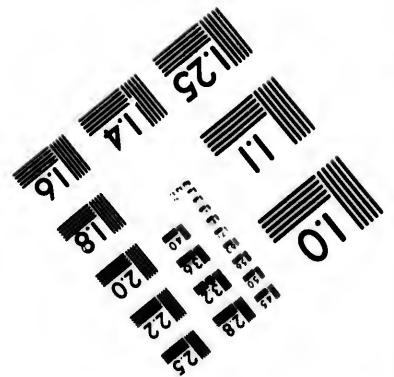
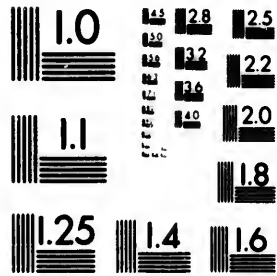


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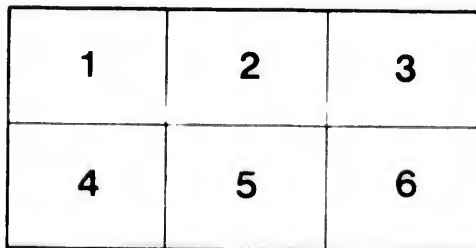
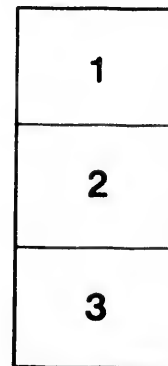
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We do not take possession of
 They master us and for
 Fighting like gladiators we must fight for them.—Hefner.

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The **ARENA**

MAY, 1897

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THE CITIZEN AND HIS CITY: THE CITY AND ITS CITIZEN	Hon. John Boyd Thacher	847
	Mayor of Albany, N. Y.	
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF MOTHERS:		
I. AN INSIDE VIEW	Ellen A. Richardson	857
ADDENDUM	Ex-Gov. John W. Hoyt, LL. D.	863
II. AN OUTSIDE VIEW	Frederick Reed	864
WHY THE PEOPLE ARE "SHORT"	Hon. H. S. Pingree	868
	Governor of Michigan.	
TRADE UNIONS UNDER THE SOLONIC LAW	Hon. C. Osborne Ward	875
	Interpreter to the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.	
CANADA: ITS POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINY	Hon. J. G. Bourinot, C. M. G.	886
	Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons.	
THE STATUS OF WOMAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE	Susan B. Anthony	901
OUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR SERVICE	Hon. Herbert H. D. Peirce	909
	Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg.	
CONCILIATION vs. ARBITRATION	Prof. Courtenay de Kalb	922
A WOMAN FROM ALTRURIA	Gertrude G. de Aguirre	929
SEPULTURE OF THE LIVING	Marvin Dana, F. R. G. S.	935
FALLING PRICES AND IMPOVERISHMENT	Hulbert Fuller, M. D.	940
MALADMINISTRATION OF THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT	Hon. Walter Clark, LL. D.	947
	Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.	
THE SANITATION OF DRINKING WATER	Frank J. Thornbury, M. D.	958
	Of the University of Buffalo, N. Y.	
THE DJINNS: A Poem (from Victor Hugo)	Hubert M. Skinner	966
THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE	The Editor	969
THE EDITOR'S EVENING		975
BOOK REVIEWS } The Story of Canada; A Bard of the Transmissouri		982

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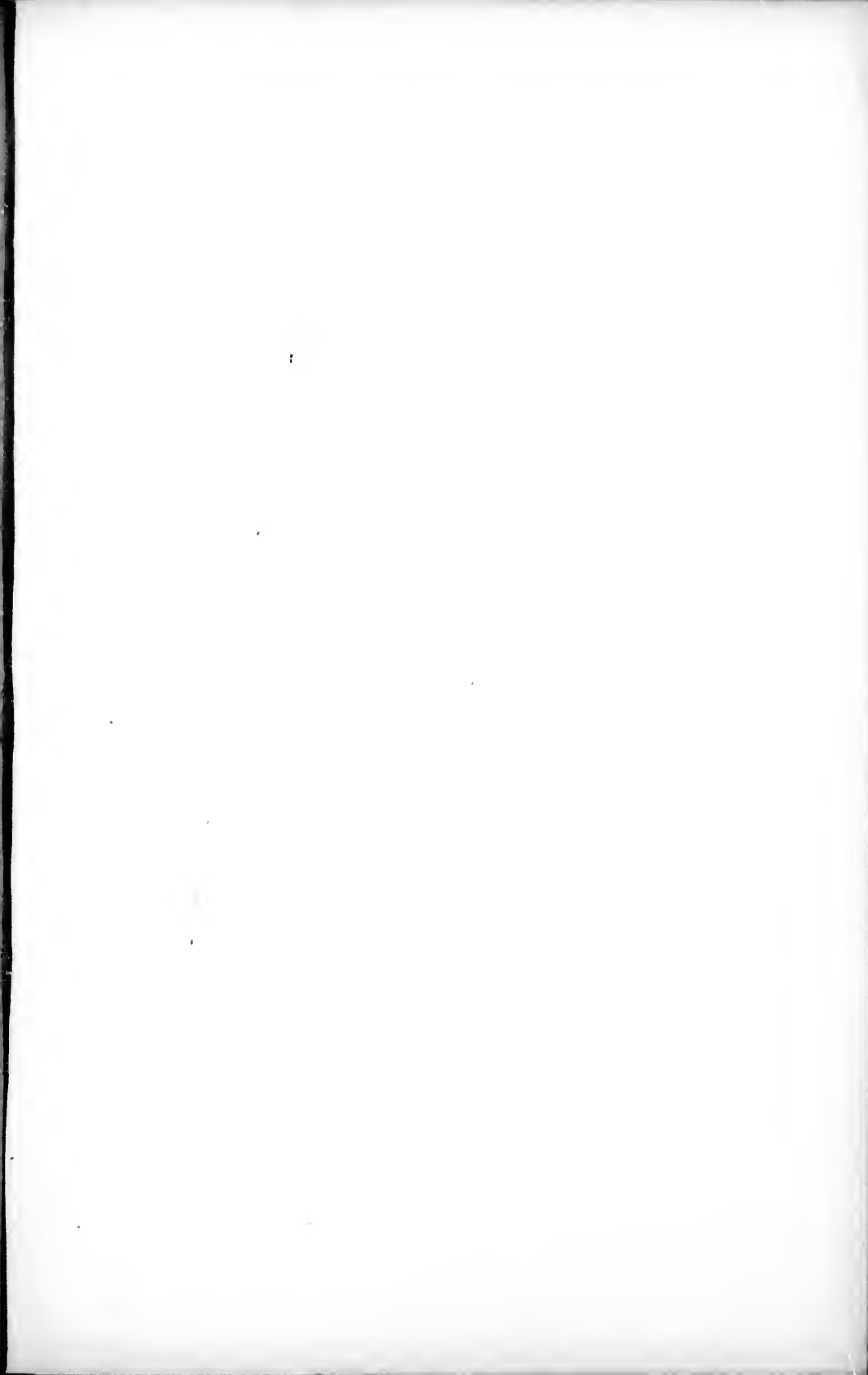
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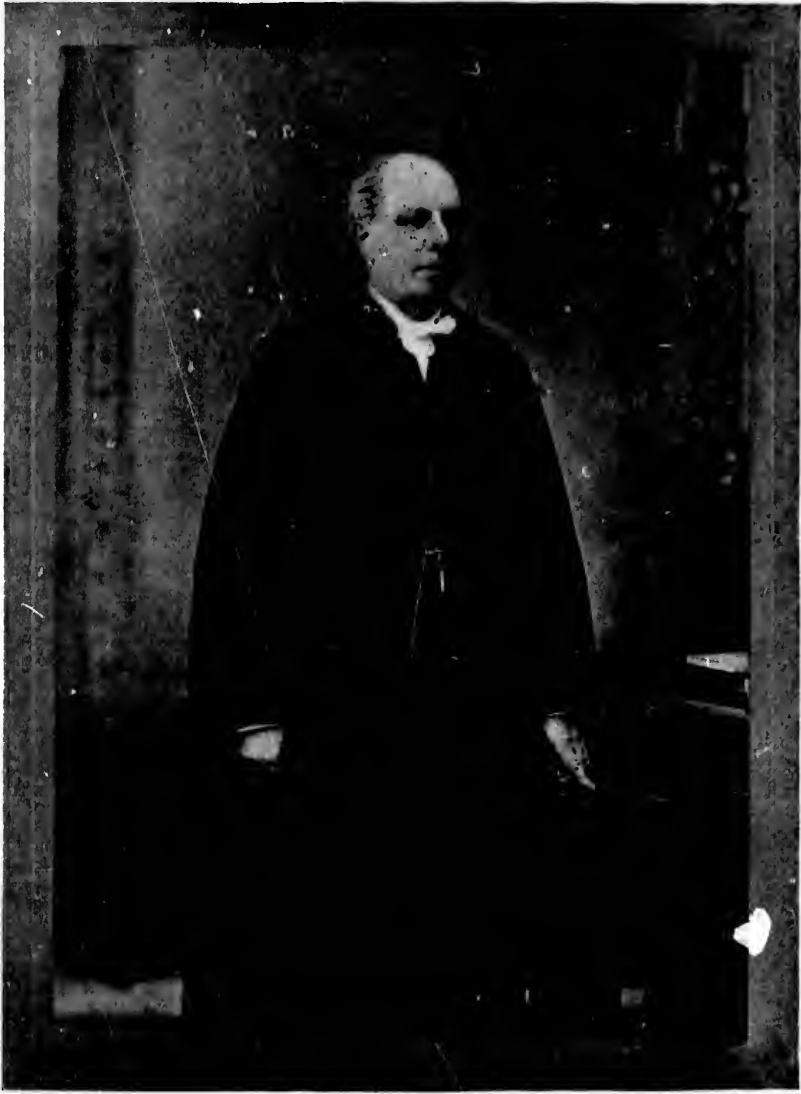
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and restored their right of organization, which this renowned orator had suppressed, lost both his property and his life in that very struggle; that Julius Cæsar suppressed their organizations again; that Christianity was welcomed by them, and nestled and grew in the warm, loving brotherhoods; that Nero ignited the conflagration which consumed Rome, and boasted that he did it to destroy this rabble because their existence was a menace to the power and sacred supremacy of the house of Claudius, of which he imagined himself a lineal descendant.

But perhaps the most remarkable conclusion arrived at by this analysis of evidence is, that the organization of labor to-day was largely planted and cultivated in the mellow ground of these ancient brotherhoods, and that it lives and flourishes because it was nourished in secrecy by them until it could stand alone.

Such is the strange account, in outline, of labor under the Solonic law.

CANADA : ITS POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DESTINY.

BY J. G. BOURINOT, C. M. G., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons.

THIRTY years have passed away since the Canadian Provinces entered upon a new era of political development, and whatever may be the defects of their federal system, it must be admitted that it has on the whole come up to the expectations of its founders. Already the Confederation, originally confined to four provinces, embraces all the territory between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Within a few years a new province has grown up in the vast Northwest, whose natural capabilities for the cultivation of cereals are now generally recognized ; whence, in the course of a few decades of years, a considerable proportion of the world's supply of wheat must come. One great railway which had been long vainly desired by the people of British North America, was built soon after the consolidation of the provinces, and the western country connected with the provinces by the sea. A greater work, clearly of imperial as well as colonial interest, absolutely essential to the settlement of the Northwest and to the unity of the Dominion, has been completed between the Pacific Ocean and the old provinces. Short lines of railway have been built to connect with the three great roads of the Dominion, the Intercolonial, the Canadian Pacific, and the Grand Trunk. The canals have been enlarged so as to give greater facilities for Western traffic, and, if possible, to make the St. Lawrence the principal artery for the rich agricultural country which lies around and beyond the Lakes. Manufactures have sprung up through the artificial stimulus given to capital and industry by a fiscal policy which, whatever English economists may think of its soundness, and however much it may be antagonistic to those principles of free trade which prevail in Great Britain, seems to have originated in the aspirations of a large body of the people to possess a "national policy." The aggregate trade of the Dominion, that is of the imports and exports, has increased in twenty-five years from \$135,000,000 to \$255,000,000, and the revenue has doubled within the same period. The people have now on deposit at interest in the various banks, loan, building, and other companies probably \$120,000,000, or \$24 for every man, woman, and child in Canada.

In addition to its effect upon the material condition of the country, confederation has stimulated the intellectual development of the people. Educational facilities have been improved ; the newspaper

press has largely increased in influence, and not a few works of historical and constitutional value have been produced by Canadian authors; while art, scientific, and literary associations — especially the Royal Society, founded by the Marquis of Lorne — have been stimulated under the inspiration of the more progressive ideas which have been the outcome of a political system which has given a wider scope to intellectual action.

But the most important result of confederation has undoubtedly been the more intimate political, social, and commercial relations that the provinces have with each other. Previous to 1867, while each province had a government and tariff of its own, little intercourse was possible, but now the Maritime and Western sections are brought necessarily into immediate contact with one another, and made to feel that they have a common interest in each other's prosperity. The different races that inhabit Canada have been harmonized to an extent that would hardly have been possible under any other system. The million and a half of people who speak the French language, and still form a distinct section of the population, are found working earnestly with the English-speaking majority in promoting the interests of the whole Dominion. Yet half a century ago the French Canadian people were in rebellion. If we find them now happy and contented, it is because they have at last attained that self-government for which they so long contended previous to 1840, and have special guarantees for the preservation of those institutions to which they are deeply attached. In the same way the Irish are seen working alongside the English and French for the advancement of those interests in which all are equally interested.

When framing the constitution of the Dominion, Canadian statesmen had before them the invaluable experience of the working of two great systems of government — the one in the parent state, the other in the United States. In considering the best method of consolidating the provinces under a federal system they were necessarily guided by the experiences of the great country on their borders. At the same time, while availing themselves of the best features of the American federation, they endeavored to preserve as far as possible those English institutions which are calculated to give stability to their government. The result of their efforts is a constitution which, in the words of the original resolutions of confederation, "follows the model of the British constitution, so far as our circumstances will permit."

The history of the circumstances under which the name "Dominion" came to be given to the united provinces shows the desire of the Canadians to give to the confederation, at the very outset, a monarchical likeness in contradistinction to the republican character of the American

federal union. We have it on the best authority that in 1866-7 the question arose during a conference between the Canadian delegates and the imperial authorities what name should be given to the confederation of the provinces, and it was first proposed that it should be called "the kingdom of Canada"; but it is said that the English ministry thought such a designation inadvisable, chiefly on the ground that it would be probably objectionable to the government of the United States, which had so recently expressed its disapprobation of the attempt of the Emperor Napoleon to establish an imperial European dynasty in Mexico. It is difficult to understand how any parallel could be fairly drawn between the two cases, and most persons, less sensitive than the English ministers, will probably consider that it was paying but a poor compliment to the common sense of the American people to suppose that they could take offence, on any reasonable grounds, at the Canadians, the subjects of the Queen, calling their confederation by a name which would simply illustrate their attachment to those monarchical institutions under which they have been living for a hundred and thirty-four years. However, the Canadian delegates made due allowance for the delicacy of the sentiment of the imperial government, and agreed as a compromise to the less ambitious title, Dominion of Canada, a designation recalling that old Dominion, named by Raleigh in honor of the virgin Queen.

The Dominion is governed by a central government in accordance with a written constitution known as the British North America Act, while each province still retains such an administrative and legislative machinery as is essential to its provincial existence. The executive government and authority over Canada are vested in the Queen, but as the sovereign cannot be present in the Dominion to perform those acts of state which the constitution requires at her hands, she is represented by a Governor-General, chosen every five years on the advice of her constitutional advisers. The permanency of the executive is a feature of their government which the Canadians have learned to value by comparison with the elective system of the United States. The Governor-General of Canada is appointed without the country being excited by a political contest, the issue of which at times is dangerous to the whole body politic. It is only necessary to consider the crisis through which the American republic has so recently passed, to understand the nature of the peril in which the nation finds itself every four years. From such dangers, Canada is happily free under her constitution, which makes the sovereign the permanent head of the executive, and removes her representative from the turmoil of political controversy. In the administration of public affairs, the Governor-General is guided by the advice of responsible advisers, representing the opinions of the majority of the legislature. In Canada, for many years past, the policy of the

*As seen when in a
presidential contest in the United States.*

imperial government has been to refuse to interfere in any way with its domestic affairs, but to leave them entirely in the hands of the Governor and his advisers, who act in such matters in accordance with the well-known principles of the British constitutional system. It is only with respect to questions immediately affecting imperial interests, especially the relations of the empire with foreign nations, that the Governor can be said to be thrown to any extent on his own responsibility as an imperial officer. Even in such matters he will generally find it necessary to consult his colonial advisers, though he may not consider himself bound to adopt their advice. In these cases he can only follow the instructions of the government of which he is the accredited representative. B.

As in England, the Canadian ministry is practically a committee of the dominant party in parliament. Here again we have evidence how little the public men of Canada are influenced by their intercourse with the United States. A thorough study of the British system, which requires ministers to have seats, and receive the support of the majority, in parliament, has clearly shown to Canada its advantages over the American system. After an experience of over fifty years of the working of responsible government, Canadians have become thoroughly convinced that the presence in the legislature of a body of men responsible to the Commons and to the country for the administration of public affairs and the conduct of legislation, has decided advantages over a system which gives the whole executive government to the President, and does not allow his ministers to sit or speak in either branch of Congress. Whenever it is necessary to form a ministry in Canada, members are summoned by the Governor-General to the Privy Council of Canada; another illustration of the desire of the Canadians to imitate the old institutions of the parent state, and copy their time-honored names.

The Parliament of Canada consists of the Queen, the Senate, and a House of Commons. In the constitution of the upper chamber or Senate, there has been an attempt to give it a shade of resemblance to the distinguished body of the same name in the United States. In the formation of the Canadian Senate, each province has not the same number of Senators, as is the case with the States of the American republic; but three geographical groups were arranged in the first instance, consisting of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces, and to each group was allotted a representation of twenty-four members. More recently new provinces have been admitted into the Dominion without reference to this arrangement, and now there are altogether eighty-one Senators in Parliament. Between the functions and responsibilities of the Canadian Senate and those of the American body,

there is no analogy whatever. The Senate of the United States has intrusted to it under the constitution much larger powers than are enjoyed by an upper chamber in the British parliamentary system. Though bills raising revenue can originate in the House of Representatives only, yet the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as in other bills; a privilege which the English or Canadian House of Commons will not concede to the Lords or Senate. The American Senate has the right to control the President in his nomination to public offices, and to review the treaties that he may make with foreign nations. The Canadian Senate, on the other hand, is simply the House of Lords without the prestige or influence that attaches to a body of hereditary legislators. ~~Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Canadian Senate does not exercise any large influence on the conduct of public affairs, though it must be admitted it contains many men of great ability and experience. It appears to be paying the penalty of being modelled after a House which originated centuries ago when parliamentary institutions were in course of development, and the House of Commons had not the great power it now possesses.~~

The House of Commons, the great governing body of the Dominion, has been made, so far as circumstances will permit, a copy of the English House. Not only in the House of Commons at Ottawa, but in all the Assemblies of the large Provinces, a visitor sees the Speaker and Clerk dressed in silk robes, the gilt mace on the table, the sergent-at-arms in his official costume, the members observing the time-honored rules of debate, and paying that respect to the Chair which has been always a characteristic of the English House of Commons. In a new country some of these forms may seem antiquated and out of place, but nevertheless they will be interesting evidences to an Englishman of the tenacity with which the people of a great colony adhere to British customs and traditions. ~~The conservatism of the Canadians in this particular is the more remarkable when we consider that in the parliament of Canada and the legislature of Quebec there are so many members speaking the French language, who might be expected not to have the same traditional respect for the old forms of the British legislature.~~ Out of the two hundred and thirteen members who compose the Canadian Commons, a few address the house from time to time in French; and in their knowledge of parliamentary rules and of the working of parliamentary institutions, these French Canadians are in no way behind the English majority.

Of the two hundred and ~~thirteen~~ members of the House of Commons, ~~ninety-two~~ come from the great Province of Ontario, ~~sixty-five~~ from Quebec, and the remainder from the maritime and smaller provinces. In rearranging the representation after each decennial

census, the Act of Union provides that "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 such census) as the number sixty-five bears to the number of the population of Quebec." By this ingenious arrangement, originally contrived in the interest of the French Canadian section, the representation is kept within certain limits, liable to very slight modifications every decade of years.

We have in the foregoing paragraphs given a mere summary of the leading features of the government to which is intrusted the work of administration and legislation for the Dominion. This government has the control of all matters affecting trade and commerce, currency and coinage, banking and the issue of paper money, postal affairs, militia and defence, navigation and shipping, fisheries, Indians and Indian lands, the criminal law, patents of invention and discovery, copyrights, naturalization of aliens, railways of an international and interprovincial character; and, in short, of all matters of a Dominion or national import. It alone can impose and collect duties on imports and regulate the general trade of the Dominion. On the other hand, the provinces legislate separately on matters of a purely municipal and provincial nature, such as direct taxation for provincial purposes, local works and undertakings, incorporation of companies for provincial objects, property and civil rights, establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals, asylums, and charitable institutions generally, excepting marine hospitals.

In each province of the Dominion there is a legislature generally composed of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Assembly. It is noteworthy that in all the provinces except Nova Scotia and Quebec the upper house has been abolished, and so far apparently without any detriment to the public interests. In this respect there is a divergence from the constitutional practice of the United States, where the old British system of two houses has been rigidly preserved in all their legislative bodies; but there is, it must be remembered, a considerable difference between the functions and responsibilities of a Canadian Legislative Council, and those of even a State Senate. The latter is elected by the people, and has powers hardly inferior to those of the lower house, whereas the Legislative Councils are nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, while their legislative functions are a feeble reproduction — even more feeble than those of the Senate — of those of the House of Lords. It may be added here that the necessity for having an upper house to revise and control hasty legislation, and exercise a supervision over the acts of the administration, — the principal uses of an upper chamber under an English parliamentary system, — is superseded to a great extent in the provinces by the fact

to which I shall presently refer, that the Lieutenant-Governors can reserve, and the Governor-General disallow, any act of a provincial legislature which, after due consideration, has been shown to be unconstitutional or otherwise antagonistic to the interests of the Dominion. D

The administration of affairs in each province, the legislatures of which meet once a year, is placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed and removable by the Governor-General in Council. The principles of responsible government obtain in every province as in the Dominion. The executive council, which advises the Lieutenant-Governor, holds office only whilst it has the confidence and support of the majority in the Assembly, in which the members of the council must always have seats.

We come now to consider the division of powers between the central and provincial governments; the most important part of the constitution, involving, as it necessarily does, the unity and security of the Dominion. We have already shown that the general government has jurisdiction over all questions which affect the Dominion, while the provinces have jurisdiction over matters of a purely provincial, local, and municipal character. In dealing with this important question the Canadians have endeavored to profit by the experience of their American neighbors, and to frame their constitution so as to avoid any dangerous assertion of "State Rights." Happily for Canada there has been no question of slavery to divide one section from another. No climatic conditions exist in the Dominion, as in the United States, to create those differences of habit and temperament which make the Southerners practically a distinct people. What diversities of interest exist in the Dominion arise from the geographical situation of the Provinces. ~~We see on the seaboard a maritime section, where the people are mainly engaged in mining or maritime pursuits; again, in the West, a great prosperous agricultural and manufacturing community.~~ In the arrangements of tariffs the peculiar interests of the diverse sections — especially of the Maritime Provinces — have to be carefully considered, and are no doubt at times a cause of considerable perplexity to governments and parliaments; but this diversity of interests was not a source of embarrassment at the time of the formation of the constitution. Neither has any crucial difficulty arisen from the existence in one province of a large and growing population, closely united in all matters affecting their language and institutions. On the contrary, the federal constitution is to a large extent based on principles favorable to the existence of the French Canadians as a distinct section of the population of Canada.

In perfecting the provisions of the new constitution, the public men of the provinces were able to make such a division of powers between the general and provincial governments as was quite satisfac-

tory at the time to all the provinces. Availing themselves of the experience of the United States, they adopted at the outset a principle with respect to the balance of power the very reverse of that which obtains in the constitution of that country. In the Canadian constitution, the powers of the provincial governments are distinctly specified, while those of the general government cover the whole ground of legislation not so expressly reserved to the provincial authorities. The Dominion government is authorized in express terms "to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within the classes by this Act [the Act of Union] assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces;" and in addition to this general provision it is enacted that "any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section [that is, the section defining the powers of the general parliament] shall not be deemed to come within the class of matters of a local or private nature comprised in the enumeration of the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces."

The object of the foregoing provision can be clearly understood from the language of the astute Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, when he explained the details of confederation to the legislature. "We have thus avoided," he said, "that great source of weakness which has been the cause of the disruption of the United States; we have avoided all conflict of jurisdiction and authority." After an experience of thirty years, it must be acknowledged that the constitution has worked exceedingly well as a rule, but at the same time it is evident that the hopes of the Canadian Premier were somewhat too sanguine. In fact, it is obviously impossible, under a written constitution defining the respective powers of separate political authorities, to prevent questions of doubt arising as to where really rests the right of legislation in certain matters. The numerous cases that have already come before the courts of Canada and the Privy Council of England show how difficult it is by mere words to fix the legislative limits of the central and provincial governments. It already takes several volumes to comprise all the reports and pamphlets that have appeared up to this time on this troublesome question of jurisdiction.

Questions relating to education and separate schools — the Manitoba school difficulty, for instance — and to the religious and social interests of the two nationalities that possess Canada, necessarily crop up from time to time, but so far they have been generally settled by the judgments of the courts, to which great respect is paid as in all countries of British institutions, and by principles of compromise and conciliation on which a federal system must be more or less based.

The constitution of Canada provides a means of arriving at a solu-

tion of such difficulties as are likely to arise from time to time in the working of the federal system. Here again the authors of federation have availed themselves of the experience of their American neighbors, and have established a Supreme Court or general Court of Appeal for Canada, whose highest function is to decide these questions of jurisdiction. The decisions of this court are already doing much to solve difficulties that impede the successful operation of the constitution. As a rule, cases come before the Supreme Court on appeal from the lower courts, but the law regulating its powers provides that the Governor in Council may refer any matter to this court on which a question of constitutional jurisdiction has been raised. But the Supreme Court of Canada is not the court of last resort for Canada. The people have an inherent right, as subjects of the Queen, to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. Several cases, involving constitutional issues of great moment, have already come before that learned body, and on more than one occasion the decisions of the Supreme Court have been reversed, though the general result so far has been to strengthen confidence in the Canadian tribunal.

But it is not only by means of the courts that a check is imposed upon hasty or unconstitutional legislation. The constitution provides that the Governor-General may veto or reserve any bill passed by the two houses of parliament when it conflicts with imperial interests or imperial legislation. The veto, however, has never been exercised in the history of Canada, but it was until recently the practice to reserve for Her Majesty's assent such bills as appeared to fall within certain classes of subjects expressly set forth in the royal instructions to the Governor-General. Since confederation, however, the imperial government has materially modified these instructions, because it has been deemed "inadvisable that they should contain anything which could be interpreted as limiting or defining the legislative powers conferred in 1867 on the Dominion Parliament."

It is now understood that the reserved power of disallowance which Her Majesty's government possesses under the law is sufficient to meet all possible cases. This sovereign power is never exercised except in the case of an act clearly in conflict with an imperial statute or in violation of a treaty affecting a foreign nation. In the provinces the Lieutenant-Governors may also veto bills of the legislature, or reserve them for the consideration of the Governor-General in Council. It is noteworthy that during the first years of union in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the Lieutenant-Governors sometimes withheld their assent, — a power not exercised by the Crown in England since the days of Queen Anne. In this

~~case these officials exercised a power greater than that of the President or Governors of States, since the legislatures cannot, under the Canadian constitution, pass the bill over the veto by a two-thirds majority. The power has never been exercised in the larger provinces, and though it is of course in conformity with the letter of the law, it is at variance with the spirit and principle of responsible government. The exercise of the power is in fact unnecessary, since the constitution gives to the general government the power of annulling such provincial acts as are considered unconstitutional. The Dominion government supervises all the provincial legislation, and has in a few cases disallowed certain provincial acts. This power is exercised very carefully, as it is regarded with intense jealousy by the provincial governments, which have more than once resented it and attempted to set it at defiance. This fact shows the delicate position in which the Dominion government is placed in exercising a power which gives it so wide a control over provincial legislation. Any injustice or abuse of authority would undoubtedly lead to grave complications.¹~~

The Canadian constitution, on the whole, appears to be a successful effort of statesmanship, and well adapted to promote the unity of the Dominion, if worked in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. Canada is now governed by a political system which from the village or town council up to the parliament of the Dominion, is intended to give to the people full control over their own affairs. At the base of the entire political organization lie those municipal institutions whose origin must be sought in the village communities of the Germanic tribes. Each province is divided into distinct municipal districts, whose purely local affairs are governed by elected bodies, in accordance with a well matured system of law. Still higher up in the body politic is the province, with a government whose functions and responsibilities are limited by the federal constitution. Then comes the general government to complete the structure — to give unity and harmony to the whole. With a federal system which gives due strength to the central authority, and at the same time every freedom to the provincial organizations; with a judiciary free from popular influences, and distinguished for character and learning; with a public service resting on the safe tenure of good behavior; with a people who respect the laws; — the Dominion of Canada must have a bright career before her, if her political development continues to be promoted on the same wise principles that have so far illustrated her constitutional history. End

The inquiry now naturally suggests itself, What will be the outcome of the political development of Canada? what is the destiny in

¹ See Bourinot's "Parliamentary Procedure and Government," 2nd ed., pp. 81-87, for history of difficulties that have arisen from the exercise of this power.

store for a country showing so much energy and enterprise in all the pursuits of industry, and such admirable capacity for self-government? The five millions of people who now inhabit the Dominion must double in number within a decade or two, according as the agricultural and mineral wealth of her new territories is developed. When many millions of people inhabit a continuous chain of provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will they be satisfied with their present position? This is a question that must ere long press itself more and more upon the attention of statesmen and publicists interested in the unity of the empire.

How slight are the ties that now bind Canada to the parent state is very clearly shown by the fact that she might to-morrow become an independent power without any immediate perceptible effect on the prosperity or greatness of Britain. For the moment it would simply mean that Her Majesty's government would have one governor less to appoint in her dominions, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council — the supreme court of the empire — would have fewer cases of law to decide, and that the Colonial Office would have fewer despatches to write and receive in future. The regiment that now keeps up a semblance of British rule in Halifax would be removed, while the fleet would no longer be bound to make that port a headquarters in American waters. As far as the commercial relations of the two countries are concerned, — the important point, probably, in the opinion of many Englishmen, — these would not be affected to any marked degree by the separation of the colony from the parent state, since the Dominion has for years imposed duties on imports without much consideration for British manufacturing interests. Canada would then be able to make her own treaties with foreign nations without any reference to the imperial authorities. On the other hand, Canada would have to increase her expenditures for the purposes of national defence, and of keeping up a little staff of envoys and consuls, besides paying for other privileges inseparable from a national existence.

But national aspirations are the natural outcome of the growth and prosperity of a people. The great forces which are silently at work, developing a national character, may become more powerful as the years pass than the strong sentimental feeling which now binds Canada to the parent state. It is quite certain, however, that it would be with very great reluctance — probably from no fault of her own — that Canada would sever the connection to which she has faithfully adhered for a century and more. Should the time ever arrive for independence, the records of her history will probably show that she had far outgrown a position of mere colonial dependency, and that it was not possible to devise a plan which would enable her to remain in the empire on terms compatible with her dignity and security.

Of course if Canada should at any future time be dissatisfied on adequate grounds with the semi-independent position she now occupies, and begin seriously to consider the necessity for a change in her political position, there is always open to her the alternative of annexation to the great republican power that lies to her south. Some persons, like Mr. Dana of the New York *Sun* and his follower in Canada, Professor Goldwin Smith, think that the natural political and commercial tendency of a country situated like Canada must be toward connection with a people whose rapid development is the most remarkable event of the century. By the time a new century dawns there will be over eighty million people within the borders of the United States, and it would seem difficult—in the opinion of the two annexation leaders I have named—for the Canadian people to resist the powerful influences that would attract them toward the republic. But there is certainly no evidence whatever before us just now to lead us to such a conclusion. Indeed, we believe that every year which carries Canada further in her career of political and industrial development, renders annexation less probable. We have already shown that it was different sixty years ago, when Canada was relatively a poor and ill-governed country. Even under the unfavorable conditions of those unhappy days the great mass of the people did not respond to the rebellious appeals of Papineau, Nelson, and MacKenzie, but preferred to trust to the justice of the imperial government, which soon recognized the mistakes they had committed by being too indifferent to Canadian grievances.

The effect of the liberal colonial policy of England since 1840 has been to dispel entirely all feelings of discontent, and to strengthen the attachment of all classes of the people to their own country and its institutions, and to their connection with the parent state. The confederation of the provinces, by enlarging the arena of political action and increasing the facilities for trade and commerce, has created a national spirit among the people, a laudable desire, especially among the younger men, to build up a new nationality to the north of the American republic, if possible in close connection with Great Britain. Of course it would be very different if Canada were ill-governed, were her trade to diminish, and her great Northwest Territory to become a burthen instead of a source of wealth and population. If during the next twenty years Canadians should see the failure of all their great schemes of internal development, probably a strong annexation party would soon assert itself; but at present there is every evidence to prove that confederation is a success, and that the Canadians are capable of working out their political fortunes apart from the United States.

The national spirit that exists among the Canadian people—a

sentiment which must increase with the growth of population and wealth — is naturally intensified by the history of the relations between them and the United States during this century.¹ The history of the War of 1812-15, a conflict remarkable for the patriotism exhibited by all classes of the Canadians; the raids of ruffians across the frontier after the rebellion of 1837-8; the "Ashburton capitulation," which handed over so large a portion of British territory, which would be now invaluable to Canada, as a result of the indifference of Ashburton and the skilful manipulation of Webster; the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-65, largely through the belief that it would hasten annexation to the United States, though it had the very contrary effect; the shameless Fenian raids which were at first winked at by the American authorities, and for which Canada to this hour has never been indemnified; the apparently fixed determination of certain dominant cliques of politicians to prevent anything like a fair measure of reciprocity; the unjust alien labor laws which forbid respectable Canadians from entering the Union and shut out even a superior class of female nurses from attendance on the ill and dying in hospitals and charitable institutions; the insults of men like Dana and Smith to Canada and its institutions; — all these are among the reasons which naturally tend to show Canadians how little generosity and fairness they can expect from dominant influences among their neighbors, and help to weld more closely together all classes of the Canadian people and strengthen their confederation.

Canadians believe, however, that the cultured and most enlightened class of the American people do not sympathize with such illiberality as is constantly shown by the words and acts of leading politicians in their dealings with the Dominion, but reciprocate the kindly sentiment which animates its people and leads them to desire the most friendly and the fullest commercial relations with their neighbors as long as they are compatible with their security as a separate national entity and as an integral portion of the British Empire. Unhappily for Canada the generous and just opinions of this intelligent and cultured class of citizens have not always prevailed in the past with the powers that dominate Congress and government at Washington.

Throughout Canada as well as Great Britain there is an influential, able body of men, — more conspicuous for their abilities than their number, so far, — who ardently desire "to secure by federation the permanent unity of the empire." This scheme of federation is "not to interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs," but to combine "on an equitable basis the resources of the

¹ I have already treated these questions at length in the Papers of the American Historical Association (Washington, 1891), and the *Quarterly Review* (London, April, 1891).

empire for the maintenance of common interests and adequately provide for an organized defence of common rights."

The federation of the empire is a scheme certainly calculated by its imperial scope to strike the imagination of the political enthusiast. It is a scheme which has been dreamed of by statesmen and students since the days of Otis and Burke. Its realization, however, is surrounded with the gravest difficulties, which appear insuperable to some practical statesmen, to whom it is yet a novel question brought into prominence within a few years. A federation of the empire, in the broadest sense of the phrase, means the creation of an imperial parliament, which may legislate for the general purposes of the empire, and the establishment or continuance of legislatures in each country or dependency to legislate for local and minor objects. Before this can be realized, England must be convinced of the necessity of reconstructing her constitutional system in vital particulars, of granting legislatures to Scotland and Ireland, of establishing a Supreme Court to adjudicate on the questions which would inevitably arise in the legal construction of the written constitution which must bind together the federation. On the other hand, Canada would have to make radical changes in her federal system so as to adapt it to the new order of things.

It is quite evident that, while floating through the minds of the advocates of imperial federation there has been a vague idea of the desirability and necessity of imperial unity, no one has yet been able to outline a plan which has a practical basis of action. Sir John Macdonald, the ablest statesman who ever presided over the destinies of Canada, who was a thorough imperialist, frankly confessed that Canada could not in any way lessen or impair her present admirable system of home government. Whilst doubting the practicability of the idea of a federation of the empire, in the wide sense generally given it, he appeared to think that some scheme could be devised to give Canada a higher status in the world, and at the same time enable her to remain associated with the empire for certain common objects, and for defence particularly. This opinion is now generally entertained by many able and influential Englishmen and Canadians.

Most important results no doubt must be attained eventually by the frequent holding of such intercolonial conferences as have been already held in London and Ottawa, — notably that at Ottawa, where three years ago there were representatives of all the most important self-governing colonies of Great Britain, — conferences which it is now proposed to continue during the present year, when the empire will joyfully celebrate the diamond jubilee of the Queen, during whose reign the dependencies of the crown have made such remarkable progress in wealth and self-government. It will be a happy thing if a solution can

be reached by this means of the problems that now interest all British and Colonial statesmen and thinkers, who are anxious for the unity and security of the empire at large.

The success which has so far attended the efforts of the Canadian people to develop their material resources and place their system of government on a stable foundation, leads us to entertain the most sanguine hopes as to the future of their country. For a century they have successfully resisted all the influences which might be supposed to draw them closer to the United States, and, in the face of not a few obstacles, have steadily labored to strengthen their position to the north of the American republic. Step by step they are working their way over the prairies and mountains of the continent towards the Pacific Ocean; building railways and forming new provinces, ere long to be filled up by an industrious and sturdy population like that which has achieved such satisfactory results in old Canada and in the provinces by the sea. If they continue during a few decades more to be animated by the same public spirit that has distinguished their efforts since the commencement of confederation, Canada will be able to assume a much more conspicuous position among the free communities of the world, and may prove a formidable rival even of the United States in the great work which both have to accomplish on the continent of America. And it is assuredly the earnest desire of Canadians as well as Englishmen that if, when that time comes, a large scheme of federation — and many distinguished thinkers still cling to that grand idea — is clearly impracticable, there may exist at least such an alliance or connection between Canada and the parent state as will give greater security to both, and afford to the world the interesting spectacle of a people who owe to Great Britain their free institutions never forgetting in the fulness of their strength and prosperity the land of their origin, but still bound to her by the closest ties of interest, sympathy, and affection, and ever ready to lend her material assistance in the hour of need.

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