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We are happy in being able to announce that we are preparing to issue an exceptionally brilliant

## Christmas Number

of the CANADIAN ILLUSTRATED NEWS, which will be published on Thursday, the 24th inst. Besides the usual literary and pictorial attractions of our ordinary issues, this number will contain several

### SPLENDID ILLUSTRATIONS

symbolical of the season, as well as several CHRISTMAS STORIES from the pen of our ablest writers.

### THE NEW STORY.

In this issue we give a further liberal instalment of WILKIE COLLINS' new story.

### THE LAW AND THE LADY.

This story, considered the best yet written by Mr. Collins, was begun in the CANADIAN ILLUSTRATED NEWS of Nov. 7, (Number 19).

Back numbers can be had on application.

We beg to call the attention of News Dealers throughout the country to the fact that we have secured the sole right for Canada of publishing "The Law and the Lady" in serial form.

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### TO THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

Permit us to call your attention to the advantages of publicity offered by the CANADIAN ILLUSTRATED NEWS to Advertisers, especially Merchants, Manufacturers, Hotel-Keepers, Railway and Steamship Companies, Professional men, and others, desirous of reaching the best classes of the community in every part of the Dominion. It has other points to recommend it besides its large and wide-spread circulation. In the first place, it is a family paper, taken home, read from beginning to end, and kept on the parlor table throughout the week, and then put by, and finally bound; not, as befalls the daily paper, torn up, after a rapid perusal of telegraphic news. The children con over the pictures, read the stories and the funny column, and finally meander among the advertisements and call their parent's attention to those that suit them. The ladies peruse it from end to end, dwelling especially on the fashions and the ladies' column, then naturally turn to the advertising pages to know where to buy the materials for that dress, or the ingredients for that *Poudingue à la Casarevitch*. The men read the leading articles, the stories, the paragraphs, study the cartoons and other pictures, night after night, and while sipping their *hot stuff*, or enjoying their Havana, pore over the advertisements, and make up their mind to go next day and buy that fur coat, that hall-stove, or that superb excellent sherry. Then again the limited space reserved to advertisements being less than one-fifth of the paper, secures to each advertisement greater attention, whilst most papers devote one-half or two-thirds of their available space to advertisements, which are mostly doomed to oblivion in the great mass. Also, the very low price charged, being much less than several weekly newspapers in Canada, and far lower than any illustrated Paper in the United States, where the prices are from ten to forty times higher than ours, without an equivalent difference in circulation. And finally, remember that, while serving your own interest in the CANADIAN ILLUSTRATED NEWS, you contribute to the support and improvement of this national enterprise, and consequently to the work of progress and education effected by the spread of art and literature.

## CANADIAN ILLUSTRATED NEWS,

Montreal, Saturday, Dec. 12th, 1874.

### COMPULSORY VOTING.

Our doctrinaire friends in Ontario are moving so fast that it is difficult to keep up with them. When the programme of "Canada First" was made public, only a few months ago, we took early occasion to give our views thereon, but it was in a *dilettante* fashion, and without any insistence, from a vague impression that, as so often happens with schemes of electoral and constitutional reform, there would be no performance following on the heels of the propositions. In this estimate we have been mistaken, and we feel ourselves bound to make amends. Last week, accordingly, we broached the subject of the Representation of Minorities, in deference to the zeal and activity brought to bear on the discussion by some of the ablest pens in Ontario. This week we must say a few words on Compulsory Voting, a measure which has already made such headway, that Mr. BETHUNE has proposed a Bill before the Provincial Legislature to have it introduced into the Ontario elections.

This question, to be properly understood, must be philosophically discussed. Its true acceptance hinges almost exclusively upon the intrinsic quality of the franchise. According as we differ on the meaning of that term, we shall differ on the opportunity and necessity of Compulsory Voting. The franchise may be viewed from a three-fold standpoint—as a privilege, a right, and a duty. The first view is accepted in Britain, Germany, Canada, and wherever only a limited or qualified suffrage is in vogue. The second view is received in France and the United States, where manhood suffrage is literally universal. The third view was first broached by SOLON, who made it the foundation of his electoral system, and who forced every Athenian citizen, by stringent legislation, to deposit his ostrakon or shell, on every public occasion. But since his time, we know of no nation—at least no modern nation—which has acted on this ideal.

Now, it is beyond dispute that, theoretically, this third definition of the franchise is the only one from which Compulsory Voting can be deduced as a corollary. Strictly speaking, it is a contradiction in terms to say that you can force a man to exercise a privilege. Similarly, and more strikingly still, it sounds odd to declare that you can punish a man for not exercising a right. Both Privilege and Right presuppose free-will, and are repugnant to the idea of coercion. We are aware that, in practice, these distinctions have not been observed, as numerous historical examples show. We have, however, nothing to do with such exceptions, because we have been dealing with the question in the abstract only.

But even taking the franchise to be a duty, it does not necessarily follow that it should be compulsory. Every moral obligation need not be made a legal one, and every legal obligation should not be made punitive. Besides the fact that it is very difficult to define the nature and circumscribe the limits of any moral duty, there remains the further difficulty of ascertaining how far the observance of that duty may be turned to good by penal measures. This is a problem which has perplexed moralists and law-givers in all times.

The advocates of Compulsory Voting assume, of course—as they are bound to assume—that the franchise is a duty, and they divide this duty under triple heads. They hold that the voter is obliged to deposit, in the electoral urn, one of three ballots—an affirmative, a negative, or a blank ballot. This is substantially what is done in France, where the *livres de circonscription* record the *ouïs*, the *nonis*, and the *abstentions*. But we are inclined to affirm that there is, theoretically, a fourth alternative—not to deposit a ballot at all. We think we can imagine circumstances

of such peculiar and critical importance when an elector may consider it a duty not to go near the election booth, and ignore the election altogether. There may be momentous times, terrible hours, when the scorn of total absence, the eloquence of total silence, may be as much an obligation as the record of a blank vote. That there can exist such circumstances may not interfere with the general working of a compulsory electoral law, but the fact militates against the theory of its philosophical necessity or equity.

In throwing out these views, we are not to be supposed to argue against the merits of the proposed Ontario Bill. We have not yet received the text of Mr. BETHUNE's propositions, although we think we can guess their main purport from what we know of the writings of recent political economists on the subject. We have chosen rather to treat the matter analytically, first, because it never does any harm to go down to the logical foundations of such things; and, secondly, because we strongly endorse the general principle that no penal legislation, especially affecting the liberty of the subject, should be introduced into any constitutional scheme, without an overwhelming necessity.

### IMMIGRATION POLICY.

In our recent notice of some interesting facts respecting Mennonite Immigration to Manitoba, we promised to make further allusion to the policy under which this remarkable people have come to settle in Canada. The question is one of practical interest, as appears from a discussion which has taken place in the Ontario Legislature, not directly in reference to the Mennonites, but to Immigration generally.

It appears from the last report of the Hon. Mr. LETELLIER, the Minister of Agriculture, that a delegation of Mennonite leaders visited Canada, in the summer of 1873, and that the previous Government made to them some offers entailing upon the Dominion considerable obligations in order to induce the community thus represented to take up its residence in Canada. These obligations, entered into with third parties, have, of course, become binding upon the whole country. They are, 1st, entire exemption from military service; 2nd, Free Grants of land in Manitoba; 3rd, the privilege of religious schools of their own; 4th, the privilege of affirming instead of making oath in courts; 5th, the issue of Passenger Warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for \$30 per adult, \$15 per children under 8 years, and \$3 for infants under one year; 6th, that these prices shall not be changed during the years 1874, 1875 and 1876, and if changed afterwards, not to exceed \$40, until the year 1882; and 7th, the Immigrants to be provided with provisions for their journey between Liverpool and Collingwood.

According to the report we have referred to, the minimum obligation of the Canadian Government towards every Mennonite adult Immigrant is \$20, over and above the \$30 he himself is bound to pay. It is however, to be observed, that this calculation, the elements of which are given in the report, may have been slightly altered in favour of the Government by the break in prices of transport which we are aware has taken place.

Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that the cost of a large Immigration under the obligations which have been contracted, will amount to a very considerable figure. The settlement itself in Manitoba is a very great success, and it has imported a large amount of wealth into the country out of all proportion to the cost. This is altogether apart from the American and Prussian argument that the actual value of every Immigrant settler in the country, rich and poor, man and woman, ranges from \$800 to \$1,500 *per capita*.

We notice that in the Ontario Legislature, Mr. CAMERON, the other day, offered a resolution condemning the Government for the expenditure of so large a sum of money for so few Immigrants brought to the country; and we see by the Report to which we have referred, that the sum of \$511,250.78

was spent by the Dominion and the Provinces in 1873 for Immigration purposes. Of this sum, the Dominion spent \$261,515, Ontario \$159,178, Quebec \$40,681, New Brunswick \$37,103, and Nova Scotia \$7,772. The total number of Immigrants reported to have settled in the Dominion, as against this large expenditure was \$50,050.

The country has clamoured for the promotion of Immigration and it is perfectly certain, that if this is to be stimulated to any extent, very large sums of money will require to be spent, both on the other side of the Atlantic for obtaining Immigrants, and on this for settling them. It is certain also, that the Canadian votes for the promotion of Immigration are as nothing compared with those of the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, the agents of which are very actively in the market in the Mother country, and make actual cash advances sometimes of £20 stg. per Immigrant, besides offering large advantages in the colonies themselves. The subject is however, much more complex here from our proximity to the United States, but there is a question whether considerable sums of money may not be advantageously spent in judicious colonization, such for instance as the Mennonite.

### LABOUR AND CAPITAL.

It seems that strikes are always in order. The recent agricultural lock-out in England, the present action of the ten thousand longshoremen at New York, the resistance of the coal-miners in Pennsylvania, and the discontent of the Vermont Central employees at St. Johns, Quebec, are only further proofs of this. To preach against the revolutionary tendencies of such movements is of no avail, for the word revolution frightens no one now-a-days, and is regarded rather as complimentary than otherwise. It is best to take a practical view of the whole matter, as it severally affects the workingman himself, the capitalist, and the general public.

If the workingman imagines he is benefitting himself in any pecuniary way by his forcible demand for higher wages, it is as well he should know at once that he is sadly mistaken. He should be made acquainted with this elementary fact of political economy, that labour is the standard by which the value of all commodities is decided; and that, according as this standard varies, up or down, the prices of commodities must rise or fall. If wages advance fifty per cent., every article of domestic consumption will advance proportionately. Green groceries will rise, fuel will rise, meats will rise, rents will rise. If the workingman, who earns two dollars to-day, strikes for five to-morrow, let him not fancy that he is going to pocket the difference of three dollars. By no means. The difference goes to others, not to him. Would he know to whom? To the retail dealers. The family grocers, for instance, at the corners of our streets, make their fortunes in this way. In order to derive the profits of their advanced wages, labourers should not be obliged to pay the excess of cost over value, as they do now, that is, they should not have to pay the current rates for commodities which, when bought by dealers, cost them sometimes fifty or a hundred per cent. less than the prices asked. Hence there is a way, though not a very easy one, for labourers to profit by their strikes. It is to club together and buy direct from producers or wholesale dealers. Thus they may purchase butter, eggs, milk, cheese, poultry, vegetables, from farmers, and other necessaries at the wholesale premiums awarded to the trade. To do this, they must have an understanding together and form associations. These Co-operative Societies are already old in England, and have been fairly successful. There are, we know, social and political objections to them, but with such we have nothing to do at present.

If the individual workingman is not benefitted by the strikes, neither is the employer damaged, as many fallaciously suppose. The employer has a compara-