to do him honor. One of them, in her extravagant admiration for Jackson, approached his carriage and asked the honor of kissing him. Unexpected as this episode was, he

leaned his sturdy masculine face forward and received the gentle token to the admiration of a thousand spectators.

2. **His Physical Courage.**—This was Jackson in a new role, but it was an index of the homage paid him. His moral and his physical courage were supreme. His assured cast of facial expression happily blended with cordial manners to people in humbler life, won all hearts, and by common consent dubbed him a democrat in its extremest attribute.

Opposition added strength to his cause, for he was like a ship that could sail but in rough seas. At that time loose constructionists generally meant high tariff men, but a strict constructionist was not necessarily an anti-tariff man on this policy; the country was not as positively divided on party lines as at present.

3. **Removals from Office for Political Opinion's Sake.**—Jackson began his administration by a sweeping removal from office of nearly 500 persons, including postmasters whose political opinions had been opposed to Democracy. Up to this time the removals from office in the former administrations had been as follows: By Washington, in eight years, 9, one of which was for defalcation; by John Adams, in four years, 10, one of which was for defalcation; by Jefferson, in eight years, 39; by Madison, in eight years, 5, three of which were for defalcation; by Monroe, in eight years, 9, six of which were for causes not political; by John Quincy Adams, in four years, 2, both of which were for causes not political.

This new policy of removals from offices for political opinion's sake has been practiced ever since, and has so thoroughly been adhered to that its propriety of late years is not objected to except by a small minority. It took a Jackson to inaugurate it, and that it has brought strength to his party is generally believed, else why would his successors do the same? Is it for patriotic motives?

4. **Three Problems.**—At the opening of the XXIst Congress, which was the first one of Jackson's administration, three problems were before the nation—the tariff question, the internal improvement question and the banking question.

5. **Different Views.**—The old Federal party had been from the first in favor of all of them, as indispensable to the good of the nation, and they had all been opposed by the National Republicans, but adopted reluctantly when an overwhelming popular will demanded them.

6. **Jackson's Policy.**—On the subject of banking, Jackson in his first message took ground unfriendly to the

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United States Bank, that had been chartered in 1816 for twenty years, by saying that it had failed in "establishing a uniform and sound currency," and suggested in place of it a national bank, "founded on the credit of the government and its revenues."

In the same message he recommended a distribution among the states of the surplus public moneys coming from the tariff, as a means whereby internal improvements could be made, thereby avoiding the infringement of "a questionable constitutional right" of Congress to make appropriations for such purposes.

On the tariff question he said, that "the rule to be observed in graduating the duties upon foreign products was that which would place our own in fair competition with them.

Notwithstanding Jackson's unfriendly policy toward the United States Bank, at the next session a bill to recharter it passed both Houses, but he vetoed it July 10, 1832.

7. The Tariff of 1828.—The tariff of 1828, which was higher than any former one, was now the fixed law of the land, but it produced great discontent in the South among the partisans of Democracy. Calhoun, the Vice-President, was a Democrat, and at a later date in Jackson's first administration the collision between him and Jackson came.

8. A Bill to Limit the Sale of Public Lands.—But while the Calhoun policy was maturing a new question was sprung upon the country by Mr. Foote, of Connecticut. The substance of Mr. Foote's proposition was a bill conditionally to limit the sale of public lands, for prudential reasons, but extreme constructions of it had resulted in partisan recriminations, and brought into the debate on it unexpected issues.

9. The State Rights Doctrine Issue.—Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, advocated the policy of investigating each state with the "control of all the public lands within their respective limits." He opposed the policy of "creating a great national treasury from the state public lands or other sources. * * * It would be a fund for corruption fatal to the duration of our institution, and to the sovereignty and independence of the states."

Daniel Webster replied to Mr. Hayne in a speech which has become famous as a landmark in the political records of the United States.

This great senatorial debate fairly reopened the State rights doctrine issue, which had slumbered since the promulgation of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, in 1798-9.

10. Calhoun's Nullification Policy and the Breaking Up of Jackson's Cabinet.—At the next session Calhoun's

nullification policy as to state rights, together with some disputes between himself and Jackson growing out of the Seminole war, ended in the breaking up of Jackson's cabinet, and estranging the friendship of these two distinguished exponents of Democracy—the one, Mr. Calhoun, in his extreme fidelity to state rights, announcing a principle destined to be settled ultimately by the sword, and the other, Jackson, not venturing over that line of demarkation which could only be defined by the same power. Jackson vetoed several bills for internal improvements, but signed two important ones, thereby committing himself to the sanction of such a policy.

11. Calhoun's Influence.—After the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet, through his quarrel with Calhoun, for once he was circumvented by his political antagonists. He had nominated Martin Van Buren as minister to England, but through Calhoun's influence the Senate failed to confirm it, and to give point to the blow Calhoun, through his influence in the Senate, had so arranged the affair that, when the vote was taken there should be a tie, thereby giving him the satisfaction of rebuking Jackson by his casting vote.

12. Repeal of the Tariff of 1828.—Calhoun demanded the repeal of the tariff of 1828, and threatened secession as an alternative. As an offset to this aggressive position, Jackson, on December 16, 1832, issued a proclamation to the people, accusing the nullifiers of treason, and warning them of the fatal consequence of this course, if they did not desist.

13. Clay's Compromise Tariff Bill.—A new tariff bill was soon passed, abating the rates from the tariff of 1828, and the next year, 1833, Clay's compromise tariff bill, providing for a gradual reduction in rates until 1842, after which only 20 per cent. on all importations should be paid, quieted the country. Both sides claimed the victory; but Jackson's fame went up and Calhoun's down under the respective pretensions of each.

14. Three Political Parties.—For the next presidential election there were three political parties in the field—the Democrats, the National Republicans or Whigs, and the Anti-Masons.

15. Origin of the Anti-Mason Party.—The latter party was created by the abduction of William Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., from his home in September, 1826. He had published a book claiming to have exposed the secrets of Free Masonry. Bills of indictment were found against several persons engaged in the abduction, two of whom had been punished by imprisonment. The affair caused intense

excitement, and became the nucleus for a new political party which discriminated against Masons as public officers, and in the coming tripartite contest for President of the United States their influence was felt.

16. National Conventions.—The Democrats throughout the entire country had early nominated Jackson by common consent as candidate for a second term. But candidates for President had now, for the first time, to be nominated by national conventions, held for that special purpose. Baltimore was the place fixed upon by each of the three political parties for holding them respectively.

17. Nominations of the Anti-Mason Convention.—That of the Anti-Masons came off first, the time of whose meeting was in September, 1831. William Wirt, of Virginia, was their candidate for President, and Amos Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. The entire party, with a few exceptions, were composed of National Republicans.

18. Nominations of the National Republican Convention.—In the succeeding month the National Republican convention met and nominated Henry Clay for President, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Internal improvements, banking and protective tariff was the policy which they advocated, and they did not hesitate to declare it in their platform, which was the first time any party had dared to take such a step, so great had the hesitancy hitherto been in the popular mind to advocate such a policy.

19. Nominations of the Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met in March, 1832. It had only to confirm the nomination of Jackson; and Martin Van Buren, of New York, was nominated for Vice-President, thereby rebuking the Calhoun faction, which had defeated his appointment as minister to England.

20. The Election.—The popular election came off the following November, and when the votes of the electoral college were counted the succeeding February, in 1833, Jackson had 219, and Van Buren only 189, the Pennsylvania electors having given their support to Wm. Wilkins, of their own state. Clay and Sergeant had each 49 votes, and Wirt and Ellmaker, the Anti-Masonic candidates, 7 votes each, which were from the Vermont electors.

South Carolina doggedly refused to affiliate with any of the parties, and cast her 11 votes for John Floyd, of Virginia, and Henry Lee, of Massachusetts.

The popular vote for Jackson was 687,502, and for Clay 530,189. Jackson and Van Buren were inaugurated March 4, 1833.

Twelfth Administration.

1. **Slavery Question.**—Says Cooper, in speaking of this administration: "Agitation of the slavery question in the United States really began about this time. Evil disposed persons had largely circulated through the United States southern states pamphlets and circulars tending to stir up strife and insurrection; and this had become so intolerable that it was referred to by the President in his message." Congress, at the session of 1836, was flooded with petitions and memorials urging Federal interference to abolish slavery in the states, beginning with the petition of the Society of Friends of Philadelphia urging the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These petitions were referred to committees after an acrimonious debate, as to whether they should be received or not.

2. **The Position of the Government.**—The position of the government at that time is embodied in the following resolutions, which was adopted in the House of Representatives as early as 1790, and substantially reaffirmed in 1836, as follows: "That Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves or in the treatment of them within any of the states; it remains with the several states to provide any regulations therein which humanity and true policy may require."

At this time the abolition question was regarded as a sickly sentimentality, transient in its course, and no politician set his sails for its breezes, although such men as John Quincy Adams never hesitated to act in harmony with the movement, on issues that were preliminary to the ultimate end, such as abolition of slaves in the District of Columbia, and to do which was claimed by this unpopular party, but denied by the great majority of the two main parties.

3. **The United States Bank Question.**—The United States Bank question was the important question to be considered. The country needed a staple currency as well as the administration. Both had been losers by the depreciation of questionable bank paper, and in casting about for a remedy there was a clear majority in both Houses to recharter the United States Bank, whose original charter expired by limitation in 1836.

4. **Deposit of Public Funds.**—By the legal provision in 1816 the public funds had been deposited in it and must continue to be, unless remedied by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was to use his own discretion as to the necessity of doing it as a matter of safety after having examined the soundness of the bank.

5. **Removal of Deposits.**—Lacking in his conviction against the policy of continuing the bank, Jackson requested Mr. Lane, the Secretary, to make no new deposits therein, whereupon Mr. Lane examined the liabilities of the bank and found its assets abundantly large to secure them, in his estimation, and refused to obey the Presidential order. Jackson promptly removed him and appointed Mr. J. Duane to succeed him, but he also declined to follow his instructions, and in turn was removed and Roger B. Taney appointed. Mr. Taney conceeded to the President's wishes by removing the deposits and distributing them in various banks in different parts of the country.

6. **Caricatures to Vilify the President.**—The Whigs looked upon this measure with intense hospitality, and the picture makers in New York had enough to do to make the caricatures to vilify the President. The Jacksonians claimed that the administration was justified in this act, even if the bank was sound, as it aimed a blow at the power too great for the good of the nation.

NOTE.—The writer, then a young lad in New York, sold many of these caricatures. Jacob Little, a great financier in New York, was a good customer for them.

7. **The Doctrine of "Popular Rights."**—Many upheld Jackson because he had dared to attack the moneyed interests of the country. He was the standard bearer of the doctrine of "popular rights." He had advocated the plan of distributing the public money in the United States Treasury among the states. When Henry Clay introduced a resolution into the XXIII^d Congress to distribute the proceeds from the sale of public lands among the states, this measure was opposed by the leading Democrats, although it was a popular one. Benton spoke against it with great vehemence, and Jackson did not now advocate the bill, but had misgivings as to its propriety. Clay pressed the matter and secured its passage at the next session. It passed the Senate by a vote of 38 for to 6 against, and the House by 155 votes for to 38 against it. Jackson signed it with reluctance, but had he not done so it would, nevertheless, have become a law by the same vote by which it was passed. By its provision the distributed funds were lent to the states instead of being given to them.

8. **The Territory of Texas.**—The United States, in the treaty by which Florida had been acquired of Spain in 1819, relinquished to that power the country lying between the Sabine and Rio Grande rivers, called Texas. The inhabitants of the territory were largely composed of a nondescript class of adventurers from the United States—pliant

material for any enterprise that required dash and toughness. Among them were not a few outlaws—the whole mass preserved by the leaven of such men as Sam Houston, Moses Austin, and some literary reporters from New York press.

9. **Slavery in Texas.**—Slavery had been early introduced into Texas while under the government of the Mexican republic, which did not recognize this institution. There is evidence that ever since 1807 southern propagandists had, through Aaron Burr and others, contemplated either the annexation of Texas or a separate confederacy including it.

10. **War with Mexico.**—Texas proclaimed her independence March 2, 1836. War with Mexico ensued, and sympathizing spirits in large numbers flew from the southern states across the Sabine to assist the Texans in their fight. The war was begun during Jackson's second term, and he said in his message, "Hands off." The Texan cause gained ground, constantly propelled by the momentum of Texan valor and American emigration thither to share the dangers and the glories of a "Texan ranger."

11. **Prelude to Annexation.**—The independence of Texas was acknowledged by the United States during the last session of Congress in Jackson's second term. This was the most decisive step the government had yet taken, the apparent result of which would add strength to the South in her struggle with the North on the slavery issue. It was a prelude to annexation, without which the ultimate end to which southern ambition aimed would not have been gained, and the expected annexation came according to the program.

12. **Close of Jackson's Administration.**—Jackson's administration was now drawing to a close. Both his terms had been marked by decisive acts that left their impress on the nation to be felt. Martin Van Buren was a confidential friend and adviser of Jackson, and it was through his influence that he was made the candidate for his place.

13. **The Nominating Convention.**—The nominating convention came off in Baltimore, May, 1835, and Mr. Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson became the Democratic candidates. No platform was adopted, for the reason that the party had declared a policy, well known and not difficult to be understood by the masses. It was hostile to banks, high tariff and internal improvements at the public expense. The Whig policy involved grand schemes of speculation, in which banks, high tariff and internal improvements were to be necessary factors.

14. **The Result of Election.**—The Whigs divided their scattered forces on several candidates who had been nominated by different interests, including in their ranks Anti-Masons and Abolitionists, and when the electoral college met in February, 1837, the votes were counted, and for President, Van Buren had 170; for Vice-President, Johnson had 147.

The Whig candidates were: Wm. H. Harrison, for President, who had 73 votes; Daniel Webster, candidate for the same office, had 14 votes; Francis Granger, candidate for Vice-President, had 77 votes; John Tyler had 47 votes for the same office. There were other scattering votes on both sides, but no choice was made for Vice-President, and the election for one went to the House, when Johnson was chosen. The popular vote for the Democratic ticket was 761,549. That of the opposition was 736,656.

Van Buren and Johnson were inaugurated March 3, 1837.





MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Born at Kinderhook, Columbia County, New York,
December 5, 1782.
President March 4, 1837-March 4, 1841.
Died at Kinderhook July 24, 1862.

Thirteenth Administration.

1. **A General Bank Explosion.**—Says A. W. Young: "Mr. Van Buren's accession to the presidency occurred at an unpropitious period. The pecuniary pressure which followed the issuing of the specie circular, and which was already general and severe, was rapidly approaching its crisis. This pressure was extensively regarded as the natural result of a policy which he was pledged to continue. In May, the event for some time anticipated by many—a general bank explosion—took place. The banks in the city of New York, by common consent, suspended specie payment. The banks in other cities were compelled to adopt the same course. In the state of New York the Legislature legalized the suspension for one year.

2. **The Causes.**—Among the causes to which the suspension of specie payment was ascribed were the divisions of specie to the West, and the drain upon the banks in the Atlantic cities for exportation to Europe, to pay for the excessive importations of goods. Another cause of the derangement of the currency was supposed to be the large

loans made by the banks having on deposit the surplus revenue with the expectation that it would remain with them until called for by the general government. Instead, however, of being permitted to retain these funds as a basis for the extension of their loans, they were unexpectedly demanded for the purpose of distribution among the states.

3. Mercantile Failures.—The speculation and enormous appreciation of property during the last two or three years was followed by a revulsion, and a corresponding depreciation. Mercantile failures in the commercial cities, as Boston, New York and New Orleans, exceeding in number and amount, probably, any that ever occurred within an equal period of time, took place in a few months before and after the suspension. Representations of the vast depreciation of property, and of the general prostration of business, were made to the President, with request to rescind the specie circular, and to call an extra meeting of Congress. On the 15th of May, a few days after the suspension in the city of New York, a proclamation was issued for convening Congress on the first Monday in September.

4. Act Regulating the Deposits.—Under the provisions of the resolutions of 1816, and by the act of 1836, regulating the deposits, the Federal officers were prohibited from receiving or paying out the notes of any but specie paying banks. And the deposit banks, as well as others, had now suspended. Under existing laws, therefore, no collections or disbursements of public money could be made. If done at all it must be done in violation of law.

5. The President's Message.—Pursuant to the proclamation, Congress assembled on the 4th of September, 1837. The President's message was almost exclusively devoted to the banks and currency, the causes of the existing difficulties and their remedy. He suggested the entire disuse of banks as fiscal agents of the government, the collection, safe keeping, transfer and disbursements of the public money by officers of the government, and of the employment of specie alone in its fiscal operations. It was the recommendation of the sub-treasury scheme. He believed the exclusive use of specie a practical operation. Of the seventy or eighty millions in the country, ten millions would be sufficient for the purpose, if the accumulation of a large surplus revenue were prevented. The large increase in specie since the act of 1834 had contributed largely to the feasibility of the measure. The gold coinage alone had been since August, 1834, ten millions, which exceeded the whole coinage at the mint during the 31 previous years.

6. Bills Passed.—The bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes, the bill for adjusting the remaining claims on the late deposit banks and the bill to extend the time of payment on merchant revenue bonds all passed the Senate on the 19th of September. By the last of these bills the time of payment of the obligations given by merchants for the payment of duties on goods imported was extended nine months.

7. Sub-Treasury Bill.—The bill known as the Sub-Treasury Bill, reported by Mr. Wright on the 14th, was taken up in the Senate on the 19th, when Mr. Calhoun offered the amendment of which he gave notice at the time of his speech on the bill to authorize the issue of treasury notes, viz., requiring the eventual payment in specie of all money due to the government, familiarly called "the specie clause." This amendment was debated by Messrs. Niles, Benton, Walker, Calhoun and Buchanan, in support of it; and Messrs. Talmadge, Clay, Webster, King, of Georgia; and Preston in opposition. The amendment was adopted on the 2d of October; yeas, 24; nays, 23.

8. Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery.—A large number of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and remonstrances against the annexation of Texas were received at the extra session. A resolution was proposed to be offered by Mr. Adams, "That the power of annexing the people of any independent foreign state to this Union is a power not delegated by the Constitution of the United States to their Congress, or to any department of their government, but reserved to the people." But the motion being decided out of order, the resolution was not received nor read.

9. The XXVIth Congress.—The last Congress (the XXVth) was not distinguished for party action. The XXVIth Congress opened December 2, 1839. The Whigs had gained in strength and numbers in the House, and after an acrimonious, not to say desperate contest, R. M. T. Hunter, a Whig, was chosen speaker. He was in favor of the sub-treasury scheme, which was the "last feather" that turned the scale of the election in his favor, and the sub-treasury bill passed during this session.

10. Promises of Gold and Silver Currency.—Notwithstanding that the general crash in the financial interests of the country had affected all classes, yet the old-time Democrats were firm in their first love. The promises of gold and silver currency was a flattering prospect to them, and so confidently did some of them look forward to this "good time coming" that they made it a rule to demand specie

for whatever they had to sell. On the other hand the banking and trading men of the country and all that class who favored public improvements at the expense of the state, who were in favor of high tariff and high prices, were banded together in a firm alliance (under the general name of Whigs).

11. The Abolitionists.—In the ranks of the Whigs were the anti-slavery advocates—the anti-Masons—and metaphysicians in sentimentalism, in various spheres of thought, more frequently than made the subjects of speculation than in the present age. Contrary to the expectations of the Whigs, the Abolitionists organized a distinct party. But this movement was looked upon by the great mass of even both contending parties, as ultra-montane, a mere ripple, soon to be submerged in the great waves of the sea of public interests.

12. Candidates for the Presidency.—The Whig National convention met at Harrisburg, Pa., December 4, 1839. It adopted no platform—was silent on the subject of slavery—but, in order to secure southern support, after having nominated William Henry Harrison as candidate for the presidency, nominated John Tyler for Vice-President. Except Calhoun himself, they could not have selected a man who better represented southern principles.

13. The Anti-Slavery Convention.—The Anti-Slavery convention, the first of its kind, was held at Albany, April 1, 1840. In it the Liberal party was organized, and James G. Burney was nominated as its candidate for President, and Thomas Earle, candidate for Vice-President. The Democratic convention was held at Baltimore, May 5, 1840. It denied the constitutional rights of Congress to protect manufacturers by a tariff, any further than a revenue tariff for the general good of all classes would do it, and also denied its right to make internal improvements at the expense of the public treasury, or to charter a bank. It also denied the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the states—a right that even the liberty party did not then claim. They nominated the same candidates as had been successful in their last campaign—Van Buren and Johnson.

14. The Contest.—The contest that followed was an exciting one. It was in the main between the wealth producing interests, by means of banking and a protective tariff on one side, and on the other the more domestic classes of men who were willing to go a little slower on the road to wealth and national grandeur—men to whom the terms, wealth and fame were more significant of such physical

conditions as food, raiment, and military glory, than of tall church-spires, architectural domes, and millions behind them.

15. Long-Haired Philosophers.—The Abolitionists were, as a rule, cynical, and were sometimes called, in derision, "long-haired philosophers," "freedom shriekers," and other epithets in a spirit of contempt.

16. Two Great Journalistic Exponents.—The issue at stake brought the best talent of the country into the arena. Thurlow Weed, the editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, and Hezekiah Niles, editor of *Niles' Register*, were the two great journalistic exponents of the Whigs, and the former (Mr. Weed) having been attracted by the force of Horace Greeley's editorials in the *New Yorker*, secured his services to the cause of the Whigs and their tariff policy; and young Greeley was made the editor of the *Log Cabin*, published under the auspices of the Whig state committee of New York. This was the occasion that introduced that eminent journalist into prominence, who was destined ultimately to exert such a world wide influence.

17. The Popular Election.—The popular election passed off in November, 1840. Amid the vocal din of log cabin songs, interlined with something about hard cider and Harrison's latch string always hanging outside of the door (on the part of the Whigs.) While the Democrats were almost as talkative about "Dick Johnson" having slain Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames.

18. The Electoral Votes.—When the electoral votes were counted the following February, 1841, they stood: For Harrison and Tyler, 234; for Van Buren, 60; for Johnson, 48. There were some scattering votes for Vice-President.

The popular vote was more nearly equal, being: For Harrison, 1,275,017; for Van Buren, 1,128,702.

Harrison and Tyler were inaugurated March 4, 1841.

Fourteenth Administration.

1. A Whig Majority in the Senate and House.—Among points of solicitude by the Democrats, none were more objectionable to them than the possibility of the overthrow of the Jacksonian policy, concerning both the "tariff" and the "bank." The fact that there was a Whig majority in the Senate and House, was made more conspicuous by the



WM. H. HARRISON,

Born at Berekeley, Charles City County, Virginia,

February 9, 1773.

President March 4, 1841-April 4, 1841.

Died at Washington, D. C., April 4, 1841.

message of President Harrison, who called for an extra session to meet on the 31st of May; but which he was never permitted to witness, in consequence of his death on the 4th of April.

2. **Abolition of the Sub-Treasury Project.**—John Tyler now being the head of the nation, immediately a bill was offered and passed for the abolition of the sub-treasury project, and received Tyler's signature forthwith. The Whigs had determined upon a line of work, in full accord with their principles, and one of these was to establish a central system of finance. An introductory measure was the establishing of a bank for this purpose. To accomplish this, a bill to create "The Fiscal Bank of the United

States," with a capital of \$30,000,000, was introduced, containing a clause by which the capital might be raised to \$50,000,000 if needed. It passed to a vote, and the following is the result: In the house, 128 yeas to 97 nays; in the senate 26 yeas to 23 nays; being purely a party vote.

The bill was vetoed by Tyler because it contemplated a discount business; whereas, he thought it should have been only a bank of exchange; he also objected that certain states, which were entitled by the bill to have branches, had not given their consent. To placate him a new bill adapted to his views was formed and passed, only to receive again the fatal veto.

3. **The Cabinet Resigns.**—This second veto taught the Whigs the futility of attempting to adapt themselves to his exacting methods, and filled the entire party with indignant astonishment. Their hopes were blasted. The Cabinet, with the exception of Webster, resigned; he, holding the helm of state as secretary, still hoped so to steer the craft that she might not leave the open sea of a Whig administration. Clay called Tyler to account in his terse and forcible words, and charged him with apostacy in terms that met the party's approval. Thomas Ewing, the Secretary of the Treasury, in conversation with the President, was heard to say that Tyler would have signed the second bill had there been only a slight change in it; in fact, only the prohibition from dealing in other than foreign exchange and inter-state bills. At the same time the President expressed a wish to Webster that such a new bill be drawn and presented to Congress. At this extra session a bankrupt law was passed.

4. **Asking the Dissolution of the Union.**—It was also provided by enactment that the funds from the sale of public lands be distributed among the several states on condition that the tariff of 1833 should remain as it was.

This was a sort of funeral farewell to the dead bank as the Whigs dared not attempt to restore it under the widespread aversion to it as expressed in the popular voice. Amid these twin troubles—the bank and the tariff—there came from Haverill, Mass., a petition, signed by 46 persons, and presented by John Quincy Adams asking the *dissolution of the Union*, because of equal benefits conferred upon different states in the interest of slavery. The Senate stood aghast that this southern bit of dissolution should have been projected across their horizon from fair and stable Massachusetts. In two weeks' time the northern patriots had ample opportunity to score the southern, whose fiery eyes showed more of hate for the audacious petition



JOHN TYLER,

Born in Charles City County, Virginia,
March 29, 1790.

President April 4, 1841-March 4, 1845.
Died at Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 1862.

than love for the Union; but the greatest censure came from those who later were the most active participants in secession, and those offered Mr. Adams the greatest affronts; simply defending the right of petition he had presented this, and not because he was in any way in sympathy with it.

5. **Revenues Insufficient.**—Concerning the tariff of 1833 it may be noticed that it gave a 20 per cent. ad valorem upon all importations after June 30, 1842. During the last fiscal year the receipts from it had so far failed that it became necessary to raise \$12,000,000 for currency use; thus proving the revenues insufficient.

6. **Attempts to Raise the Tariff.**—The distribution of proceeds of land sales to the several states was a Whig measure to assist them in the payment of foreign claims. The fact that this distribution was hedged behind the pledge to raise the tariff of 1833, and that the compromise would be violated if so raised, was not sufficient to meet the emergency. Two attempts to raise the rates of the tariff failed, but a third was successful and was passed without receiving the distribution bill. From that time on the tariff held a higher rate than 20 per cent., and, in consequence, the land

money distribution became a nullity of the past. The President gave this bill raising the tariff his signature.

7. **Annexation of Texas.**—Following these questions, the bank and the tariff, the annexation of Texas became the one theme of exciting interest. Southern Whigs and the Democrats favored it. Calhoun advocated it as a way to hold the balance of power. Clay opposed it, and Webster as well, yet they were unable to defeat it before the second session of the XXVIIIth Congress. The liberty party gave their opposition, all unavailing. The 3d of March, 1845, saw Texas become one of the states of the Union, and, because it was south of the Missouri compromise line, 36° 30', the slavery of the South became her legal heritage.

8. **Nominations for the Next Presidential Election.**—Pending this administration, with a Whig majority in both Houses, and the Democrats holding the reins through a Whig President with Democratic tendencies, there was little to be done but to wait and hope that the next presidential election would mend things. A convention for this purpose was held on May 1, 1844, at Baltimore, which put in nomination Henry Clay for President and Theodore Freelinghuysen for Vice-President. A policy was announced to this effect: a protective tariff, a national currency, and the distribution among the states of surplus revenues.

The 27th of May saw the Democrats in session in Baltimore, firm for "strict construction," to which they added a demand for 54° 40' or fight, with regard to our northwest boundary. The nomination of James K. Polk for President and George M. Dallas for Vice-President put them squarely on their platform. The Abolitionists had met August 30, 1843, denouncing slavery and recommending penal laws to stop the return of fugitive slaves to the south. They put up James G. Burney for President and Thomas Morris for Vice-President.

9. **The Result.**—The November, 1844, election settled the whole question. Had the Abolition vote of 62,300 been added to the vote for Clay he would have been elected. The electoral votes were 170 for Polk and Dallas to 105 for Clay. The popular Democratic vote was 1,337,243, and the Whig 1,299,068.

Polk and Dallas were inaugurated March 4, 1845.

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Fifteenth Administration.

1. **Two New Issues.**—Besides the anti-slavery question, two new issues of great magnitude were now to be met. These were the Mexican and the Oregon questions.



JAMES K. POLK,

Born in Mecklenburgh County, North Carolina,

November 2, 1795.

President March 4, 1845-March 5, 1849.

Died at Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849.

2. **Texas Admitted Into the Union.**—Congress met December 1, 1845; on the 29th Texas was admitted into the Union with no provision as to slavery, most of the Whigs voting against and most of the Democrats for the bill. War with Mexico was the result, and, pending its progress, the Oregon question came up for solution.

3. **The Oregon Question.**—At first the President manifested a disposition to adhere to the principles of his position during the electioneering canvass—to claim the line of 54° 40'—but through the influence chiefly of Webster (Whig), Calhoun and Benton (Democrat), together with the gravity of the situation, he modified his demands by submitting the matter to be compromised by a new treaty

based on that of 1842 between Daniel Webster, on the part of the United States, and Lord Ashburton, on the part of England. They agreed on the parallel of 49 as the proper boundary, but not till after bad blood had been stirred up on both sides, which line was established by commissioners from both countries in 1846. The dispute between the two countries on the northeastern boundary was settled also at the same treaty.

4. **The Mexican War.**—The Mexican war resulted in the acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, California and Arizona, by treaty, which increase of territory added fresh material for the slavery issue, anti-slavery agitation, to decide what portion of the newly acquired territory should be open to slavery. Calhoun, and his constituency, took the ground that all new territory should be open to it, and openly advocated disunion as the only alternative which the south could take, consistent with their honor.

5. **The Anti-Slavery Party.**—The Anti-Slavery party asserted their principles with all the force that justice and political economy, in their estimation demanded. While both the Whigs and Democrats of the North regretted their attitude, believing their agitation was transient, and would soon vanish before the other great issues of the country, and acted accordingly, but instead of this result their numbers continued to increase, and their demands grew more tenacious.

6. **Tariff for Revenue Only.**—During the XXIXth Congress the tariff bill of 1846 was passed. It was for revenue only, and not designed as protection.

7. **A Dead-Lock.**—The XXXth Congress was occupied by discussions as to the organization of the territory acquired from Mexico, but without any definite result. The pro-slavery element demanded that the whole of it should be open to slavery, but there was too strong a Free Soil force in the House to allow this, and a dead-lock on this question was the result.

8. **Policy of the Democratic Party.**—True to the time-honored policy of the Democratic party, Mr. Polk vetoed all bills for internal improvement passed during his administration, thereby carrying out a strict construction principle in the use of public funds.

9. **The Free Soilers.**—The late action of the southern section in opposing the organization of California and New Mexico, except as slave territories, had disgusted many northern people, and was the germ whence grew a new party called the Free Soilers, another name for Abolitionists perhaps not quite so odious.



ZACHARY TAYLOR,

Born in Orange County, Virginia,
September 24, 1784.

President March 5, 1849-July 9, 1850.

Died at Washington, D. C., July 9, 1850.

10. Barn Burners and Hunkers.—The Democratic convention, for the nomination of candidates for the next presidential term, met at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. To this convention two sets of delegates came from the state of New York, one representing such of the party as favored Free Soil, and the other, such as were willing to affiliate with the southern Democrats. The former were called Barn Burners (as a synonym of disgrace), and the latter Hunkers.

The Barn Burners retired from the convention, after much parliamentary discussion, and harmony then prevailed.

11. Democratic Candidates.—Lewis Cass, of Michigan, received the nomination for President, and William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. The convention was firm in the strict construction policy, and silent on the anti-slavery issue; but voted down a resolution that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery.

12. The Free Soilers' Convention.—The Free Soilers held their national convention in Buffalo, August 9, and the Barn Burners, who had retired from the Democratic convention, joined them. It adopted a platform denying the power of Congress to create a slave state, and astonished the country by the nomination of Martin Van Buren for President. Charles Francis Adams was nominated for Vice-President. The Abolitionists joined them, and held no convention of their own.

13. The Whig Convention.—The Whig convention met at Philadelphia June 7, and nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President. They were also silent on the slavery issue, which seemed to be growing more and more dangerous, but voted down a resolution to enforce the Wilmot proviso. This was an amendment proposed by Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to a bill for the purchase of territory from Mexico. Said amendment providing that territory thus acquired should not be open to slavery. It was not carried, but became a salient premise, around which Free Soilers rallied.

14. The Wilmot Proviso.—The Wilmot Proviso had been introduced into the Whig convention, and a resolution that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery, into the Democratic convention (although both conventions voted respective resolutions down), which revealed the political tendency of each, as to the anti-slavery question; and was significant of a disposition of the majority of each convention to conceal their sentiments on the rising issue in question.

15. The Election was Exciting.—The popular election on the following November was unusually exciting. The Free Soilers had strong hopes of throwing the final election into the house, but when the electoral votes were counted, Taylor and Fillmore had 163, and Cass and Butler 127. The popular vote stood: 1,360,101 for Whigs, and 1,220,544 for the Democrats, and 291,263 for the Free Soilers, the latter showing a large gain in the anti-slavery sentiment of the country.

Taylor and Fillmore were inaugurated March 5, 1849.



MILLARD FILLMORE,

Born in the township of Locke, Cayuga County,
New York, January 7, 1800.

President July 9, 1850-March 1, 1853.

Died at Buffalo, New York, March 8, 1871.

Sixteenth Administration.

1. **The Doctrines of "Squatter Sovereignty."**—The efforts of statesmen and politicians to keep the anti-slavery question from becoming a positive issue in Congress had now reached its limit. The problem to be solved was, whether the newly acquired territory should be organized on the plan of the Wilmot Proviso the Missouri Compromise, or whether the doctrines of "Squatter Sovereignty" should prevail in them, which was to let the territory be open for settlement for both holders with their slaves and Free Soilers, and determine among themselves whether the states in it shall ultimately be free or slave states.

2. **Calhoun's Views on the Slave Question.** — The immensity of the territory to be organized awakened the apprehensions of the North, lest the South should fix their laws and institutions over it, thereby subordinating the whole country to slave rule by means of such an overwhelming pre-

ponderance. Calhoun contended that the Constitution was the Supreme law of the land, and covered every territory with its requirements; and inasmuch as it recognized slavery, any settler should be permitted to take his slaves to such territory and be protected in holding them.

3. **Webster's Reply.**—Daniel Webster the "great expounder," replied to him, that "the Constitution did not bind territories till they had been created into states," and while it provided the forms by which this could be done, "was inoperative as to the exercise of power over the territory." It could not exercise its functions even over a state, without acts of Congress to enforce it."

4. **The Important Bills on the Calendar.**—The most important bills now on the calendar were: a bill for the admission of California as a free state; a bill for the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories, subject to become either free or slave states; a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and a stringent fugitive slave bill. Henry Clay, the great compromiser, undertook the task of engrafting them all into one "omnibus bill," as it was called, except the one for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which he did not think expedient; and passing them through both Houses at a single balloting.

5. **Various Propositions.**—Jefferson Davis proposed the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. Mr. Seward proposed the Wilmot Proviso to cover the territory in question. Calhoun's last speech was read by James M. Mason, while the debate on Clay's compromise was pending. It reiterated what he had said before, but he died two months afterward, not living to see the fate of the omnibus bill. Mr. Taylor, the President, also died before the pending issue was settled, and Mr. Fillmore became President July 10, 1850.

6. **Clay's Omnibus Bill.**—Clay's Omnibus bill ultimately became the basis on which the compromise was made, but not till after eloquence had been exhausted on both sides, and the country excited as it never had been before on a moral issue.

7. **California Becomes a State.**—California had begun to fill up so rapidly with gold seekers that it became a state September 9, 1850, and was admitted without slavery, New Mexico and Utah were organized as territories without the Wilmot Proviso, and the fugitive slave bill became a law.

8. **The North and the South.**—The South settled into an illy concealed tranquility and the North acquiesced

with equal grace, except the Anti-Slavery party, to whom the fugitive slave law was odious.

9. **The Democratic Convention** June 1, 1852, the Democratic convention met at Baltimore to nominate candidates for the next presidential term. It took more radical ground than ever before by endorsing the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, which it will be remembered placed the state rights above the Constitution. It also declared fidelity to the compromise of 1850, and was emphatic against slavery agitation. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William King, of Alabama, were the candidates nominated.

10. **The Whig Convention.**—The Whig convention met at the same place on the 16th. It declared a similar policy to that of the Democrats, as to the compromise, but showed favor to a system of internal improvements. It nominated Winfield Scott, of Virginia, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, as candidates for the next term.

11. **The Free Soil Convention.**—Free Soil convention met at Pittsburg August 11. It denounced slavery, the compromise and the parties who supported it. John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julien, of Indiana were their candidates. The count of the electoral votes in February, 1853, succeeding the popular election, showed for Pierce and King 254, and for Scott and Graham 42 votes.

12. **Pierce and King Inaugurated.**—Pierce and King were inaugurated March 4, 1853. The popular vote was: For the Democratic ticket, 1,601,474; for the Whig ticket, 1,386,578; for the Free Soil ticket, 156,149.

13. **The State Election in Illinois.**—At the state election in Illinois, in 1852, the Free Soilers united with the Whigs on the election of E. B. Washburne, whom they sent to Congress. This triumph, while it broke the chain which had hitherto bound old parties together in this state, placed it in the skirmish line of the conflict that ensued, and in the front of the battle that turned the scale in the forum and the field.





FRANKLIN PIERCE,

Born at Hillsborough, Hillsborough County, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804.

President March 4, 1853-March 4, 1857.

Died at Concord, New Hampshire, October 8, 1869.

Seventeenth Administration.

1. **The Compromise of 1850.**—That the compromise of 1850 had settled forever the slavery question, was the universal opinion of all parties except the radical anti-slavery men and women, the latter having by this time taken a conspicuous part in the discussion of the issue.

2. **Death of Clay and Webster.**—Henry Clay, the great light of the Whigs, as well as the man to whom the nation had been indebted for the past compromises of the country, was no more. He had died at Washington, in the spring of 1852.

Daniel Webster, the man whose words fell like sledge-hammer blows upon the principles which he opposed while they carried an assurance of personal friendship with them, had also passed off the stage two months after the demise of his great peer.

3. **The Know-Nothings.**—Calhoun, whose integrity had never been questioned, even if his policy might be wrong, and whose eloquence was at par with Webster and Clay,

had preceded them. There were none who could fill their places in the popular heart—none who could be recognized as leaders to be followed by their respective constituency, left in the great political arena to take a part in the conflict now at hand. A new party called the Native American party, and sometimes designated as “Know-Nothings,” representing a policy hitherto not considered by any former party, the fundamental principle of which was a religious resolution to “purge” the government from Roman Catholic influence, on the ground that it had allied itself to the Democratic party, and by virtue of this alliance our large cities were officered by Irish Catholics, now arose.

4. Their Make Up.—This party was made up largely from the Whig ranks, but in it were also many Democrats. It was at first a secret order, and hence an unknown quantity till the day of election, when results revealed the names of those for whom they had voted; but ere their influence was widely felt an unexpected turn of affairs, as to the slavery issue, came upon Congress that became a strategic point to occupy, which would give to their party vantage ground, who occupied it.

5. The XXXIII^d Congress.—The XXXIII^d Congress, the first of the new administration, opened December 5th, 1853. On the 4th a bill was introduced into the Senate to establish a territorial government for Nebraska, which was referred to the committee on territories, of which Stephen A. Douglas was chairman. Mr. Douglas reported the bill on the following day with amendments.

6. A Special Report to the Senate.—The true intent of the amendments as to whether they had annulled former compromises or not were not understood by the Senate, and to leave no doubt on this important point a special report was made to the Senate on the 4th of January, 1854, further amending the original bill in such language as could leave no doubt that its construction meant the overruling of the Missouri Compromise.

7. Sectional Antagonism.—The late compromise of 1850 had been a basis by which other contingent issues had been settled, and this sudden blow aimed at the dimensions tone of the compromise fabric created a sensation throughout the North, opening the flood gates of sectional antagonism.

8. The Principle of “Squatter Sovereignty.”—Mr. Douglas defended the bill, on the ground that in 1848 a bill brought before Congress, for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean, had been defeated, and that this defeat had made it necessary to effect

the compromise of 1850 to supersede it. He further stated that the object of the bill was not to legislate slavery into the territory in question, or to prevent its going there, but to leave the matter to be settled by its inhabitants. This view of the case was the principle of what was termed "squatter sovereignty."

9. **The Missouri Compromise.**—In reply to Mr. Douglas, Salmon P Chase denied that the compromise of 1850 had superseded the Missouri Compromise, and to substantiate his premise quoted the language of Mr. Atchison, senator from Missouri, who, on that occasion, had declared that "though a grave error, the Missouri Compromise could not be repealed." Lewis Cass was one of the thirteen on the compromise in 1850, and to him Mr. Chase appealed to know if any thing had been said by that committee about the superseceence of the Missouri Compromise. He remained silent.

10. **"The Kansas-Nebraska Bill."**—The debate on this bill began early in December, 1853, and terminated with its passage May 25, 1854, slightly modified but clearly superseding the Missouri Compromise, thereby opening the new territories to slavery. The bill included Kansas, by a change from its first name to that of "The Kansas-Nebraska Bill."

11. **Whigs Divide.**—Up to this time the Whigs had held intact their organization, but now their leaders, as well as even the most insignificant tyro in their camp, could feel the wedge of disintegration penetrating to the heart of their body politic. The southern Whigs had largely deserted them and gone over to the Democrats when any measure touching slavery had come before Congress. A few of them had joined the American party.

12. **Power in the North.**—The Free Soilers were an acknowledged power in the North not to be despised, and the problem now was to find a political nucleus around which to gather in opposition to the Democratic party, by whose quasi alliance the South had managed to divide the political forces of the North and conquer them in detail.

13. **"Border Ruffians."**—The border war between Kansas settlers and Missouri raiders called "Border Ruffians," grew from the rivalry which had sprung up between slave party at the South and the Emigrant Aid Society of the North to fill up Kansas with their respective classes of settlers. In this contest the North had the advantage from their locality, took the lead and kept it, but the superior numbers did not avail them in the election, for the Border Ruffians overran the state and prevented them from victory.

14. A New Political Faith.—The result was to make proselytes throughout the country to a new political faith and the names of Free Soilers, Anti-Nebraska Men, etc., soon began to be looked upon with usual favor.

15. Transitory State of Politics.—Pending this transitory state of politics, the American party had elected several members of the House and some ambitious politicians began to spread their sails to the breeze under an impression that they were destined to rise above any other party. They joined hands with the Anti-Nebraska men and elected their speaker, N. P. Banks, at the opening of the XXXIVth Congress. Meanwhile Kansas became the "cockpit" of the contest. The slavery party of the territory held their election in accordance with constitutional forms, at least outwardly and established their legislature at Shawnee, under the auspices of President Pierce.

16. The Free Statesmen.—The free statesmen held their election and established their legislature at Topeka. Each framed a constitution for the state; one recognizing slavery, the other prohibiting it. By order of the president the Topeka legislature was dispersed July 4, 1856, the Shawnee legislature being the one recognized by the administration.

17. The Free State Settlers Outnumbered their Opponents.—The free state settlers of Kansas claimed that they greatly outnumbered their opponents and that the Shawnee Legislature was created by fraudulent votes and violence. On the 19th of March, 1856, the subject was taken under consideration in the House, and John Sherman, of Ohio; William A. Howard, of Michigan, and Mordicia Oliver, of Missouri, were appointed as a committee to go to Kansas, gather evidence and make a report as to the validity of their elections. When they returned they pronounced the elections of the free states party legal and valid.

18. The Tariff Bill of 1857.—No bills were passed to retrieve this strain. During this session the tariff bill of 1857 became a law. It was a reduction of former rates. During Mr. Pierce's entire administration he adhered to the strict construction policy and opposed the anti-slavery agitation.

19. Republicans.—Thus far the free soilers had only been successful in destroying the Whig party, but their work was only begun. Free soil and a policy by which slavery could at least be subordinated to a wholesome restraint, was demanded by the North, and to bring such a salutary measure into practical working order all parties

except the extreme strict-construction Democrats united under the name of Republicans.

20. The Contest was Doubtful.—Even with the united strength of all these, the contest was doubtful, for the South was unanimous and it was morally certain that some of the northern states were not yet ready to take the (in the estimation of many) "fatal step" which might involve a civil war. In this emergency the "Know-Nothing" party, under the hopeful incentive that their issue would naturalize the main one, or bridge over the "evanescent" (as some style it) wave of excitement, assembled at Philadelphia in convention, February 22, 1856, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

21. Sincere in their Convictions.—Probably no large body of men had ever before or since congregated with such versatile lights and shades, in a political sense. That the majority of them were sincere in their convictions and assertions that "Americans should rule America," there is no reason to doubt; but it is certain that there were friends of slavery in the convention who tried their utmost to give the new political faith a momentum, under the impression that it would divide the Republican strength. A respectable moiety of the convention were free soilers, and their attempt to put a plank into the platform, recommending the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, failing they withdrew from the convention, leaving the field subtleness of these opponents.

22. Nominations.—Millard Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew Jackson Donaldson, of Tennessee, were their candidates for President and Vice-President. The Democrat nominating convention had already been held at Cincinnati, on the 16th of June, and James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge for Vice-President, had been nominated. Strict construction, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, then a political faith, were adhered to with great unanimity.

The Republican convention met at Philadelphia June 17th, John C. Fremont for President and William L. Dayton for Vice-President, were their candidates. Internal improvements, the prohibition of slavery and polygamy in the territories, and free Kansas, were their emphatically acknowledged policy.

23. A Heavy Strain of Antagonism.—The canvass exceeded in earnestness any former one. The press, the pulpit, and the forum were on a heavy strain of antagonism, not to call it a harder name, till the day of election.

24. **Results of the Election.**—The count of the votes of the electoral college in the following February showed for Buchanan and Breckinridge, 174; for Fremont and Dayton, 114. The Democratic popular vote was 1,838,169; the Republican popular vote, 1,341,264; the Know-Nothings 874,534.

Buchanan and Breckinridge were inaugurated March 4, 1857.

Eighteenth Administration.

1. **Triumph of the Democrats.**—The late triumph of the Democrats in the face of such sanguinary opposition seemed to carry conviction, looking through conservative spectacles, that this party had a perpetual lease of power. But the under current was too strong to give general currency to such a conclusion, notwithstanding that the slave interest thus far had always won when brought in competition with the anti-slavery interests.



JAMES BUCHANAN,

Born at Stony Batter, Franklin County, Pa.,
April 22, 1791.

President March 4, 1857-March 4, 1861.
Died at Wheatland, Pa., June 1, 1868.

2. **The Dred-Scott Case.**—During the heat of the late canvass the Dred-Scott case came before the judiciary department at Washington. The owner of the slave Dred had taken him from Missouri to Illinois in 1834, and after four years' residence in that state had taken him to Minnesota, from where he subsequently returned with him to Missouri and sold him, after which the slave brought suit for his freedom in the circuit court of St. Louis county, Missouri, on the ground of his master having voluntarily taken him to a free state. He obtained a verdict in his favor, but the case was appealed till it got into the supreme court of the United States. This court decided that, according to the constitution, he who had ever been a slave had no rights which a white man was bound to respect.

3. **Corruption of Principle.**—Such a corruption of principle, as this decision was claimed to be, intensified the contest by giving a new impetus to free soil efforts in the North, while it imparted to the South a confidence in their own power which the sequel proved to be. All Kansas was an inviting theater on which to fight out the issue, which was whether this debatable soil was ultimately to be free or slave. Neither John Brown's exploit at Osawatomie, nor the sacking of Lawrence by Border Ruffians could settle this question, nor could the many daring acts of aggressive proselytism which were committed by both sides, but there was one issue on which seemed to hang the fate of Kansas, and this was the official action to be taken as to the validity of the Lecompton constitution.

4. **Convention to Form a Constitution for Kansas.**—The act providing for the convention to form a constitution for Kansas authorized a census to be taken, enumerating the legal voters in the territory, April 1, 1857. In counties which had been settled by free state men no census was taken, and in apportioning the delegates for the constitutional convention the governor classed these counties with others more favorable to slavery, and they were really misrepresented in the convention. Under these disadvantages the free state men refused to send delegates to the convention.

It met at Lecompton in September, and framed a constitution recognizing slavery, which articles in this document were to be voted on.

5. **Free State Men Refuse to Vote.**—Most of the Free State men refused to vote at all, on the ground that they had not been fairly represented in the apportionment of delegates to draft the instrument. Nor did they recognize as right the unusual plan of being obliged to accept a con-

stitution, subject only to their power to change a single section of it, especially as there were other portions of it distasteful to them, to correct which no provision had been made.

The election came off December 21, 1857. In favor of the constitution with slavery were 6,193 votes and against it 589.

6. Feeling of Indignation Through the North.—This discrimination in favor of the slave interest, produced a deep feeling of indignation through the North. Frederick P. Stanton was then secretary under Robert A. Walker, the governor, but Mr. Walker being absent at Washington, Mr. Stanton had to act in his place, and he ordered an election to be held on the 4th of January, 1858, in which the people might vote for or against the constitution entire.

7. Election Fraud.—Against the constitution 10,226 votes were polled; for the constitution with slavery, 138 votes, and for it without slavery, 24 votes. At the same time, state officers and a representative to congress were voted for. The Free State men carried their entire ticket by a large majority, as reported by the presiding officers of the election, except Mr. J. Calhoun, who, instead of acknowledging the validity of this election, added a number of spurious names to the list of voters to secure a pro-slavery majority, which names it was afterward proven were copied from an old Cincinnati directory. The charge of this election fraud was confirmed by Mr. Stanton and Governor Walker rejected the returns as fraudulent. Meantime, Mr. Calhoun, being obliged to flee from Kansas, found refuge in Washington, but fearing to present the list of names to the administration, certificates were given to the Free State officers according to the first election returns.

8. The Lecompton Constitution.—Notwithstanding these disclosures, President Buchanan on the following month, February, 1858, submitted the Lecompton Constitution to Congress, recommending its ratification, and in his expressed opinion said: "Kansas is therefore at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina." The only apology for which must have been that of state rights doctrine guaranteed in the constitution right or wrong, beyond the reach of control by Congress.

9. A Bitter Contest.—This aggressive step produced a bitter contest in which Stephen A. Douglas took a leading part by the advocacy of his favorite doctrine of popular sovereignty, and applying it to Kansas.

10. The Democratic Convention and Their Platform.—The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term met at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1861. Douglas refused to endorse the Lecompton Consti-

tution, or to renounce the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and the majority of the convention sustaining him in this, most of the southern members withdrew, when the convention proceeded to ballot for candidates, but no choice could be made, and the convention adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th, at which place it nominated Mr. Douglas for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for Vice-President. Their platform represented popular sovereignty as its main stay.

11. Southern Delegates.—The Southern delegates met at Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, of course without any expectation that their candidates could be elected, but their resentment had been aroused, and candor was impossible.

12. Know-Nothing Convention.—The American or Know-Nothing convention met at Baltimore May 19, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

13. The Republican Convention and its Platform.—The Republican convention met at Chicago May 16, 1860. In its platform it maintained the constitutional right to make internal improvements at the expense of the national treasury. But the slavery question overshadowed all else, and care was taken that no equivocal language should be used in the platform on this point. Slavery was to be opposed in the territories as a constitutional right. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was nominated as candidate for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

14. The Douglas Democrats.—The Douglas Democrats fully recognized slavery, protected by constitutional rights in the territories, till it had been rendered illegal there by popular vote. The southern Democrats, among whom were also many northern men, held that since the repeal of the Missouri compromise had legalized slavery in the territories under constitutional rights, nor had either the state or the Congress any power to vote it out. Douglas laid down a plan for changing slave territory into free territory by a popular vote, but the other faction made this impossible.

15. Distinction Between the Two Parties.—In acknowledging the validity of the Lecompton constitution, this distinction between the two parties was put to a practical test—Douglas went one way and Buchanan the other, working against each other, while both worked against the "Black Republicans."

16. Quarrel Over the Kansas Issue.—During the heat of the presidential campaign that followed Congress con-

tinued to quarrel over the Kansas issue, and various attempts were made to procure the admission of the state into the Union, all of which were promptly voted down, till the pro-slavery force had become reduced in the Senate by the withdrawal of five senators, whose respective states had passed ordinances of secession.

17. Kansas Admitted Into the Union.—Thus weakened in opposition to free Kansas the senate passed an act for her admission into the Union, January 21, 1861—yeas 36, nays 16. The state was admitted under a constitution which the Free State men had framed at a convention assembled at Wyandotte in March, 1859, and by this act of Congress the most irritating controversy it had ever witnessed was at an end—as far as legislation could control it. The Morrill tariff bill was passed at the same session.

18. The Result of the Campaign.—The November election passed off amid the din of wordy strife between the three parties. The electoral college assembled in February, and the result of the campaign gave for Lincoln and Hamlin 180 votes; for Douglas and Johnson 12; for Bell and Everett 39; and for Breckinridge and Lane 72.

19. Lincoln and Hamlin Inaugurated.—Lincoln and Hamlin were inaugurated March 4, 1861. The popular vote stood 1,866,350 for Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,375,157 for Douglas and Johnson, 589,581 for Bell and Everett, and 945,763 for Breckinridge and Lane.



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YOUNG LINCOLN SPLITTING RAILS.

Nineteenth Administration.

1. **A Deep Sensation.**—The election of Abraham Lincoln caused a deep sensation throughout the entire country, but from several different lines of thought in viewing its destined revolt.

2. **Actual War.**—Those who thought the most deeply on the matter were not hasty in predicting its consequence, but pending the interim of suspense which preceded his inauguration few supposed that actual war would come, till on the fatal 14th of April, 1861, Fort Sumpter was fired on and taken by an armed force of rebels, in Charleston, S. C. This method of opening the war was chosen to "fire the southern heart," to use the expression made by Jefferson Davis, the president of the Southern Confederacy,



JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President of the Southern Confederacy.

which effect though produced fire in the northern heart not anticipated by Mr. Davis, especially the firing of it almost universally with antagonism. There is good evidence that the southern leaders did not anticipate a general war, but a comparatively peaceful acquiescence, in a separation, and even General Scott in speaking on the subject, foreshadowed a war of far greater magnitude than was generally anticipated, the only alternative to which was to say "Wayward sister, depart in peace."

3. Radicalism Had an Advantage Over Conservatism.—Even Horace Greeley advised a peaceable separation, but quickly rescinded such counsels when the spontaneous uprising had time to manifest itself. Conservatism in the breath of politicians was now put to the rack of painfully contending emotions. It took a little time to throw away red or green spectacles and put on a pair of colored ones, through which the policy of the country could be seen in the light of reason untrammelled by either prejudices or opinionated vanity, but here was a dilemma in which radicalism had an advantage over conservatism and impulse over hesitancy, for radicalism and impulse became the watchword now and prompt war measures were taken to put an army into the field, though against the advice of a very few, who opposed the war as impolitic, not to say unjust.

4. The Progress of the War.—But while the progress of the war had the effect to create two classes of Democrats, known as peace and war Democrats, it also created two classes of Republicans, one class demanding an immediate freeing of the slaves and the other not unwilling yet to take such a radical measure. From the first time this policy was canvassed by advocates on both sides, not in a captious spirit, but under a conviction of supposed principles of political economy, and especially war economy.

5. The Policy of the Administration.—Under this division of sentiment the policy of the administration was cautious and moderate in action. First it accepted the services of such slaves as came within the Union lines on the ingenious assumption (of which General B. F. Butler was the author) that they were contraband—a principle that no casuistry could gainsay, from whatever view might be taken in the premises. If the slave was a chattel he constituted the material of war—he built forts for his master. If he was a citizen, and turned apostate to the cause of his country, the rules of war warranted the acceptance of his services in the Union cause. But accepting him as a contraband disarmed opposition from the peace party of the North, with whom peace meant a northern policy which

should restore harmony to the nation by reinstating the rebels to their political standing before the war began, to do which it was all important that the slave should remain in bondage; and consistent with this theory he must not be accepted in the Union service as a citizen.

6. **The Way Toward Universal Emancipation.**—That this initiatory step did much to open the way toward universal emancipation there can be no reasonable doubt. It had broken through the web of toils that environed the Democratic heart of the North, whose aversion to freeing



ALEXANDER H. STEVENS.

Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy.

the slave had long been canonized into a political faith; nor was the Republican party at first in favor of such a decisive step, except the old abolition element in it, which it may with no impropriety be called a vitalizing element.

7. **The Proclamation of Emancipation.**—The proclamation of emancipation was issued on the 22d of September, 1862, to go into effect on the 1st of January following. A storm of indignation followed from the peace party, but

the little ripple it raised in the sea of public opinion was soon lost in the tempestuous waves of war. It was a thunderbolt in the camp of the enemy, but they generally received it in sullen silence, like the Indian warrior who, when taken captive and tortured with fire, bravely conceals his emotions.

8. **The XXXVIIth Congress.**—Previous to this decisive measure, the XXXVIIth Congress had made ample provisions for a revenue, in which a slight increase of the tariff of the previous session had some part, and the home-stead bill had been passed.

9. **National Banking Law.**—At the second session of the same Congress an act was passed to provide a currency, secured by United States stocks, which was a national banking law, the plan of which was drawn up by S. P. Chase, the secretary of the treasury. A conscription act for drafting men into the army and the suspension of habeas corpus were also passed during this session. A war of words followed which was carried on by peace men, but no violent acts were committed.

10. **The War Prolonged.**—The war had been prolonged far beyond the prediction of leading Republicans, and had, consequently, created unexpected opposition from the Democratic party, or perhaps, more properly speaking, from the rump of this party.

11. **Censure Upon the Administration.**—The time for holding conventions, to choose candidates for the next presidential term, was near at hand, and the Democratic party made the most they could of the defeats of the Union arms to bring censure upon the administration, while it violently attacked its martial law and conscription policy. Withal the war itself was carried on by their assistance, individually, but as a party only in a modified sense.

12. **The Republican Nominating Convention.**—Under this strain the Republican nominating convention met at Baltimore June 7, 1864. It was the darkest hour of the war, but unconditional surrender of the rebels was emphatically demanded, nor was there any toning down of ultra-abolition sentiment in the convention. Abraham Lincoln for President and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President, were nominated.

13. **The Democratic Convention.**—The Democratic convention met at Chicago on the following August, the 29th. Had this party understood its true interests, it would not have held any convention at all during the strain of a war for which they did not hold themselves responsible, but greatly to their discredit, stump orators, if men of neither



MAJOR-GEN. ROBERT E. LEE.

patriotism nor reason nor common sense could be called such, ventilated their bad blood in abusing Mr. Lincoln.

14. **A Recoil in Public Sentiment.**—Philosophic minds can penetrate a principle, and forecast a policy wherewith to bring it into practice; but the experiences of time and events may be necessary to bring such a principle to the understanding of a popular wave of excitement. But the men composing the peace Democracy were not philosophers. They were men who had ever been victorious in elections till "Black Republicans" had, in an evil hour, as they claimed, out-voted them, and brought on the war. These men, instead of the more moderate members of the party, were the orators of their conventions, and their emphatic denunciations of the war, which they pronounced a failure, and their caustic criticisms of the administration produced

a recoil in public sentiment which greatly strengthened the Union cause, for it was apparent to every one not blinded by zeal without knowledge that the best elements of the Democratic party were in the field fighting the common enemy, and that the only ground on which the present opposition to the administration stood was paradoxical.

15. **Results of the Election.**—When the votes of the electoral college were counted in February succeeding the popular election of November, 1864, George B. McClellan, of New Jersey, and George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, the Democratic nominees, had but 21 votes, while Lincoln and Johnson had 212.

They were inaugurated March 4, 1865. The popular vote stood: Republican, 2,216,067; Democratic, 1,808,725.



THE HON. ROBERT LINCOLN, of Illinois.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

Born in Hardin (now La Rue) County, Ky.,
February 12, 1809.

President March 4, 1861-April 15, 1865.
Died at Washington, D. C., April 15 1865.

Twentieth Administration.

1. **A Great Hero.**—Among the heroes of the world was there ever one so great and so untrammelled with ostentation, as Abraham Lincoln. The rebellion had been crushed by the force of arms, under his guidance through all its tortures, too intricate for ordinary minds to fathom.

2. **Assassination of President Lincoln.**—A wave of exultation was rolling over the country, and at the height of its tide, on the 14th of April, 1865, Mr. Lincoln was shot

dead at Ford's theater, in Washington by John Wilkes Booth. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, succeeded to the presidency, and never before in the history of the nation, had its chief executive taken such extravagant responsibilities upon himself in violation of the conviction of Congress as he did.

3. Reconstruction Committee Appointed.—Congress did not meet till December 4, when among their first business they appointed a reconstruction committee. This was offensive to Mr. Johnson, and he dishonored the dignity of his high office by acting the part of a low-class lawyer in denouncing their action. From his action he intended evidently to restore the original doctrine of state rights which in turn modified or perhaps rendered inoperative the emancipation proclamation, but not having even one-third of Congress on his side, his veto power was incipient to act as a bar to its designs which were in harmony with the public voice of reason.

4. The Civil War Declared to be at an End.—On the 2d of April, the President, by proclamation declared the civil war to be at an end. Congress meanwhile was working assiduously in perfecting its plan for re-organization. Tennessee was formally restored to the Union by that body on the 23d of July; the 28th of that month, after a long and arduous session, Congress adjourned.

5. Notable Events.—Meanwhile notable events in the foreign relations of the government had occurred. The Emperor of the French had been informed that the continuation of French troops in Mexico was not agreeable to the United States, and on the 5th of April (1866), Napoleon's secretary for foreign affairs gave assurance to our government that these troops should be withdrawn. The state elections, held in the autumn of 1866, indicated the decided approval by the people of the reorganization plans of Congress, as opposed to that of the President, who was openly affiliated with the Democratic party and the late enemies of the government in the South and elsewhere. The majority in Congress felt strengthened by the popular approval of their course, and went steadily forward in perfecting measures for the restoration of the Union.

6. Steps for Restraining the Action of the President.—They took steps for restraining the action of the President, who, it was manifest, had determined to carry out his policy in defiance to that of Congress. And as an indication of the general policy of the latter concerning suffrage, a bill was passed December 14 by a large majority of both Houses for granting the elective franchise in the District of Colum-

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bia, over which Congress has direct control, to persons "without any distinction on account of color or race." The President vetoed the bill, January 7, 1867, when it was re-enacted by the constitutional vote of two-thirds of the members of both Houses in its favor.

7. **Charges Brought Against Andrew Johnson.**—On the same day, January 7, Mr. Ashley, representative from Ohio, arose in his seat and charged "Andrew Johnson, Vice-President and acting President of the United States, with the commission of acts, which in the estimation of the Constitution, are crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached." He offered specifications and a resolution instructing the committee on the judiciary to make inquiries on the subject. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 137 to 38, 45 members not voting.

This was the first public movement in the matter of the President, which resulted in his trial in May, 1868.

8. **Bills Vetoed by the President.**—At a former session of Congress bills were passed for the admission of the territories of Colorado and Nebraska as states of the Union. The President interposed. Now similar bills were passed, prescribing as a preliminary to admission in their Constitution granting impartial suffrage to their citizens and the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution. The President vetoed them; when that for the admission of Nebraska was passed over his veto. That territory became a state on the first of March, making the thirty-seventh. A bill limiting the authority of the President in making official appointments and removals from office, known as the "Tenure of Office Act," was passed, and was vetoed by the President, and passed his veto, repealing so much of an act of July 17, 1862, as gave the President power to grant amnesty and pardon to those who had been engaged in the rebellion. A bill was also passed, with the same opposition from the President, for the military government of the disorganized states. The XXXIXth Congress closed its last session on the 3d of March, and the XLth Congress began its first session immediately thereafter.

9. **The Conduct of the President and Action of the National Legislature.**—In view of the conduct of the President, which threatened the country with revolution, this action of the national Legislature was deemed necessary for the public good. It adjourned on the 31st of March, to meet on the first Wednesday in July. Congress assembled on the 4th of July, and on the 20th adjourned to meet on the 21st of November. The chief business of the short session was to adopt measures for removing the obstructions cast by the



ANDREW JOHNSON,

Born at Raleigh, Wake County, North Carolina,

December 29, 1808.

President April 15, 1865-March 4, 1869.

Died in Carter County, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

President in the way of a restoration of the disorganized states. A bill supplementary to the one for the military government of those states was passed over the usual veto of the President, and it was believed that the chief magistrate would refrain from further acts calculated to disturb the public peace. Not so. Immediately after the adjournment of Congress he proceeded, in defiance of that body and in violation of the tenure of office act, to remove the Secretary of War (Mr. Stanton) and to place General Grant in his place. The President first asked (August 5, 1867) the Secretary to resign. Mr. Stanton refused. A week later the President directed General Grant to assume the duty of Secretary of War. Grant obeyed. Stanton retired under protest, well satisfied that his office was left in the hands of a patriot whom the President could not corrupt or unlawfully control.

10. **Hour of Seeming Peril to the Republic.**—The removal of the Secretary of War was followed by the removal of General Sherman from the command of the Fifth District, and General Sickles from that of the Second District, by which the country was forfeited, that the most faithful

officers who were working with the representatives of the people for the proper and speedy restoration of the Union would be deprived of power to be useful. General Grant protested against these acts, but in vain. The country was greatly excited and the loyal people waited with impatience the reassembling of congress upon which they relied in that hour of seeming peril to the republic.

11. Mr. Stanton Reinstated as Secretary of War.—That body met at the appointed time, and on the 12th of December the President sent to the Senate a statement of his reasons for removing the Secretary of War. They were not satisfactory, and on the 13th of January the Senate reinstated Mr. Stanton and General Grant retired from the war department. Already Congress had made much progress toward the restoration of the disorganized states of the Union, by providing for conventions for framing constitutions and electing members of Congress; and a few days after the restoration of Mr. Stanton, a new bill for the further reorganization of those states was passed by the House of Representatives, in which large powers were given to the General in Chief of the Armies, in their military governments, and depriving the President of all power to interfere in the matter.

12. Attempt to Impeach the President.—During this conflict Congress made an attempt to impeach the President for what was claimed to be an overt violation of the constitution in his attempt to expel Mr. Stanton from the Cabinet, but it required a two-thirds vote to do this, and Johnson being saved from disgrace by a surplus vote, filled out his term.

13. The Republican Convention.—The Republican convention for nominating candidates for the next term met at Chicago May 20, 1868. It was unwavering in its resolution to secure the suffrage of the liberated slave and to carry out the principles already begun by the former administration as to restoration.

Ulysses S. Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were nominated as candidates.

14. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met in New York City July 4. It demanded that seceding states should be restored to their former status in the Union without condition and left the question of negro suffrage to be settled by each state in its own way.

Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, were the candidates.

15. Amendments to the Constitution.—"Sink the slave question and elevate the money question," became practi-

cally the motto, and to this end amendments were made to the Constitution, which gave the ballot to the slave after having liberated him.

16. **The XVth Amendment.**—The XVth amendment was the last of these. It was made by the resolution of Congress February 26, 1869, and became the law of the land after having been ratified by two-thirds of the states. This was the last act in the drama (to use a metaphor) that raised up and hurled down the rebellion. The tide was now turning, and with it the minor details of reconstruction.

17. **Electoral and Popular Votes.**—The electoral votes for the candidates for the next presidential term were counted in February, 1869. Grant and Colfax had 214, Seymour and Blair had 80.

The popular vote stood: For the Republicans, 3,012,833; for the Democrats, 2,703,249. Grant and Colfax were inaugurated March 4, 1869.

Twenty-First Administration.

1. **Inroads Into the Shore Lines of the Republic.**—The ponderous waves of the civil war had made its inroads into the shore lines of the republic, as it was, and brought new issues upon Congress as to political rights of the seceding states, which had now by the condition of war brought upon themselves a state of territorial bondage. This had been the ground on which the preceding administration had appointed principal governors for each of the states lately in rebellion. But there was a division of sentiment on this question among the northern people, nor was this feeling entirely limited to party lines.

2. **Ratification of the Amendment to the Constitution.**—Pending this political state of affairs, the administration had taken such measures as forced this method sore against their will to ratify the amendment to the Constitution, which gave liberty and civil rights to the slaves ere they would be represented in Congress, and to remove obstacles to their new policy the supreme bench had pronounced this amendment constitutional ere the revolted states had been required to accept them.

3. **The Right of Franchise to the Colored Race.**—As might be supposed this was, in a political sense, "the most unkindest cut of all," to force a state to pass sentence on itself, but there was no other way out of the dilemma,



ULYSSES S. GRANT,

**Born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio,
April 27, 1822.**

President March 4, 1869-March 4, 1877.

Died at Mt. McGregor, New York, July 23, 1885.

and each state out of the Union by acts of rashness came in again by acts of humility, Georgia being the last to yield, which she did February 10, 1870. And here it is not improper to say, that in as much as the acts had not been submitted to a popular vote, let a halo of charity be thrown over the American citizen whose courage shielded his honor, though spent in a vain and urgent cause, to which sentiment American manhood must respond. And here let it not be forgotten that by the stern decree of war we forced

the south to do what we had not done ourselves, and might never have done but for the war, and to be consistent, to extend the right of franchise to the colored race.

4. **Issue of Bonds.**—During the XL1st Congress the national debt was funded. Bonds were issued to the amount of \$200,000,000 on interest at five per cent., payable at the pleasure of the government after ten years; bonds were issued to the amount of \$300,000,000, payable after fifteen years, bearing four and one-half per cent. interest; and bonds were issued to the amount of \$1,000,000,000, payable after thirty years, at four per cent. interest.

5. **"Carpet Baggers."**—The provincial Governors had become objects of great aversion to the southern people, and that very questionable means had been taken to render their official acts of no effect was clearly proven by the testimony of committees sent to the South to make reports. In Congressional discussions on this subject the Democrats stigmatized the provincial Governors as "carpet baggers," and made the most of their mistakes or "despotic acts" to censure them, and the Republican policy which had sent them to their field of unthankful, though lucrative, labor.

6. **The Enforcement Act.**—The enforcement act became a law May 31, 1870. It gave the President all the authority necessary to protect the free men in those civil rights that the amendments to the Constitution had guaranteed to them, but the failure of fully achieving the desired end furnished another of the many illustrations afforded by history that public opinion sometimes takes the form of the higher law.

7. **General Grant Nominated for a Second Term.**—Republican National Convention met at Philadelphia, January 5, 1872. In its platform no abatement of its vigorous reconstruction policy was made. General Grant was nominated for a second term as candidate for President, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, candidate for Vice-President.

8. **Liberal Republicans.**—The Republican party were not unanimous in his support, owing to the extreme measure which had been taken in reconstructing the states lately in rebellion. They called themselves Liberal Republicans, and had already held their nominating convention in Cincinnati on May 1.

Horace Greeley, of New York, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, were their nominees.

9. **Position of the Democrats.**—The Democratic convention met in Baltimore on the 9th of July following. The position they occupied was peculiar. The Liberal Repub-

Ohio,

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licans had already occupied the only ground on which they could take issue with the Republicans, and they joined hands with them by accepting their standard bearer as their own.

10. Not Regarded with Favor by the Old Time Democrats.—This official act of the leaders of the party, however political it might have been, was not regarded with favor by the old time Democrats, and they met in convention at Louisville, Ky., September 3, and nominated for President Charles O'Connor, of New York, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, as candidates for the next term.

11. Their Platform.—In their platform they repudiated the action of the preceding Democratic convention of Baltimore, and aimed a blow at the reconstruction acts of the administration, by a resolution that the constitution of each state was sufficient to protect life, liberty and property within its domain.

12. Anti-Masonry Come to the Surface Again.—The subject of Anti-Masonry had been dormant in political circles since 1836, but it now came to the surface again under the name of the National Christian Association for the purpose of engrafting it into state policy. To this end a convention was held in Oberlin, Ohio, May 23, 1872, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, in which Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, and Rev. J. L. Barlow were chosen as standard bearers.

13. The Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.—Besides opposition to secret societies their platform contained resolutions against spirituous liquor traffic, and in favor of legal enactments to enforce the sacred keeping of the Sabbath. The prohibition of the liquor traffic had long been a subject of legislation in many of the states, but now for the first time it was to be introduced into national politics by its advocates.

14. Candidates.—A nominating convention met for this object in Columbus, Ohio, February 22. James Black, of Pennsylvania, and John Bussel, of Michigan, were chosen as candidates for President and Vice-President.

15. An Emphatic Protest.—Their platform was an emphatic protest against the manufacture or sale of spirituous liquors, and recognized the right of the State to prohibit both by legislation. It can hardly be denied that out of the conscientious motives so many Republicans had refused to endorse the impolicy of the military governors that there were some apprehension that the Greeley departure might become the channel. The possibility of this

called forth prompt and energetic advocacy on the part of the straight Republicans. O'Connor and Adams had refused to run on the straight Democratic ticket, and this complicated the matter in the eyes of sensitive Republicans. But if the contest had been doubtful at first, it did not long remain so. "What Mr. Greeley knew about farming," and his having signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis, together with various honest eccentricities in his social as well as his political life, were made the instruments by which supreme ridicule had been unmercifully showered down upon the "Philosopher," as he was called in contempt, and he died before the day of election, as some averred, from the effects of the mortification consequent upon these attacks.

16. Results of the Election.—The votes of the electoral college in the following February showed for Grant and Wilson 286.

There were 66 Democratic votes; 42 were cast for Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, who had been substituted for Mr. Greeley deceased, and 24 were scattering.

Brown, the candidate for Vice-President, received 47 votes, and there 14 scattering. The votes of Louisiana and Arkansas were rejected, on the ground of alleged fraud in the election. The popular vote stood, Republicans, 3,597, 132; Democrat, or Greeley Republicans, 2,834,125; Prohibition, 5,508.

Grant and Wilson were inaugurated March 4, 1873.

Twenty-Second Administration.

1. Friction Growing Out of Reconstruction.—The friction growing out of reconstruction was still manifest when General Grant began his second term.

Under the authority of the provincial governors of the states lately in rebellion, the slave had become a citizen according to the new change in the Constitution. This was owned as a humiliation by the white citizen, and after the military governors had been withdrawn the old doctrine of state rights was brought into requisition wherewith to mitigate their grievances as they considered them. But, alas for their cherished "palladium of liberty" as the South viewed it! State rights as to qualifications for the right of suffrage were no more. The new changes in the Constitution of the United States, which they had been compelled to subscribe to, or remain in territorial vassalage

under military governors, forbade strict action on this matter, and while legal submission was the only alternative, yet by means of throwing obstacles in the way of negro suffrage successful means to prevent it were brought about. Nor did the southern people hesitate to use violence in many cases to achieve the desired ends.

2. Quarrel in the Republican Party.—Louisiana was the first scene of these acts. To make the matter worse a quarrel in the Republican party here sprung up in the division, or rather the appropriation of the spoils. Two rival governors, with their legislatures, had been organized in this state, each claiming authority by virtue of popular elections. But the votes of these election had been counted by two sets of returning boards; one of these boards having been chosen in the interest of the White League and the other in the interest of the Republicans.

3. Illegal Acts on the Part of Both.—John McEnery was the governor-elect, in the estimation of the Democratic returning board, and Wm. Pitt Kellogg governor elect, in the estimation of the Republican returning board. The congressional debates on the respective merits of each brought to light very unsavory and illegal acts on the part of both.

4. The States Assume Control of Their Own Affairs.—The Democrats of the North were, as a party, adverse to the Kellogg government, while the Republicans were not a unit as to its legality. Previous to 1875 all the states lately in the rebellion, except Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina, had assumed control of their own affairs, without further congressional guidance, and had taken their old places in the Union as democratic states.

5. XLIVth Congress.—With their assistance, together with some substitution of Democratic or Republican congressmen from northern states, M. C. Kerr, of Indiana, Democrat, was elected speaker of the XLIVth Congress, which began its session in December, 1875.

6. Discrepancy Between the Value of Gold and Paper Money.—During the war, when the great discrepancy between the market value of gold and paper money was constantly changing a convention of farmers was held at Bloomington, Illinois, in order to adopt a labor and greenback theory uniting the economical interests of the country, and preventing speculation in the currency.

7. Labor and Greenback Party.—In 1868 a Labor and Greenback party was formed in New York to advocate the same cause, at which Peter Cooper stood at the head, which was the first political action taken to substitute paper for metallic currency.



PETER COOPER,
Candidate for President—Greenback Party.

8. Policy of Greenback Party.—It embraced the wage labor interest, anti-monopoly, opposition to the specie redemption currency system, claiming that Congress has the sole power to issue or coin money and regulate its value; that money is simply a government authenticated tool of trade—a tally to register and transmit from hand to hand the value amounts of the internal changes, and that only the state has the power to fix the value in the currency from whatever materials it may be made—the precious metals or paper; that at present money should be made of paper, to be issued solely by the government, in amounts sufficient to transact the business of the nation and no more.

9. **Their Candidates.**—Under this policy the Greenback party came before the country, and assembled in convention at Indianapolis May 17, 1876. It nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, as candidates for President and Vice-President for the next term.

10. **Their Arguments.**—One of the arguments used by this party, in the popular canvass, was the precedent which the Government itself had established in the legal-tender act.

This was exclusively a Republican measure, and one to which the Democrats were opposed, on the ground of unconstitutionality, and at the December term of the supreme court in 1869 a decision was rendered to this effect. Subsequently, an increase of two Republican judges constituting this court, reversed this decision in March, 1870, and unredeemable greenbacks still furnished the country with money for an indefinite period.

11. **The Prohibition Party.**—The Prohibition party met in convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President for the next term, in Cleveland May 17. Their platform demanded the prohibition of the liquor traffic and manufacture in the District of Columbia and the territories, and amendments to the Constitution, by authority of which such restrictions might become universal.

Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, and G. T. Stewart, of Ohio, were their nominees.

12. **The National Christian Association.**—The National Christian Association, whose platform went against all secret societies and in favor of prohibition, held their nominating convention at Pittsburg, Pa. June 9, 1875, and nominated as their candidates for President and Vice-President James B. Walker, of Illinois, and Donald Kirk Patrick, of New York.

13. **The Republican Convention.**—The Republican convention met at Cincinnati June 14. It confirmed its position as to the transcendent power of the Constitution over the states, and advocated a tariff sufficient to meet the entire expenses of the general government. It also claimed the right of Congress to suppress polygamy in the territories and advocated such action.

It nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, and Wm. A. Wheeler, of New York, as their candidates.

14. **The Democratic Convention.**—The Democratic convention met at St. Louis June 27th. They demanded retrenchment and reform in the administration, a speedy return to specie payment, a reduction and modification of the tariff, and a discrimination against Chinese immigration.



SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

Democratic Candidate for President.

Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, were their nominees.

15. Both Parties Claimed Three Southern States.—The popular election of November 7, 1876, resulted in the states of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Indiana and all the southern states except Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida going for the Democrats. The Republicans carried the other states, but both parties claimed the three southern states just mentioned. The matter was settled by a special intervention of Congress in establishing an electoral commission to decide the case.

16. Validity of the Louisiana and Florida Elections.—It hinged on the validity of the Louisiana and Florida elec-

tions; the Republicans claiming that fraud and violence had been used there to secure a Democratic majority, while the Democrats denied the charge, and claimed that in as much as said election returns had been legally made, Congress had not power to exclude them, even if the election had not been a fair one.

17. The Report of the Electoral Commission.—The report of the electoral commission, after spending considerable time in canvassing the subject, resulted in a resolution that the two houses of the XLIVth Congress, having counted the electoral votes have declared as final the election of the Republican nominees.

18. Decision in Favor of the Kellogg Government.—By the action of the commission the votes of Louisiana and Florida had been transferred from the Democratic to the Republican side, which gave Hayes and Wheeler 185 votes against 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. Here it ought not to be omitted to state that this discriminating decision hinged in a discrimination as to which of the two factions in Louisiana described in a foregoing page was legal, and that the decision in favor of the Kellogg government gave the election to Mr. Hayes. Up to this time, the legality of neither of the Lawrence factions had been acknowledged by the administration.

19. Number of Votes Cast.—The popular vote stood 4,033,950 Republican and 4,284,885 Democratic. The popular Greenback vote was 81,740. The popular Prohibition vote was 9,522.

Hayes and Wheeler were inaugurated March 5, 1877.

Twenty-Third Administration.

1. Reconstruction Reaches Its Limit.—Reconstruction had reached its limit in severity when Hayes assumed the executive responsibility of the nation, for the reason that a considerate public opinion in the Republican ranks demanded a more charitable, not to say more just course toward the statesmen subjected to the rule of military governors who had used their arbitrary power more to enrich themselves than to bring wholesome laws to the states over which they ruled.

2. "The Bloody Shirt Republicans."—This wing of the Republican party were now substantially in alliance with the entire Democratic party on this issue, and Mr.

Hayes himself shared this sentiment and adopted a policy in accordance with it. This gave great offence to the extreme Republicans, who were now dubbed "The Bloody Shirt Republican" party.

3. **A Critical Moment.**—The moment was critical, the blood of stalwart Republicanism was up, notwithstanding



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES,

Born at Delaware, Delaware County, Ohio,

October 4, 1822.

President March 4, 1877-March 4, 1881.

which Mr. Hayes promptly withdrew the United States troops from Louisiana and South Carolina, and recommended the governors of those states to resign.

Senators Conklin, Logan and Cameron predicted that such a course would be detrimental to the interests of the party, but the Executive held the South as near as possible to a strict observance of the terms prescribed in the late constitutional amendment and no such result followed.

4. **The Army Used to Influence Elections.**—Owing to Democratic votes, the appropriation brought up to the XLVth Congress for the support of the army, was defeated. The grounds on which they opposed the bill were that the army was used as a means by which to influence elections. At a subsequent session, being an extra session, the Democrats softened and allowed the bill to pass.



THE HON. ARTHUR P. GORMAN, of Maryland.

5. **A Bill for the Unlimited Coinage of Silver.**—At the same session a bill for the unlimited coinage of silver was passed, and on the 1st of January, 1879, the government resumed specie payments, the banks throughout the country doing the same.

6. **A Democratic Measure.**—Each subsequent appropriation bill, during Mr. Hayes' administration, was passed, but not without Democratic opposition for causes already told. But in the regular session of 1879 a bill was passed to prevent Congress from using the army to keep peace at the polls. This was a Democratic measure, and designed to relieve the southern election polls from military restraint, and the President approved it, thereby showing that he held to justice as he viewed above party ties.

7. **An "Era of Good Feeling."**—He was no partisan, and did little or nothing in his whole administration calculated to bring strength on his party except on the broad principle that true statesmanship does it; and it is not too

much to say, that an "era of good feeling," similar to that which Monroe brought about by non-partisanship action, was the result.

8. **The Republican Nominating Convention.**—The Republican nominating convention met at Chicago June 2, 1880. It charged upon the Democrats the sacrifice of patriotism to lust for office and patronage, after which it advocated public improvements, opposed polygamy and Chinese immigration, and approved the administration of Mr. Hayes, which was a decided vindication of his reconstruction policy.

James A. Garfield, of Ohio, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, were nominated as their candidates for President and Vice-President.

9. **The National Greenback Party.**—The national Greenback party met in convention at Chicago June 9, 1880, to nominate Presidential candidates for the next term. It claimed that government, instead of banks, should have the power of making and putting in circulation money; that bonds should not be refunded, but paid according to contract, and to enable the government to do this, legal tender notes should take the place of bank currency.

James B. Weaver, for President, and B. J. Chambers, for Vice-President, were nominated as candidates.

10. **The Prohibition Reform Party Convention.**—The Prohibition reform party held their nominating convention for the next term at Cleveland, June 17, 1880. Its elaborate platform was an argument in favor of the principles announced by them at previous conventions.

Neal Dow, of Maine, was nominated as candidate for President, and H. A. Thompson, of Ohio, candidate for Vice-President.

11. **National Christian Association.**—The National Christian Association met in convention at Chicago June 17, 1880. Opposition to secret societies was their primary requisition, with other requirements of a Christian character to accompany it, also female suffrage.

Its nominations were J. W. Phelps, of Vermont, for President, and S. C. Pomeroy, of Washington, for Vice-President.

12. **The Democratic Convention.**—The Democratic convention met at Cleveland, Ohio, June 22, 1880. It charged the Republicans as conspirators in rewarding political crime, claimed that the election of Hayes was secured by fraud, and congratulated the country on the honesty of the late Congress, which was Democratic, and had saved \$10,000,000 per year in public expenditures. It advocated

a tariff for revenue only, which was then in accordance with Mr. Hayes' recommendation, and opposed Chinese immigration. W. S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and Wm. H. English, of Indiana, were their candidates for President and Vice-President.

13. The Elected Candidates.—The votes of the electoral college in February, 1881, subsequent to the popular election of November previous, stood as follows: For Garfield and Arthur, 214; for Hancock and English, 155.

The popular Republican vote was 4,454,416; Democratic vote, 4,444,952; Greenback vote, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305. Garfield and Arthur were inaugurated March 4, 1881.

Twenty-fourth Administration.

1. President Garfield's Policy.—President Garfield, in his inaugural address, promised full and equal protection of the Constitution and laws for every citizen, irrespective of race or color; advocated universal education as a safeguard or suffrage; recommended such an adjustment of our monetary system "that the purchasing power of every coined dollar will be exactly equal to its debt-paying power in all the markets of the world, and that the national debt should be refunded at a lower rate of interest, without compelling the withdrawal of national bank notes; the prohibition of polygamy within the borders of our republic, and the regulation of the civil service by laws." These were the principle points discussed in the inaugural address.

2. A Struggle in the Senate.—At the very beginning of the new administration there was a struggle in the Senate of the United States between the two great parties (Republican and Democratic), for power in that body, each refusing to yield on the question of completing the organization, one wishing to elect new officers of that body, the other insisting upon keeping the old ones. There was a deadlock for several weeks.

3. A Strife Concerning the Confirmation of Nominations Made by the President.—There was also a strife concerning the confirmation of nominations made by the President of the United States of incumbents for office in the state of New York, particularly that of the collector of the port of New York. The nominee for that office, it was concluded, was thoroughly qualified to fill it; but



JAMES A. GARFIELD,

Born at Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio,
November 19, 1831.

President March 4, 1881-September 19, 1881.

Died at Elberon, New Jersey, September 19, 1881.

was personally distasteful to the senior United States senator (Roscoe Conkling) from New York, and he vehemently urged his confirmation by the Senate.

4. **New York Unrepresented in the Senate.**—Because the Senate could not agree with him, the senator resigned his seat, deserted his post and returned home taking with him his senatorial colleague, so leaving the great state of New York unrepresented in the senate of the United States.

The President withdrew all of the nominations of New York, excepting that for the collectorship which was immediately confirmed, and the Senate adjourned May 20, *sine die*. The New York Legislature was in session at that time, and was compelled to take immediate steps to fill the seats deserted by the two New York senators.



THE HON. JOHN P. ST. JOHN.

5. **The Vacancy Filled.**—Mr. Conkling had no doubt that he and his colleague would be immediately rechosen to fill their vacated seats. He was mistaken. Instead of meeting general support and sympathy, he encountered general opposition and indignation among his political friends and others for his unwarranted course. Perceiving this, he repaired to the state capitol, and there conducted, for several weeks, a most unseemly personal struggle for a re-election, but was defeated. His seat and that of his colleague were filled by the choice of two other men. This strife at Albany had agitated the whole nation, and in the final result the people felt great relief.

6. **Various Treaties Confirmed.**—While these personal struggles were going on at Washington and Albany, the government, which was moving on in successful progress, had confirmed important treaties; one with China concerning immigration and commerce; an extradition treaty with the United States of Columbia; a consular convention with Italy, modifying and defining the judicial powers of certain

consulates; a convention with Morocco respecting the taxation prerogatives of the Moorish government, and a treaty with Japan prescribing reciprocal duties for the Japanese and United States governments in case of shipwrecks upon their respective coasts.



THE HON. CHAS. F. CRISP, of Georgia.

7. **Ill Feeling of Disappointed Office Seekers.**—On May 18 the Senate postponed the resolution asserting the Monroe Doctrine in the case of the Isthmus Ship Canal, The fearful agitation of the people by the humiliating strife for office at Albany intensified the ill feeling of disappointed office seekers everywhere, and produced its logical results.

8. **President Garfield Shot by Charles Guiteau.**—While that struggle was at its height the nation was appalled by the fact that one of this dangerous class—dangerous alike to public order and public virtue—had shot the

President of the United States as he was about to leave the nation on a trip to New York and New England. The terrible deed was done at the station of the Baltimore & Potomac railway, in Washington at about 9 o'clock on Saturday, July 2, 1881, where he was to be joined by members of his cabinet. As he was walking through the passenger room,



THE HON. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILLINOIS,
Candidate for Vice-President.

arm in arm with Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, two pistol shots were fired in succession from behind them and the President sank to the floor bleeding profusely. Only one shot touched his body; that entered it through the eleventh rib, about four inches to the right of the spine, and taking a

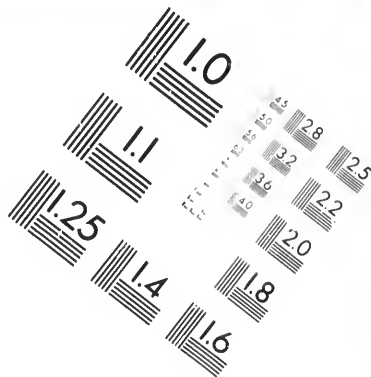
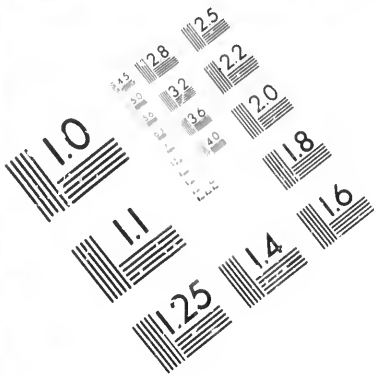
tortuous course lodged some distance to the left of the lumbar vertebræ at the lower margin of the pancreas. It was externally a jagged wound, caused by a ball known as calibre 44. The wounded President was at first carried to a room in the second story of the building where he was shot, and later was carried to the executive mansion.



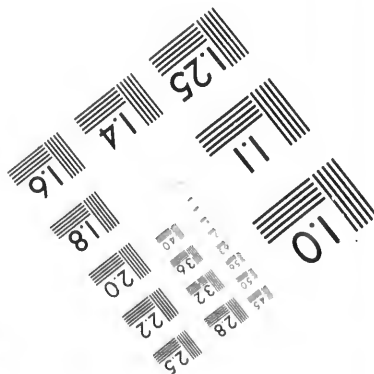
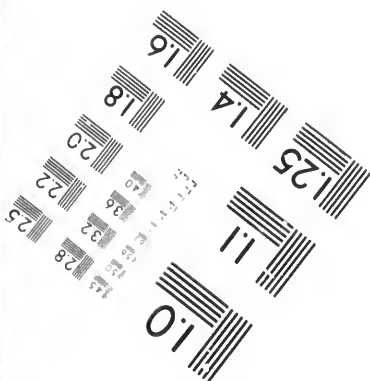
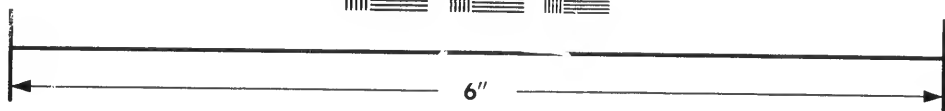
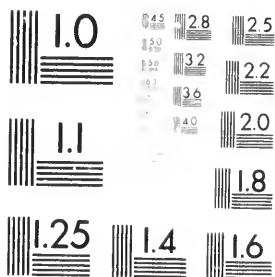
JAMES G. BLAINE,
Secretary of State under President Garfield.

9. **Arrest of the Assassin.**—The assassin was instantly arrested by a police officer (Kearney) to whom he said: "I did it, and will go to jail for it; I am a Stalwart (the political name given to the friends of Senator Conkling in the strife then going on), and Arthur will be President."

10. **Guiteau's Letter.**—In his pocket was found the following letter directed to the White House: "The President's tragic death was a sad necessity; but it will unite the Repub-



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lian party and save the republic. Life is a flimsy dream, and it matters little when one goes. A human life is of small value. During the war thousands of brave boys went down without a tear. I presume the President was a Christian, and that he will be happier in paradise than here—in Paradise. It will be no worse for Mrs. Garfield, dear soul, to part with her husband this way than by natural death. He is liable to go at any time, any way. I had no ill will toward the President. His death was a political necessity.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR,

Born in Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830.

President September 20, 1881-March 4, 1885.

Died at New York City, November 18, 1886.

"I am a lawyer, a theologian, and a politician. I am a Stalwart of the Stalwarts. I was with Gen. Grant and the rest of our men in New York during the canvass. I have some papers for the press, which I shall leave with Byron Andrews and his co-journalists at 1240 New York avenue, where all the reporters can see them. I am going to the jail.
CHARLES GUILTEAU."

II. Garfield's Death.—Mr. Garfield died of his wounds on the 19th of the following September, a shining mark of sympathy and affection of his country. Chester A. Arthur, the Vice-President, was inaugurated President the next day after his death.

12. The Civil Service Bill Passed.—The Civil Service bill was passed during this administration, the features of which was to retain persons in the public service through any political change in the administration, but there being no positive lines of demarkation in the bill it is still optional with the administration to discharge any one from his position, it being a matter of opinion as to the merit of the incumbent.

13. Various Bills Passed.—The tariff question occupied the attention of Congress to a large extent, but without definite results. May 3, 1884, a bill was passed to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States for ten years. June 12 following a bill appropriating \$8,079,000 for improving rivers and harbors was passed. On the 29th of February following, \$2,500,000 was appropriated for building cruisers and gunboats.

14. The Republican Convention.—The Republican convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term, met at Chicago June 3, 1884. In its platform it recommended duties on foreign imports, both for revenue and protection, James G. Blaine was nominated as candidate for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President.

15. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President met at Chicago July 7, 1884. In its platform it accused the Republican party of misdirections of the public money, particularly as to improvements and in the increase of the naval service. It promised tariff reform by reduction of what it termed excessive rates. Grover Cleveland was nominated as candidate for President and Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President.

16. Convention of the Greenback Party.—The convention of the Greenback party met at Indianapolis May 28, 1884, to nominate their candidates. It reiterated its claim that Congress had the right to control the issue of legal tender notes, and demanded the substitution of greenbacks for national bank notes. Benjamin F. Butler was the nominee for President and A. M. West for Vice-President.

17. The Prohibition Convention.—The Prohibition convention met at Pittsburg July 23, 1884. In its platform it set forth the evils of intemperance and demanded national measures to suppress the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. John P. St. John was nominated as candidate for President and William Daniels for Vice-President.

18. Cleveland and Hendricks Elected.—The votes of the electoral college in February, 1885, subsequent to the popular election of November, 1884, stood as follows: For

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BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,
Candidate for President--Greenback Party.

Cleveland and Hendricks, 219; for Blaine and Logan, 182.
The popular Democratic vote was 4,874,986; Republican,
4,851,981; Greenback, 175,370; Prohibition, 150,369.

Cleveland and Hendricks were inaugurated March 4,
1885.



GROVER CLEVELAND,

Born at Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey,
March 18, 1837.

President, first term, March 4, 1885-March 4, 1889.

President, second term, March 4, 1893.

Twenty-fifth Administration.

1. **Clean Cut Lines Between the Two Great Political Parties on the Tariff.**—During the political canvass that had resulted in the election of Mr. Cleveland, the want of policy was manifest in each party, inasmuch as the tariff question had not been formulated into a defined policy, as it was destined to be at a later date. But not long after his inauguration this issue began to take shape and form sufficient to give clean cut lines of representation between the two great political parties that divided the country on distinct issues, and these were on the tariff.

2. **The Treaty With England.**—Aside from this issue the most important question which has become before Mr. Cleveland's administration is the treaty with England to adjust complaints growing out of the fishery question. A treaty had been negotiated by commissioners, but it was not ratified by the President and Congress, on the ground that it did not secure the just rights of America, and this prolific source of petty annoyance is still unsettled.

3. **The Inter-state Commerce Law.**—The Inter-state Commerce Law, regulating and equalizing railroads on freights and passengers throughout the United States, and preventing pooling the income of parallel lines, passed both Houses of Congress in January, 1887, and was approved by the President on the 4th of the following February. A treaty of reciprocity was also passed with the Hawaiian government bearing date of February 28, 1891.

4. **Advised a Revision of the Tariff.**—In Mr. Cleveland's annual message before the Congress of 1888 he advised a revision of the tariff and a reduction of its rates as a pressing necessity to prevent too great an accumulation of gold in the treasury, as he claimed inconsistent with the interests of the country.

5. **The Democratic Convention.**—Mr. Blaine, the acknowledged representative of the Republican party, promptly took issue with him on this policy. The Democratic convention to nominate candidates for the next presidential term, met at St. Louis June 6, 1888. It endorsed the administration of Mr. Cleveland, including his tariff message, and without a dissenting voice nominated him as their choice of candidates for the next term, and Allen G. Thurman for Vice-President.

6. **The Republican Convention.**—The Republican convention to nominate candidates met at Chicago, June 19, 1888. In its platform it recommended a reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce, but its most important demand was protection for manufacturers by high tariff, although on some articles of popular consumption a reduction of rates was proposed. Benjamin Harrison was nominated as candidate for President, and Levi P. Morton for Vice-President.

7. **The Prohibition Convention.**—The Prohibition convention met at Indianapolis, May 30, 1888. Besides the main purpose of this party to suppress the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors for beverages, it advocated female suffrage as a state policy. Bowen Fisk was nominated for President and John A. Brooks for Vice-President.

8. **Harrison and Morton Inaugurated.**—The vote of the

electoral college which met in February, 1889, was for Harrison and Morton, 233; for Cleveland and Thurman, 168. The Republican popular vote was 5,440,748, the Democratic popular vote was 5,536,242.

Harrison and Morton were inaugurated March 4, 1889.



BENJAMIN HARRISON,

Born at North Bend, Hamilton County, Ohio,

August 20, 1833.

President March 4, 1889-March 4, 1893.

Twenty-sixth Administration.

I. Advantage of the Republicans in the Election of Mr. Harrison.—It can hardly be denied that the promptitude with which Mr. Blaine took issue with Mr. Cleveland on the tariff question was used greatly to the advantage of

the Republicans in the election of Mr. Harrison. The tariff policy had not been fully defined by the Republicans, nor had any representative views of either party defined such a policy till Mr. Cleveland did so in his message of 1888, and Mr. Blaine was the first demonstrative man in the Republican party to accept the issue that Mr. Cleveland's message had irrevocably canonized as a test of Democratic faith, to overthrow which the sequel proved to be an easy task by appealing to the interests of the labor element



THE HON. ROGER Q. MILLS, OF TEXAS.

throughout the country, and asking it to vote for the advocate of a tariff on the ground that it would secure high wages for furnishing a home market for articles of American manufacture.

2. **The McKinley Tariff.**—Consistent with this, plans were laid to frame a new tariff bill raising the duties on nearly every article of American manufacture, which bill

was popularly known as the McKinley Tariff. After much canvassing on the part of the Republicans among the various manufacturing interests of the country to bring to light such facts and statistics as in the opinion of friends of the bill the best good of the employer and the employee required, rates were established on almost every article of



EX-GOV. OGLESBY, OF ILLINOIS.

manufacture. The bill became a law after passing both Houses, and being duly signed by the President, taking effect October 6, 1890. It was a partisan measure to the exclusion of any of the versatile methods known to local or

clannish interests sometimes thrust into the area of partisanship, though Mr. Randall, a Democrat, but not of the stalwart brand, lent his influence in favor of the bill.

3. **The Contesting Cities for the Location of the World's Fair.**—The fourth century was now near at hand, whose close marked the eventful date of the discovery of the New World by Columbus. Plans had been laid for a fitting cele-



THE HON. JOSEPH P. FORAKER, OF OHIO

bration of this wondrous episode, and where should this take place? The contesting cities for the location of the World's Fair were Chicago, New York, Washington and St. Louis. Each of the cities were represented by committees and all made a strong and determined effort to win the prize. The matter was decided when the vote was taken

on the insertion of the name of the city in the bill authorizing the Fair. The contest was confined to the House of Representatives, the Senate being willing to accept any location chosen by the House

4. **The Vote for the Various Cities.**—Upon location the vote stood for the various cities as follows:

Ballots.	Chicago.	New York.	Washington.	St. Louis.
First vote.....	115	72	56	61
Second vote.....	121	83	46	59
Third vote.....	127	92	34	53
Fourth vote.....	134	95	29	48
Fifth vote.....	140	110	24	38
Sixth vote.....	149	116	19	28
Seventh vote.....	155	112	17	27
Eighth vote.....	157	107	18	25

Total vote, 307; necessary for choice, 154 on the last ballots.

5. **Idaho and Wyoming were Admitted as States.**—Idaho and Wyoming were admitted as states and the new territory of Oklahoma created. During the administration an appropriation of \$500,000 was made wherewith to begin the construction of the Hennepin canal, to connect the waters of the Mississippi river at the mouth of Rock river to those of the Illinois river near Hennepin.

6. **The Pan American Confederation.**—The Pan American Confederation convened at Washington, of which James G. Blaine was president, and a cordial feeling of national comity of interests was a general result, but many of the special things aimed at were not secured because none of them seemed to favor the interests of each and every nation represented. Nothing short of separate treaty with each could do this.

7. **The Exciting Question.**—The exciting questions before this administration created unusual interest, not only as to party, but what men in that party should fulfil its requirements.

8. **The Republican Convention.**—The Republican convention to nominate their candidate met at Minneapolis June 7, 1892. There were three candidates in the field—Harrison, Blaine and McKinley—but the real contest was between the first two. Harrison was chosen candidate for President, and Whitelaw Reid candidate for Vice-President, by a decisive majority, after a great display of prestige to create favorable impressions toward each respective candidate.

9. **A Platform Friendly to the Protection Policy.**—A platform was adopted friendly to the protection policy, which the party had advocated with success in the previous canvass.



J. B. WEAVER,
Candidate for President—Peoples Party.

10. The Democratic Convention.—The Democratic convention met at Chicago June 21, 1892. The contestants for nomination were Cleveland, Hill, and Governor Bois, of Iowa. Mr. Cleveland received the nomination for President by a large majority, and Adlai E. Stephenson for Vice-President.

11. The Platform Adopted.—In the platform adopted there was no letting down as to the policy reducing the tariff, and the policy of civil service reform was advocated.

12. The Peoples Party Convention.—The Peoples party held their convention at Omaha. James B. Weaver was nominated as candidate for President and James G. Field for Vice-President.

Its platform demanded a national currency to be issued by the government.

13. The Prohibition Convention.—The Prohibition convention met at Cincinnati June 29, John Bidwell, of California, was nominated as candidate for President and Gideon L. Stewart for Vice-President.

14. Votes of the Electoral College February 8, 1893.—Grover Cleveland, 277, President; Adlai E. Stephenson, 277, Vice-President; Benjamin Harrison, 145, President; White-law Reid, 145, Vice-President; James B. Weaver, 22, President; James G. Field, 22, Vice-President. Cleveland and Stevenson were inaugurated March 4, 1893.



ADLAI STEVENSON,
Vice-President

The Political Events and Issues of the Twenty-Seventh Administration.

1. **The Election of Mr. Cleveland an Unexpected Surprise.**—The election of Mr. Cleveland was an unexpected surprise to the Republicans and his first acts soon gave them an opportunity to criticise his policy.

2. **The Hawaiian Issue.**—Among the last official acts of President Harrison was his friendly recognition of the revolutionary government of Hawaii. This was overruled by Mr. Cleveland, he not receiving its accredited minister. For this he was severely censured by the entire Republican party, nor did he escape condemnation from some Demo-

cratic sources. But the great question of the tariff reduction and the currency was destined soon to subordinate all other issues to its earnest attention.

3. **The Repeal of the Sherman Act.**—January 17, 1893, a bill for the repeal of the purchase claims of the Sherman Act of 1890 was reported from the Finance Committee of the Senate with an amendment. The provisions of this bill may be found on a preceding page. The bill passed both Houses rejecting the amendment, Mr. Sherman himself being foremost in using his influence for its repeal.

4. **The Tariff Question.**—The Executive was also pronounced in his conviction in favor of the repeal of the bill, and signed it immediately on its passage. The silver issue being disposed of, at least temporarily, it was in order to take up the tariff question.

5. **The Most Stubbornly Fought Battle.**—Probably the most stubbornly fought battle ever carried on by our lawmakers in Congress preceded the passage of the new tariff law, which went into effect on the 26th of August, 1894. For the first time in a generation the Democratic party found itself practically in control of every branch of the government on the 4th of March, 1893. The political campaign of the preceding year had been contested on the tariff issue. The Democratic platform of 1892 was pronounced in its opposition to the high protective system then in operation, while the Republican platform was as positive in its declarations favoring the protective policy of the administration of Mr. Harrison. Both the popular and electoral vote of the country was largely on the side of a change in the tariff policy of the country.

6. **The Regular Session of Congress.**—The regular session of Congress opened on the first Monday in December, 1893, but it was not until January 8 that the bill was introduced into the House. The introduction of the bill raised a storm of disapproval against it, a large proportion of which came from the Republicans, but its provisions for free wool, coal, lumber, sugar and iron ore caused violent opposition from Democrats representing states where those interests were likely to be seriously affected. In the whole history of the government it may be doubted whether any previous attempt at tariff reform had been so radical as was to be accomplished by the Wilson bill, for it proposed, within the space of one year, to abolish about 38 per cent. of the duties then being paid upon imports, besides carrying to the free list manufactures and farm products which paid from 50 to 60 per cent. duties.

The bill, however, passed the House by a vote of 204 to



CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW,
The silver tongued orator.

140, and went to the Senate February 2, 1894, where it was confronted by a condition of things wholly unlike that which existed in the house. The Democratic strength in the Senate was exactly 44, one more than a majority, there being three vacancies. The Republicans numbered 37, and the Populists 4, whose sympathies were equally divided between the Democrats and Republicans. Under these circumstances it became absolutely essential for the Democrats to command every vote in their own party to carry any measure they might present, while it was apparent that the Democrats in the Senate were more strongly inclined than those in the House to a moderate degree of protection.

7. **The General Debate in the Senate.**—The general debate began in the Senate on the 2d of April and closed

on the 24th, after which the bill was considered by paragraph, until the 3d of July, when the final vote was taken. Thus, after five months of consideration and debate the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 39 to 34. The affirmative vote was cast by 37 Democrats and 2 Populists (Kyle, of South Dakota, and Allen, of Nebraska), while the negative vote was made up of 31 Republicans, 2 Populists, Peffer, of Kansas, and Stewart, of Nevada), and one Democrat (Mr. Hill, of New York), who opposed the measure on account of its income tax feature

The bill then went to the conference committee of the two Houses, and the result was as was generally expected.

8. The Deadlock.—The deadlock continued, but party harmony had given way to pride of opinion and personal feeling. Proposals of compromise were made and rejected and bitterness of feeling grew more intense each day. A caucus was held in the House at the suggestion of some who were willing to yield to the Senate, but nothing was accomplished. Another caucus of the House was held on August 13, the House ending the struggle by accepting the Senate bill in its entirety in place of the Wilson bill. The bill passed the House and was sent to the President on August 15 and became a law without his approval.

9. Why the President Did Not Sign the Bill.—The reason why the President did not sign the bill was because he did not wish to go on record as approving it with the amendments that had divested it of its most radical reduction in tariff rates.

10. The Silver Issue.—The present administration is now (1895) in a pivoted state as to the silver issue, which is uppermost among the versatile elements of economic theories representing varied interests of the country, and here it may not be improper to state that if the interest of the capitalist only was to be looked after the case would be very simple. Whereas, if the government is "by the people and for the people" the case is complicated with many plans and theories to be sublimated into one harmonious whole as they must be by a popular verdict.

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the capi-
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ople and
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whole as



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ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

A	PAGE	D	PAGE
Adams', John, Administration ..	472	Decoration Day, Origin of	238
" John Quincy, " ..	495		
American Independence, Story of	61		
" Tramp	365		
Arbitration, International	303	E	
" Law Effective	257	Education in Canada	414
Arthur's Administration	564	" and Crime	241
Atlantic Cable, Laying of	185	Electric Light, Invention of	194
Australian Ballot	234	" Telegraph, Story of the	183
		Election Systems, Dangers in ...	459
B			
Ballot Reform Movement	368		
Bank of North America	323	F	
Banking in Canada	341	Filibustering	235
Bimetallism	332	Fillmore's Administration	520
Buchanan's Administration	528	Flag, British, "Union Jack" ...	399
		Flag, Origin of our National	
C		United States	401
Cables, Different Submarine Lines	187	Free Trade, Principles of	301
" Laying of Atlantic	185		
Canada, Dominion of	248	G	
" Parliament of	83-99	Garfield's Administration	558
" Story of	44	Gerrymandering	349
Canadas, The Two	135	Gold and Silver Coinage	335
Census, Figures from	245	" " Dimensions of ..	340
Chicago, History of	444	Grant's Administration	546
Cities, Growth of, in Canada	118	Greatness, Growth and Resources	
" " in United States	120	of the United States	129
" " Serious Problem of Gov-			
ernment of	124	H	
Citizenship	11	Harrison's, William H., Admin-	
Citizen, Duties of American	13	istration	511
" Political Training for the	17	Harrison's, Benjamin, Adminis-	
" Rights of American	33	tration	569
Civil and Political Rights	30	Hayes' Administration	554
" Service Rules, Canada ..	351	History of World's Fair City ...	444
" " " United States	354	History, Two Threads North Am-	
Cleveland's First Administration	567	erican	26
" Second "	575	Homestead Laws, Canadian	379
Competition that Kills	270	" " United States.	384
Congress, Changes in	406	How Five Thousand Cattle are	
" Origin of	44	Killed and Dressed in a day ..	204
" compared with Euro-		How Hogs are Killed and Dressed	206
pean Parliaments	74		
Congress, How Bills are Passed			
and Laws made in	99	I	
Cornerstone of United States		Immigration	395
History	396	Independence, Declaration of ...	69
Constitution of United States ...	447	" " Story of American	61
Cotton Gin, The	198		

	PAGE
Jackson's Administration	498
Jefferson's "	476
Johnson's "	543

L

Labor, Blighting Curse of	271
" Conciliation, Boards of ..	264
" Emancipated	276
" Legislation	267
" Principles of Organized ..	265
Land, How to Locate	383
" Surveys	378
Land, how Surveyed	381
Legislative Obstructions	235
Lincoln's Administrations	540

M

Madison's Administrations	438
Money, Banking and Insurance in Canada	341
Military, Defence of Canada	434
" Training in Pub. Schools ..	437
Money, First in America	320
" Philosophy and Laws that Govern it	326
Money, Different Commodities used as	325
Money, History of Paper, in the United States	322
Monroe Administrations	488
" Doctrine, Canadian view ..	372
" " United States	373
Morse's, Prof., Trial	180

N

Nations' Guard, Coming Ameri- can	436
Naturalization in Canada	390
" Laws in United States	371
Naval School, Admission to	440

O

Our Country	129
" National Dangers	227
" " Flag	401
" " Greatness	172

P

Panics, History of, in United States	324
Parliamentary Laws	112
Party Government	220
Population of Provinces, Cities, and Towns of Canada	118

PAGE

Population of principal cities in United States	121
Political Landslides of United States	240
Political Parties, Origin of United States	214
Political Spoils, System in Am- erica	230
Polk's Administration	516
Pierce's "	516
Property and Lands owned by Foreigners	409
Protection, Principles of	278
Provincial Constitution	108
Public Opinion	303
" Speaker, How to become one	40

R

Railroads, Rights of the Govern- ment to Control	212
Railroads, Shall the Government own	208
Railroad, Story of the first	157
Republic, Dominion	15

S

School Savings Bank	427
" System, Origin and His- tory	418
Schools, The hope of our Public ..	423
Silver Question, both sides	342
Statesmen, Opportunities of the Young	22
Steamboat, The first	191
Street Car, " "	201
Strikes, Right and Wrong of	260
" Preventing	257
Surveying	378

T

Tariffs, Canadian	281
" McKinley and Wilson	290
" History of American	283
" Table	293
Taylor's Administration	520
Telegraphs, Printing	131
Telephone, The Discovery of	197
Temperance in Canada	318
" The Gothenburg Sys- tem of	128
The Story of first Sewing Machine ..	177
Territory Ceded to the United States	411
Travelling, A New Era in	199
Trusts, Causes and Effects of	369
Tyler's Administration	514

PAGE
..... 238

..... 414
..... 241
..... 194
f the 183
in ... 459

..... 235
..... 520
..... 399
tional
..... 401
..... 301

..... 558
..... 349
..... 335
s of .. 340
..... 546
sources
..... 129

Admin-
..... 511
Adminis-
..... 569
..... 554
lty ... 444
rth Am-
..... 26
an ... 379
States. 334
ttle are
day .. 204
Dressed 206

..... 395
on of ... 69
merican 61

PAGE
..... 24
..... 376
st of 376
n ... 464
one . 166
..... 367
..... 305
PAGE
..... 308
..... 370
..... 398
..... 445
orgia. 561
..... 489
..... 551
..... 567
..... 380
..... 139
..... 143
e Ques-
..... 128
of the
..... 239
..... 258
..... 272
Silver 339
..... 403
bl boys 428
ndence,
..... 70
..... 534
..... 577
..... 195
..... 97
..... 25
..... 193

PAGE
Filling the Party Orator with
Political wind 223
First Continental Money..... 320
Fakir 322
First United States Coins, 1783.. 338
Flag of the Royal Savage, 1776 .. 405
Father of Our Country..... 466
Fillmore, Millard 520
Foraker, Hon. Joseph P., of Ohio 572

G

Gerrymandering..... 349
Grant, Ulysses S..... 546
Gorman, Hon. Arthur P., of
Maryland 556
Garfield, James A 559
General Post-office, Ottawa 351
Gladstone, Hon. W. E. 372
Greenway, Hon. Thos..... 400

H

Honest Industry 31
Henry, Patrick 42
Henry, Patrick, Addressing the
Continental Congress 64
Howe, Elias, Inventor of Sewing
Machines 178
Headquarters of the National
Executive Committee 237
Homeless, But Willing to Work. 387
House in Philadelphia 401
Hamilton, Alexander 447
Harrison, William H. 512
Hayes, Rutherford B. 555
Harrison, Benjamin 569
Halifax, N.S. 163
Hardy, Hon. A. S. 255

I

Independence Hall 61
In the Jail Yard..... 418

J

Jefferson, Thomas 476
Jackson, Andrew 498
Johnson, Andrew 543

K

Kirkpatrick, Hon. Geo. A..... 108
Killing Cattle at Armour's..... 204

L

Lord Aberdeen 87
Laurier, Hon. Wilfrid 89
Lynch Law 34

PAGE
Lafayette 303
Listening to Horr and Harvey .. 344
Land Surveys 378
Lincoln, Hon. Robt., of Illinois.. 589
Lamont, Hon. Daniel, Secretary
of War 443
Lincoln Splitting Rails..... 533
Lee, Major-General Robt. E. 538
Lincoln, Abraham. 540
Logan, Hon. John A., of Illinois. 562
Luxury 288
Lady Aberdeen 305

M

Montoalm..... 46
Morse, Prof. Samuel F. B. 181
Modern Dining Car 190
Monuments of American Enter-
prise 211
Massachusetts and Connecticut
Cent 334
Map of Land Owned by Foreign-
ers 409
Mortgage Grip, The 412
Military Training in Public
Schools 438
Mount Vernon..... 470
Madison, James 484
Monroe, James 488
Mills, Hon. Roger F. 570
Montreal from Harbor..... 164
Mowat, Sir Oliver 254

Mc

McKinley, Hon. Wm. M., of Ohio 283
Macdonald, Late Sir John A. 250
Mackenzie, Late Hon. Alex. 251

N

New York in 1612 and 1846..... 120
New Hampshire Shilling, 1776 .. 323
New England Shilling, 1652. 326
Not Recognized 356
Native Turks 396
No School in Reach 419

O

On a Commercial Trip..... 325
Our Foreign Friends..... 391
Oglesby, ex-Governor of Illinois. 570

P

Pioneer Life..... 55
Parliament Buildings, Ottawa... 83
Parliament Buildings, Toronto.. 110

	PAGE		PAGE
Public Punishment in Olden Times	33	The Old Chair Used by the First Congress	67
Passing the Stamp Act in Parliament	65	The National Capitol at Washington, D.C.	75
Pueblo Smelting and Refining Company	174	The House of Lords	77
Politicians Fixing Up a Ticket	232	The English Parliament Buildings	79
Political Map of 1892	243	The First Hotel in Boston	130
Political Map of 1894	244	The Home of Our Grandmother	133
Platt, T. C., ex-United States Senator from New York	408	The First Warship	169
Parkhurst, Rev. Dr	450	The Modern Warship	170
Polk, James K.	516	The Last of Their Race	173
Pierce, Franklin	323	The First Governor's House in New York	176
		The First Telegraph Instrument	182
		The House Where the First Telegraph Instruments were Made	183
Q		The First Recording Telegraph Instrument	184
Quebec	44	The First Railroad Engine	188
Queen Victoria	86	The First Railroad Train	189
Queen of the Ocean	443	The First Steamboat	191
Quebec from Levis	151	The First Bicycle	199
		The Old Style	207
R		The effects of Monopoly	208
Reid, Whitelaw	115	The Old Stage Coach	209
Revenue Collector's Office	279	The Great Tunnel	210
Russell, Hon. Mr., of Massachusetts	285	The Discovery of Printing by Gutenberg	226
Ross, Hon. G. W., LL.D	415	The Ward Heeler	231
		The Effect of Strikes	261
S		The Coal Miner's Lot	278
Sumner, Charles, America's Ablest Statesman	18	The Woman Who Does Not Care to Vote	312
Stevenson, Adlai	116	The Woman Who Would Vote	315
Sutler's Mill—Gold Discovery in California	168	Talking Politics at Home	317
Stephenson, John	201	The Maryland Shilling, 1659	324
Sticking Hogs at Armour's	205	The Run on the Bank	346
Sovereign, J. R.	263	The Successful Candidate	355
Some of the First Coins made in the United States	333	The Czar of Russia	374
Studying the Silver Question	343	The Mission of Peace	377
Simpson, Jerry, ex-United States Senator from Kansas	407	The Professional Tramp	386
School Savings Bank, A.	431	The Tramp Who Had to Earn His Meal	388
Sea Battle, The Outcome of a	441	The Market Wagon of Fifty Years Ago	394
Sherman, Hon. John, of Ohio	426	The First South Carolina Flag, 1775	402
Schurz, Hon. Carl, of Missouri	433	The Gadsden Flag, 1776	402
Stevens, Alexander H.	536	The Stars and Stripes	405
St. John, Hon. John P.	569	Teaching School, The Old Way of	420
Stevenson, Adlai, Vice-President	576	Teaching School, The New Way of	422
		The Teacher Closing School	424
T		The Man Who Never Reads the Papers	459
The Home of the First Law Maker in America	30	The Results of Election	461
The Beheading Block	35	Tyler, John	514
The Desk on which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence	63	Taylor, Zachary	518
		Tilden, Samuel J.	553
		Typesetting Machine	287
		Tupper, Sir Charles, Bart	256

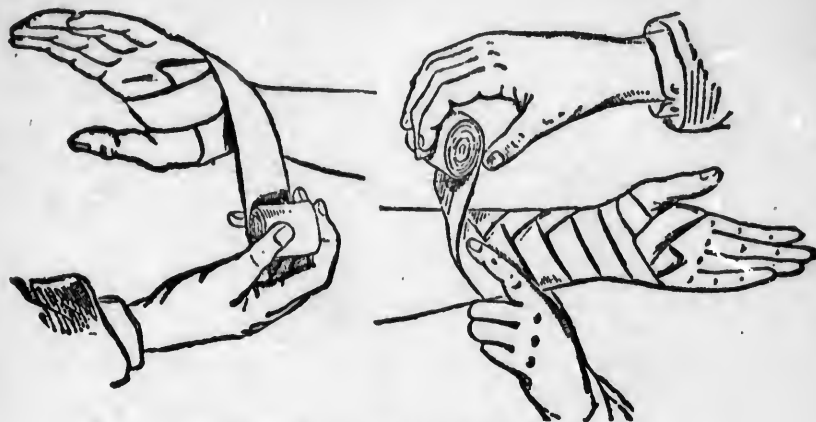
PAGE	U	PAGE	PAGE
First	Use of Electric Light on War-	196	Washington Resigning His Com-
ding-	ships	196	mission
75	United States Seal	321	Where Our Grandfathers Voted .
77			37
79	V		Webster, Daniel
130			40
133	Vail, Judge Stephen	186	Washington's Official Carriage ..
169	Van Buren, Martin	507	175
170			Whitney's Cotton Gin ..
173			193
use in			Wall Street, New York
176			215
ment, 182			Woman's Rights
Tele-			310
Made, 183			Watterson, Henry
graph			454
184			Washington, George
188			465
189			Weaver, J. B.
191			574
199			Wilson, Hon. W. L.
207			291
208			Winnipeg in 1871
209			353
210			Wolf's Cove
ng by			159
226			
231			
261			
278			
t Care			
312			
ote... 315			
317			
9..... 324			
346			
355			
374			
377			
386			
Earn			
388			
Years			
394			
Flag,			
402			
402			
405			
Way of 420			
Way of 422			
pl..... 424			
ds the			
459			
461			
514			
518			
553			
287			
256			





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—OF—
Family Receipts.





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