

in which we are now called upon to show our devotion to the State. The citizen of Sparta, or the peasant of Schwytz, who went out to repel the invader, went under circumstances which touched his imagination and raised his emotion to the highest point. In the days when the safety of England was threatened, the achievements of Drake at sea, the chivalric gallantry of Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen, struck a chord which vibrated in every English heart. To us, with exceptions too few to be worth regarding, such a stimulus is seldom applied. What can be less romantic, and to the outward eye and ordinary apprehension less inspiring than the methods of our elections—meetings of committees and selections of candidates; platform harangues, and huntings up of careless voters, and marking crosses on bits of paper in hideous polling booths, with sawdust-sprinkled floors? Even the civic strife in Parliaments and County Councils, exciting as it often is, wants the elements which still dazzle imagination from the conflicts of fleets and armies of the past. The third difficulty springs from the extent to which party spirit tends to overlay, if not to supersede, national spirit in those self-governing countries whose politics are worked by parties. To the ordinary citizen, participation in the government of his country appears in the form of giving a vote. His vote must be given for a party candidate; his efforts must be directed to carrying his party ticket. Each party necessarily identifies its programme and its leaders with the welfare of the State; each seeks to represent its opponents as enemies, even if it may charitably admit them to be rather ignorant than malevolent, still, nevertheless, enemies of the highest interests of the State. As a rule the men who care most about public affairs are the most active and

earnest party men: and thus the idea of devotion to the whole community, and to a national ideal, higher and more enduring than any which party can present, is apt to be obscured and forgotten. We all admit in words that party and its organization are only means by which to secure good government, but, as usually happens, the means so much absorb our energies that the end is apt to slip altogether from our view. These obstacles to the cultivation of civic duty are all obvious, so obvious that I should hesitate to repeat them to you were it not the case that some truths, just because they have passed into truisms, have ceased to be felt as truths. They are obstacles which will not disappear as time goes on, and party organization becomes more perfect. All we can do is to exhort ourselves and one another to feel the growing greatness of the interests committed to our charge, and to remember that civic virtue is not the less virtue because she appears to-day in sober gray, and no longer in the gorgeous trappings of military heroism. Even at Trafalgar there was many a powder-monkey running to and fro between decks who saw nothing and knew little of the progress of the fight, but whose soul had been stirred by the signal of the morning.

“You may ask me in what the habits of civic duty consist which the schoolmaster may seek to form in his pupils and by what methods he is to form them. The habits are, I think, these three—To strive to know what is best for one's country as a whole. To place one's country's interest, when one knows it, above party feeling, or class feeling, or any other sectional passion or motive. To be willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious trouble, for the well-governing of every public community one belongs to, be it a township or parish, a ward or a city, or the nation