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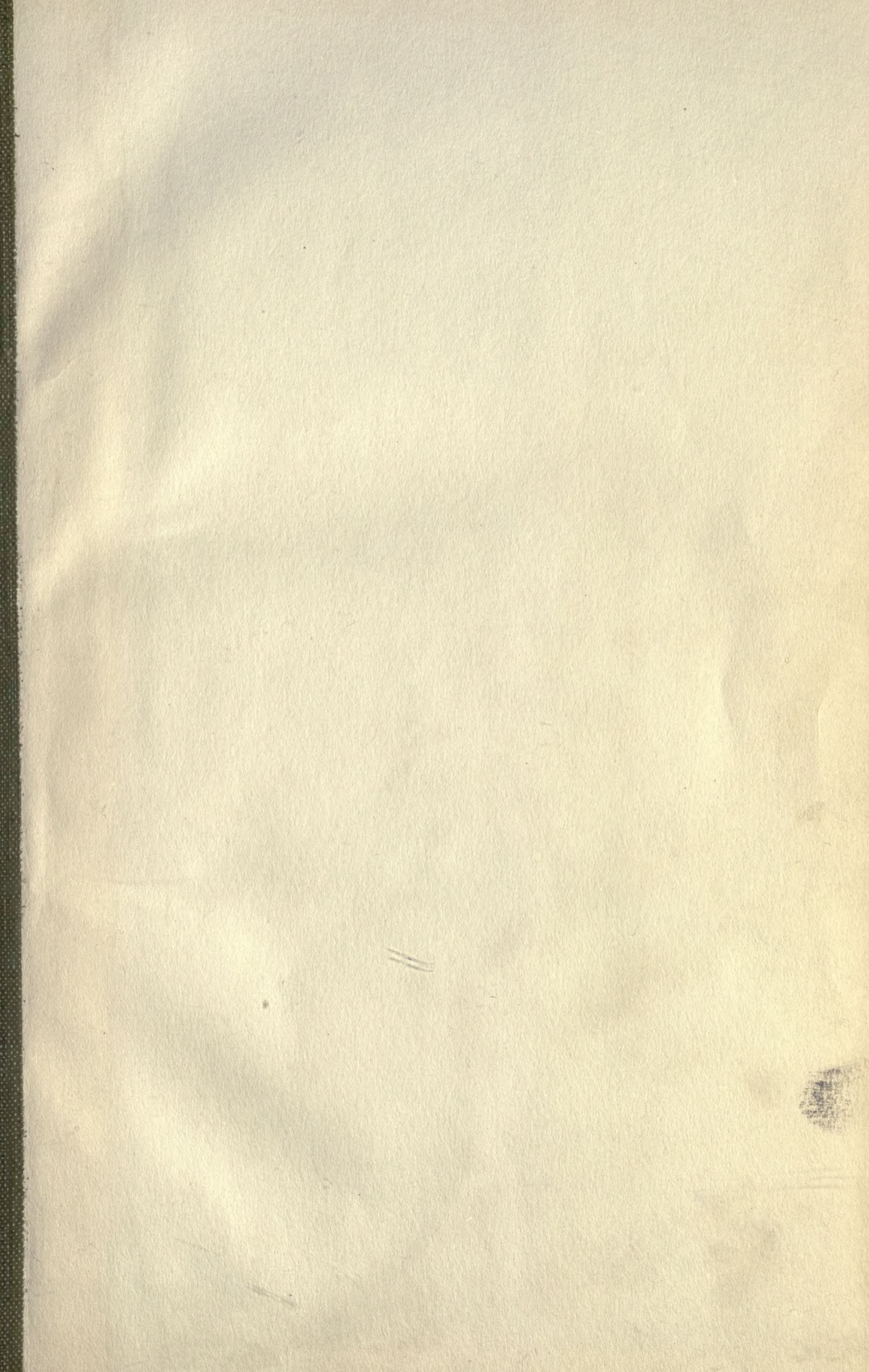

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

The Canadian Club
of Toronto

SEASON OF 1910-1911

Edited by the Literary Correspondent

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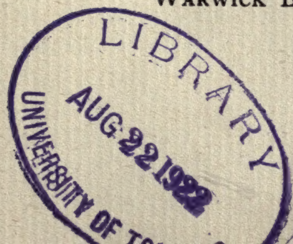

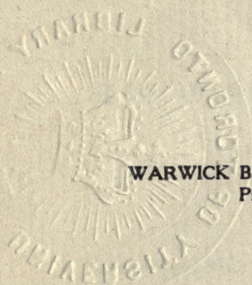

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CONTENTS

Officers of Canadian Club of Toronto, 1910-11 .... iii.
Past Presidents of the Canadian Club of Toronto, 1897-1911........ vi.
Report of the Literary Correspondent.............................. vii.
Constitution of the Canadian Club of Toronto .... ix.
List of Members of the Canadian Club, 1910-1911... 264

The Educational Crisis in China: by Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil 1
The Boy Scout Movement: by Sir Robert Scott Baden-Powell.... 8
The Future of Greater Britain: by Sir George Doughty 15
The Impending Naval Crisis: by Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, Ex-M.P.. 22
The Economic Position of Great Britain under Free Trade: by Sir Alfred Mond, M.P.. 27
Garden Suburbs and Town Planning: by Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P.. 35
The Alpine Club of Canada and the Value of Canadian Mountain Regions as a National Asset: by Dr. T. A. Langstaff, F.R.G.S.. 41
New Zealand: Its Scenic Attractions and Trade Possibilities: by Mr. W. H. Triggs 47
Reciprocity with the United States: by Mr. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C. 51
The Depopulation and Impoverishment of Rural Ontario: by Mr. Gordon Waldron 63
A Harbor Commission for Toronto: by Controller F. S. Spence... 71
Democratic Tendencies—Safe and Unsafe: by Charles W. Eliot, LL.D 79
War and Manhood: by David Starr Jordan, LL.D............... 89
Modern Diplomacy: by Urdain J. Ledoux........................ 99

Western Farmers and Their Ideals: by Mr. E. A. Partridge...... 109
The Grain Growers and the Manufacturers: by Mr. T. A. Russell 116
Some Problems of the Canadian People: by Mr. R. L. Borden, M.P. 131
Nationalism in the United States: by Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott 141
The Significance of the British Elections: by Mr. John R. Bone... 149
Some Western Canada Topics: by Hon. A. L. Sifton............... 160
The Relations of Canada and the West Indies: by President R. A. Falconer.. 164
The Fuel Supply of the Central Provinces of Canada and Its Economic Use: by Dr. Eugene Haanel........................... 172
Governmental Problems Confronting both Canada and the United States: by Hon. E. R. O'Malley............................. 181
Some Facts about Quebec: by Mr. F. D. Monk, M.P................ 188
Glimpses of South Africa—A Few Political Problems: by Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, M.P.................................. 196
A Canadian in Paris: by Principal Maurice Hutton............... 208
A Canadian in Australia: by Herbert B. Ames, M.P............... 218
The West's Hinterland: by Mr. J. K. Cornwall, M.P.P........... 227
A Message from Winnipeg: by Mrs. Sanford Evans............... 234
Conservation of Public Health: by Miss Ethel Hurlbatt......... 240
Imperial Co-operation: by Sir Joseph Ward...................... 248
Canadian Clubs and Canadian Problems: by Dr. J. A. Macdonald 254

/17

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

Canadian Club of Toronto

(Founded 1897)

1. The Club shall be called the Canadian Club of Toronto.

2. It is the purpose of the Club to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature, and resources of Canada, and by endeavoring to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion as may be desirable and expedient.

3. (*a*) There shall be two classes of members—active and honorary.

(*b*) Any man at least eighteen years of age, who is a British subject by birth or naturalization, and who is in sympathy with the objects of the Club, shall be eligible for membership.

(*c*) Honorary membership may be conferred on such persons as in the opinion of the Club may be entitled to such distinction.

4. Application for membership must be made in writing through two members of the Club in good standing, and the names must be announced at a regular meeting of the Club and voted upon at the next Executive meeting. Two black balls shall exclude.

5. (*a*) Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall neither vote nor hold office.

(*b*) Active members shall pay, in advance, an annual fee of two dollars.

(*c*) No one shall be a member in good standing until he shall have paid his annual fee, such fee being due and payable on or before November 30th of each year.

(*d*) Only members in good standing shall be eligible for office or have the right to vote at any meeting of the Club.

(*e*) Fees of members elected after November 30th shall forthwith become due and payable.

(*f*) All members whose fees are in arrears shall be so notified by the Treasurer; and if the same are not paid within ten days thereafter, their names shall be struck from the roll.

6. (*a*) The officers of the Club shall consist of a President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Honorary Secretary, Honorary Treasurer, Literary Correspondent, and several others holding no specific office. These officers, together with the last retiring President, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

(*b*) The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Club, which shall be held on the last Monday in April, and shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until their successors are elected.

(*c*) Nominations shall be made by a nominating committee appointed at a meeting to be held at least one week previous to the annual meeting. Their report shall be received at the annual meeting, and either adopted in its entirely or after amendment, on motion and ballot.

(*d*) In case of demission of office, whether by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thereby caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee. The person so elected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

7. (*a*) Subject to special action by the Club, the conduct of its affairs shall be vested in the Executive Committee.

(*b*) The Executive Committee shall meet at the call of the President, and five members shall constitute a quorum.

(*c*) Where the President is unable or refuses to call a meeting, three members of the Executive may do so by giving the others at least 24 hours' notice in writing.

(*d*) The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint an Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be paid such remuneration as shall be fixed by them.

8. The duties of the officers shall be as follows:

(*a*) The President, when present, shall preside at all meetings, and shall, upon request, inform the Club of the proceedings of the Executive Committee since the last report, receive and read motions, and cause the sense of the meeting to be taken on them, preserve order and direct the proceedings of the meeting in regular course. There shall be no appeal from the ruling of the Chair unless requested by at least five members and carried by two-thirds vote.

(*b*) In the absence of the President, the senior Vice-President present shall preside and perform the duties of the President and have his privileges.

(*c*) In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, a chairman for the meeting shall be chosen by the open vote of those present.

(*d*) The Literary Correspondent shall have charge of all correspondence of a literary character, and shall edit any literary matter issued by the Club, and in a general way promote and guard the interests of the Club in the daily and periodical press.

(*e*) The Honorary Treasurer shall collect and receive all moneys due the Club, issue receipts therefor, and pay all authorized accounts.

(*f*) The Secretary shall take minutes at all meetings of the Club, as well as those of the Executive Committee. He shall issue notices of meetings and perform those duties usually appertaining to the office.

(*g*) The Assistant Secretary-Treasure shall perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Executive Committee.

9. (*a*) Meetinge held on Mondays, between 1 and 2 p.m., shall be deemed regular meetings, and shall be called at the discretion of the Executive Committee, except during the months of May, June, July, August, September, and October. Special meetings may be held at any time or place at the call of the President or three members of the Executive Committee.

(*b*) No notice of ordinary meetings shall be necessary, but notice in writing of all annual and special meetings shall be sent to each member of the Club.

(*c*) Fifty members in good standing present at any meeting of the Club shall constitute a quorum.

10. Two auditors shall be elected by open vote at the meeting provided for in clause 6, and shall embody their report in the Treasurer's annual statement.

11. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, by a two-thirds vote of the members present, after one week's notice of such amendment.

THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO

ADDRESSES 1910-11

(*April 29, 1910.*)

The Educational Crisis in China.

By Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil.*

ADDRESSING a special meeting of the Canadian Club, on "The Educational Crisis in China," the Reverend Lord William Gascoyne Cecil said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity to speak to you on this very important subject, a subject whose importance, perhaps, you do not altogether realize, and I am deeply grateful to you, gentlemen, who have taken the trouble to give me this opportunity of giving you the message, which originates from the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and which I hope will find a responsive echo in the young and vigorous countries across the Atlantic.

The message is this, gentlemen, that a change is pending in this world, which has hardly any parallel. That vast continent—I will not call it a country, because it is something bigger than a country—China, is in the midst of a great intellectual revolution, which contains unbounded possibilities and at the same time dangers too terrible even to contemplate. I am happy to say that, at present, we may speak in an optimistic spirit; but when I say, at present, I do not mean for a

* Rev. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil is a son of the late Marquis of Salisbury, and a member of a most remarkable English family. The Cecils have made notable contributions to the statesmanship of Britain for generations past, and are represented by notable figures in Parliament at the present time. Lord William Gascoyne Cecil, however, chose the Church as his field, and has labored with great zeal and unselfishness in the mission fields of China for many years.

moment to say anything that may tend to relax your efforts to make that optimistic expectation a certainty.

Now, let me describe the situation. China was an old, conservative country. China boasted that she had passed, not only hundreds, but thousands of years without any great alteration in her civilization. When the first Anglo-Saxon was with difficulty writing the first book, China knew of printing, and she has remained since that day a thoroughly civilized race, and she would, as far as I know, have remained in her conservatism up to this time, except certain great events have shocked her great esteem for herself, and she suddenly realized that great forces were moving in this world, which would destroy her if she had not changed.

There have been two causes for the changes—two causes quite different—one great and obvious, one not so obvious, but, I think, even greater. The great and obvious one is the great political changes which have taken place. China, enclosed in her self-esteem, did not think there was a foreign nation equal to her in power. Her self-esteem received a great shock. China is such a vast country that she did not realize what had happened. But, at last, Western civilization began to make her realize her power. To begin with, over the whole of China spread that net-work of wire which enables the thought of one race to reach another, and there are not districts in China so hidden away that they do not know what is happening, and, further, the events that followed were such to awaken any race from its lethargy.

First, China went to war with Japan. China, with her four hundred millions, more than quarter the population of this world, why should she be afraid of fighting a race like Japan which has only forty or fifty millions. Yet, after the first battle they realized. Standing on a hill, the Chinese general attempted to direct his armies with a fan, for he conceived the battle to be such a small affair that you could direct it with a fan. But what could that vast, ill-equipped horde do against the trained fighting forces of Japan? When the Japanese array advanced and put to flight that Chinese army, China realized then her powerlessness.

Then, after that, came the siege of Pekin. I have not time fully to detail the whole causes of that Boxer movement, which led to the Legations being besieged in Pekin, and to their relief, and can only call your attention to the fact that again the Chinese self-esteem received a rude awakening. They were unable to resist the powers of European forces and Western civilization. When Pekin was put to the sack, they rea-

lized, yes, perhaps then, in a cruel way the power of the West.

Yet, they were not ready quite to learn. They wanted one further stroke of the rod of adversity to convince them that they must change, and that stroke came upon them in the Japanese-Russian war. I am often asked by people, and I have been in Russia, whether the Russians were not very humiliated by being defeated. My answer is that I do not think they cared very much. They regarded the war as a colonial war. If they were angry with the generals, they were pleased with their armies. Russia and Japan went to war; their countries were opposite one another. Matsumai is opposite Vladivostock. It was quite easy for the Russians to invade Japan and equally so for the Japanese to invade Russia, but instead of that they selected a Province of a country with which they were both at peace, Manchuria, and fought out the war in that Province. The war was fought out, not in Japan, not in Russia, but in China, in the Province of Manchuria. I do not think the history of the world has any parallel to those events. Fancy what you would feel if, for instance, France and Germany went to war, and instead of fighting it out in Europe were to send their armies and to fight it out in one of the provinces of this Dominion!

The culminating point was reached when it became obvious that the crowning battle of that war, Mukden, was to be fought literally over the site of the tombs of their royal ancestors. Anybody who knows the position in which the Emperor and the Son of Salvation stands in China, anybody who knows the respect with which ancestors are regarded, will recognize the thrill of horror that went through China when she realized that that sacred spot was to be the site of this titanic struggle. But what could China do? She sent diplomatic missions both to St. Petersburg and to Tokio, asking that every effort should be made to preserve those tombs from desecration, and I think it speaks well for the discipline both of the Japanese and Russian armies that, as a matter of fact, only three shells fell in the sacred enclosure of those tombs.

After that battle, China realized that there was one alternative before her, that she must accept the Western civilization or submit constantly to humiliation. She asked Japan how it was that she conquered Russia, and Japan made answer, "Through a thousand instructors scattered wide and far throughout the civilized Western nations." Japan said: "We have conquered Russia, the great military power of the West. We have subdued her mighty forces, because we learned from

the West the secrets of their military power." Can you wonder that China has made up her mind from that moment to learn the Western civilization, to understand it, to assimilate it and to make it part of her national life? That is the first and great result of the triumph of Japan over Russia, and that force will compel China never to cease till she has acquired a great part of Western knowledge.

But there is another force at work, not so obvious, but even still more effective, the force which the world too often despises, but the force which in the end has often proved the greatest that the world knows. Through China have been scattered far and wide devoted missionaries. No body of men have equalled them in devotion, in heroism. They have faced death; they have faced torture; they have faced disease in every province of China, and the result of their work has been a growing Christian body, which, if it was not very numerous, compared to the population of China, was intense in the reality of its Christianity. That body came into conflict with the opinion of China in the Boxer outbreak, which was a great persecution. Hundreds of white men were killed in that persecution, but also thousands of yellow men.

Now, you know there is an old saying, which is a true one, "That the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," and so it proved. After their persecution was over, instead of the Christian body finding itself shrunk and powerless, it has covered itself with strength and vigour. For every man who was killed there were more to fill his place. The old story had come true. It is very hard to see how it comes true to the man who is merely a rationalist, but to the man who believes, the thing is obvious. Never is the power of Christianity so clear as when it is seen face to face with death and torture. Never do men realize more profoundly its effect upon mankind as when they are seeing the martyr die. Thus came the other movement, the movement which is not nearly so notorious or so obvious, which you will not hear of so much, but which, none the less, is written indelibly in the fleshy tablets of the heart of the men in China—the great Christian movement. That movement has many manifestations of its force.

I have been to China twice, once several years ago to the Shanghai Missionary Conference, when I went across China from Pekin to Hangkow. Then I saw a sight you will never see. I saw fields of poppy, altogether unlike your beautiful fields of clover and growing grain. It was like some fairy scene, these fields of pink and white specimens. Then, I went to China again last year, and I covered the same ground, in

fact from one end of the country to the other, and I could not see a single poppy. When I arrived back to a certain point, I said to a man: "I must see if there is not some fraud about this. Perhaps they are cultivating the poppy where they do not think it will be seen by the people." I decided to take a journey, say for twenty miles with the purpose of finding out within a certain area whether they were still cultivating the poppy. So we went twenty miles. We walked that distance, and at last we found one tiny patch of poppy, not nearly so big as this room, and that was all the poppy I saw growing in China. Now, gentlemen, I ask, could you do anything like that in our lands? Say, for instance, the liquor traffic, could we abolish it like that? Make no mistake, there is a stronger power at work, the power for good. It is a great world force which is moving, a force which politicians may know nothing about, a force to be reckoned with sooner or later, the force of moral right, the force which has been called into existence by the preaching of the gospel by those heroic missionaries.

Well, now, these two forces have coalesced. The great force of the instinct of self-preservation and the great force which has its origin in the instinct of moral right, these two have coalesced and are forcing China along. What is our duty? Are we as Christian men, as sympathetic human beings, to do nothing? Can we keep the great knowledge of the civilized Christian races and say we will not allow China to know the great mysteries of Western knowledge? Or, shall we, in a generous and altruistic spirit, in the spirit which we have learned from the religion for which those people have died, do our best to help them along and say to them: "We will give you light as you ask for light."

Gentlemen, I think that no one who has considered the problem can doubt that it is the duty of the West to help forward China in her need by giving her the best that the West can produce, which is her knowledge and her education. Now, I know that there are a great many difficulties in our way. Can you tell me of any big undertaking in which there were not difficulties? Difficulties are made to be overcome, and the difficulties that lie in the path of something that is essentially right are things that we should overcome. We have, gentlemen, a scheme from the old universities of Oxford and Cambridge which solves in a way the giving of higher education to China. We do not propose to give to China something that she does not want. We are not going to foist upon her an education which will not do her any good. We hope to incorporate in the scheme the good points of the West and the good points of the

East. We want, therefore, to establish a great university, which shall be as high in all its attainments as one of your universities here, and yet one which will frankly recognize the greatness of Chinese learning. We want to build that university, not one that will perpetuate the poor traditions from which China is trying to escape, but filled with all those traditions which come from Christianity. There are a great many difficulties. Will you not aid her in missionary work?

We suggest that the missionary bodies shall co-operate with us, that there shall be colleges and hospitals in which both secular and religious work shall be taught, and in that way we hope to make a great saving to the missionary societies, by taking off their hands the care of the sick. We want to establish a great university in China, one that embodies and perpetuates the highest ideals and noblest traditions of both Eastern and Western civilization. We shall assimilate all that is noble, generous and true in China. At the same time, while we do this, we do not for a moment wish it to be thought that we want in any way to force Christianity on China. The very science of our religion will prevent us wishing to do that.

We merely want to give to China the noble thoughts of the West, and not the thoughts that are not noble. For, frankly, we must recognize the truth that in the West there are things which are noble and things which are ignoble. We must not pretend to say that our civilization is so good that it cannot be better, and if we are transplanting that civilization in a new land, we do not want to transplant the bad part, we want to transplant the good part. It is one of the risks I for one can see are manifest in this project. For, I believe, while it is our duty to give the noble thoughts of the West, yet those thoughts will come back to the West, in my opinion, rendered more noble and beautiful for being reflected on the subtle minds of a new race. What has been history? Has it not been this, that every time the Truth has shone upon a new race that Truth has grown more beautiful, that it has come back to those who preached it, not the same Truth, but something far more beautiful and noble. So it was when the Truth was first preached by the Jews to the Greeks, it grew in nobility. It grew nobler still when preached by the Greeks to the Romans, and so when it emerged at the time of the Great Reformation as the standard of the great Teuton races of the North, it was something that would make nations great.

But that Truth has still to grow. The world is going to grow better, and the great action which we may take in giving to the Chinese these great truths, both secular and religious, the

great truths of our science and philosophy, will end in those truths coming back to us, adorned and beautified by being reflected on the Chinese mind.

But I have one more reason why I will commend this project here, and it is this. This age we speak of as an age of progress—that we are advancing. Now, do you not think we all ought to do something to advance, and that after all is the greatest department of human activity—understanding one another? Is it not miserable, the warlike spirit that keeps nations apart? Can anybody be proud of the musunderstandings which rends asunder religious communities, denominations and nations? Would it not be far more beautiful if the great nations co-operated with one another?

Now, I have no panacea for this ill, but the way is to bring the good men of all nations together. Let them know and understand one another. Let them work together in some common philanthropic object. Let them take some great cause which demands generosity and nobleness, like the cause of giving to China the greatness of our Western education. Let them work together in a matter like this, that they understand, and in every nation there are men noble and good. They will then learn to trust one another and the world may step forward more to altruism, to peace and to happiness.

Yes, gentlemen, I have done now, but I will commend this cause to your most careful thought, for if you had passed, as you came to luncheon to-day, one man in misery, and you had hardened your heart—I do not care whether he suffers or not —you will not be happy now. What would it be, if you realized in the great hereafter that you have not passed one man, but a nation of four hundred millions, oppressed with ignorance, subject to every form of suffering, because they wanted knowledge, and you have passed them by and have not given them that which they asked and craved of you? What will it be, if, when this world passes, we look at the facts as they are and realize that if we have done our best, we have made happy, not one man, but thousands, nay millions of men who are now in the misery that comes from misery and darkness?

(*August 30*)

The Boy Scout Movement.

BY SIR ROBERT S. BADEN-POWELL.*

ADDRESSING a joint meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs on the subject, "The Boy Scout Movement," Lieutenant-General Sir Robert S. Baden-Powell said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—It is very difficult for me to express my very sincere thanks to the members of the two societies who have so kindly agreed to meet me here to-day, for it gives me a unique opportunity of meeting the very men I want to meet in this great city.

I have come here with a fad of my own, and I find it already received as something that may be of value to your country. If it spreads here to the extent it promises to do, it may also be of value to our great Empire.

It is merely a suggestion that I made in the matter of training boys which you seem to have taken up with the idea of making it of real service to the country and the Empire. If you succeed in doing this—for I leave it in the hands of the citizens themselves—I think you will be doing a very great work. At the same time it is not any credit to me if it succeeds, because success depends entirely on the men and the manner in which it is taken up locally. The boys seem ready enough to accept the training. It merely rests with the men of the country to adopt it, and put it in working order.

I will, if I may, in the short time available, briefly sketch to you the details of the scheme, what is the need of it, how it is carried out, and what possibilities lie before it in your own country.

Scouting, as you know, may be taken from a military point of view, but we advocate it entirely from the peace point of view. That is, the kind of scouting to which I refer under that title is the work done by the pioneers of civilization on the frontiers of our Empire in all corners of the globe. We try

* The fame of Sir Robert Baden-Powell as the defender of Mafeking had scarcely dimmed before the world beheld him as the founder of the Boy Scout movement, which has spread with the utmost rapidity in different parts of the Empire. It has the double value of appealing to the best and most intelligent side of a boy's nature and contributing to his value as a future citizen. Sir Robert has been a soldier nearly all his life, and the South African war is but one episode of his noble services.

to teach the things done and known by explorers, frontiersmen, backwoodsmen, hunters, and even such men as your Northwest Mounted Police, men who are doing the work of civilization under exceptional difficulties of climate and surroundings, relying entirely upon themselves for carrying out their work, full of resource, energy, endurance, hope and pluck. These men, doing their work in whatever time or place simply because it is their duty, helpful to each other in times of trouble, full of cheery words and ready for self-sacrifice, are among the best types of manliness in our race. They are types which we hold up to these lads as ideals for them to follow, and they naturally possess a great romantic prestige for boys, whatever class you take them from, whether in city or country, or of whatever religion or nationality they may be. Therefore, we apply training in the elementary work of backwoodsmanship to the boys in our cities. We go from one thing to another, and gradually introduce other attributes of frontiersmen which go to make up manliness of character and good citizenship.

Whether there is need of such training among boys in your country is a question for you to decide. In the Old Country, with its great teeming cities, for all the lads who are rapidly drifting to the parting of the ways where they become workers or shirkers, such a training seems very desirable. They can learn the three R's in school, but they do not there learn character, manliness or energy such as will be useful to them in after life. After all, take any man who succeeds in this world, it is not from his school learning that he gets on, but it is entirely from the character he develops in himself. A school for character, therefore, seems very much needed amongst our rising generation, and particularly in the Old Country in the great cities and state of over-civilization in which we live.

In your country it is another matter. You do not suffer from the same disease which is creeping in among us of unemployedness and unemployableness. At the same time, there are points about your lads which are similar to those of lads in other parts of the world. They want character of one kind or another. Your lads have plenty of resourcefulness, character and independence. The only danger is they may get too much of it. You want also discipline and self-sacrifice, courtesy and chivalry. All these points can very readily be instilled into these boys once you get hold of them by means that really strike them, and that is done to a great extent in scouting.

There is another point which may appeal to you as Canadians. You are all of you engaged in the great work of making a big nation, and naturally you have to meet and over-

come a great many difficulties in doing so. To get people for your great country you have to take them from many sources, many nationalities, and you want to weld these together with some touch of nature that makes the whole of them akin. This is one small means to that end.

This association of boys, spreading as it has not only through the Empire but into different countries throughout the world, brings the lads into touch with each other in a way that was not at all foreseen when we first started it. They all recognize they are joining a great brotherhood, they all feel they are comrades to back each other up, to be friends with each other in whatever part of the globe they may be, whatever may be their nation, belief or standing in life. They are all brothers. Well, it will be a great thing if you can weld together your rising generation with some such tie as this, so that they will feel themselves brothers in touch with each other rather than only in imagination. If this movement will help to bring this about, it will be a great thing for your nation in the future. It is well to be successful on the material side, but you must have the spirit in it as well.

The methods by which we bring about this training are, as I have hinted, those which appeal to the boy himself. So many of your systems of education do not directly appeal to the boy. We tell him to go and be good. If he has any spirit in him he turns around and goes the other way. In this training we tell him to be a scout, hunter, backwoodsman, frontiersman, to hunt in the woods for red Indians or whatever you like, and he is only too ready to do it, whatever the game may be. Thus we instil into him by romance, by practice, by games and competitions all those different points that go to make up a really good man of strength and character, physical as well as moral. Our scheme simply supplies the tools for working, and we leave it to the individual man trainers and the locality to utilize it to the best advantage as they see it. We only offer badges for skill in the various arts of scouting.

The boy begins by getting a Scout's badge when he has qualified himself in all the elements of backwoodsmanship. When he can look after himself in the wilds, can make a fire, rig up his own shelter, manage a boat, be able to swim, to signal his friends, tie various kinds of knots, find his way by the sun and stars or a map and be generally efficient out of doors, he is then given his Scout's badge. After that he goes on to want badges of efficiency in various handicrafts and occupations. We want to make a useful man of him, and if he can learn the various handicrafts we give a badge for carpentering, black-

smithing, telegraphy, and in all thirty-three different kinds of trades and handicrafts. We do not teach him these things, but we tell him the tests to which we shall put him. He is attracted by the badges, and he gets friends who are experts in the various lines to teach him what he wants to know. Then the boys offer themselves for examination, and if they are successful, we give them their badges. In that way they gradually accumulate a great number of badges of efficiency. The probability is that among these different handicrafts which they themselves pick up they will find one or another which suits them best, and they will develop most that one which will be their profession for life. At the same time, if they fail in that line, they can take up a second string or a third string until they find the occupation to which they are best adapted. However, they are not absolutely helpless and hopeless like the wasters at home to-day.

This is all done by an attractive method. The boys like it and work for it. They get their own uniforms by earning the money for themselves. They are not supposed to go out for subscriptions. In that way they discover they can make money if they try for it. One of the qualifications is that he must have a balance at the bank. It is not a very big balance. It is only one shilling. But he has broken the ice, and he has his bank book.

Well, gentlemen, this scheme is popular with boys. They have taken it up for themselves in most parts of the world, and our only difficulty is to give them officers who can teach them their work. It is not so difficult for the officers, but it is difficult for them to find time and inclination to look after the work. What we want is young fellows with the inclination for the work. I find in Canada that the young fellows range all the way from eighteen to eighty-one, and that once they take up the training they find it a very attractive and fascinating pastime, and that it really does do a great deal of good to the boys around them.

In organizing, first of all, we have a Council of elders in each province who back it up with the responsible authorities. Then in each city or centre we have a local association of representative gentlemen and those interested in the training of boys, and under them we have the Scoutmasters or officers to raise troops of boys and train them in the different local centres. The troops themselves are divided into units of eight boys, each unit under a boy leader. In that way we bring the responsibility down to the shoulders of the boys themselves, and there is nothing like putting the responsibility on

them at the very earliest age to put the right spirit and discipline into them.

Our training is not in opposition to any existing form of training. We work in unison with any body, such as the cadets, Y. M. C. A. and other organizations which are doing the same work in different ways. We do not want to have much religion in the training for we do not attempt to take the place of pastor or parents in teaching children what religion they should take up. But we expect the boy to have some form of religion of his own, and not only to profess it but to put it in practice while he is with us. One of the main steps towards getting him to put it in practice is that each boy is expected—and we put him on his honor to do it—to carry out some good deed every day to some animal or person.

I have to-day received information of one of your local scouts who woke up in the night to find he had forgotten to do his good turn. He heard a mouse in the trap, so he got up, went to that mouse, tenderly took it out of the trap, and—handed it to the cat (laughter).

Gentlemen, I trust you will excuse that digression.

The other point in our training which excites a great deal of interest amongst you and all loyal citizens is, what is our attitude to the cadets. We have hoped we are backing up the cadet movement, and we are filling up blanks where the cadet movement is not possible. That is to say, in communities where settlement is widely scattered, as occurs in your outlying districts, the cadet movement becomes impossible. The scout movement comes in in such places because our small units of eight boys can be raised in any township or group of homesteads and keep up their work.

We do not have any kind of military training among the boy scouts. We avoid it, for the tendency of such training is to make the boy a part of a machine, whereas we aim to develop the individuality of every boy, bring out his personal qualities and make the most of them. The discipline we put the boys through is very different from the mere parade disciplines which they would get in the army. We put it on another basis altogether. We try to make it a moral discipline. The boy recognizes his senior, his master, as his friend, and one whom he is bound to serve through sheer loyalty. Whatever his feelings may be, he must overlook them and follow out the wishes of his senior, and back him up out of a spirit of loyalty and civility. It is curious that that catches more permanent hold of the boys than does the mere obeying of orders on parade, which he is apt to forget afterwards. Often, too, mili-

tary training for boys is strongly objected to by people of many denominations, and by many parents on conscientious grounds. They do not think that boys of that age should have ideas of fighting, of blood-thirstiness put into their heads before they are able to judge for themselves what is required of them. Thus by the avoidance of military training, many of these send their boys into the Scouts because it is a good training for citizenship, if nothing else.

We do not neglect patriotism, either. We touch so many aspects of campaigning and woodcraft and so on, that finally when they do take up the idea of their duty by their country and join the defence forces, they do so with a very much better foundation than they would get from being merely drilled as cadets. They are all round good soldiers and trained in many details, such as signalling, choosing and making camp, riding, paddling, hunting, finding their way by the sun and stars, and all the attributes of soldiers which are scarcely touched upon in the training of Cadets in their drill. We teach these things by getting the boys to learn them for themselves on certain definite lines, rather than trying to drill it into them. Where-ever cadet corps exist we help them in every way, and they take up our training in addition to their own very often. They do this with the idea that is is not so important that the cadets should have a knowledge of drill as that they should have an actual knowledge of the campaigning work of soldiers. The reason that the Boers were able to maintain themselves so long in the field against a vastly superior force was simply because they were good campaigners, although they had never had a bit of military training in their lives. They were all better for having a training in the woods. Our boys have an all-round training instead of the narrow one of military discipline. It commends itself to most trainers of boys in that we do not insist on military training as the ultimate aim of it. Our methods are so elastic that a Scoutmaster may train his troop on any particular line he likes. So a large proportion of our troops are specialists. They know all about fire protection, perhaps, or they are ambulance troops, or missionary troops doing good work among the poor in their neighborhood. You can have cadet, soldier and sailor troops also.

With the sailor troops you have big opportunities. We have in all the seaports of Great Britain troops of Scouts who take up sailoring as their specialty. On your great lakes and rivers it would be quite possible for you to raise a large force of Sea-Scout troops. In view of your navy of the future this may be of value to you in the time to come. At any rate, the training

as sailors cannot but do good for the boys, as it makes each boy use his head and hands instead of making him part of a machine. It appeals quite strongly to the boys themselves. A few ships that can be used as training ships, and which the boys can use as a sort of club, are all that is required. It would prove a splendid club-room or house where boys could go in the evenings and spend week-ends learning the elements of seamanship. I no sooner mentioned the matter at Vancouver than a gentlemen offered a ship right off, and I believe another is being offered in Victoria. We only need a few individuals like that, and we will have Sea-Scouts. If there is anyone who has an old ship he doesn't want, I hope he won't forget this.

The Boy Scouts so far as they have gone in your own city and neighborhood are a most promising lot, but I can assure you they are only at the beginning of what they are going to be, because I see such a splendid spirit among those who are working with them. It only needs interest and backing from men like yourselves, who represent all the leading industries of the place, to spread the movement very far and very wide. Employers of labor have a great interest in seeing that the boys when young learn to use their heads and hands. I hope you will consider the different aspects of the scheme, how it appears likely to you to benefit the country and Empire at large, and give it encouragement in any way you find it possible, because I believe that with such backing it is bound to go ahead, and catch hold of a large number of the youth of your country and make them into a solid block of good citizenship that will make for the future welfare and prosperity of your country. A country is not great merely through its material resources or its great armaments or navies, but it depends in great degree on the spirit and character of the nation, and the character of the nation after all is only built up through the character of the individual units in that nation. I hope therefore you will see that there is a chance here through this scheme of building up the characters of the rising generations so that your nation of the future will be a nation of great character, and therefore one of the strongest bonds in this great Empire.

I thank you most cordially for listening to me so patiently, and only ask you to help us and encourage us in any way you can in the future.

(*September 21*)

The Future of Greater Britain.

By Sir George Doughty.*

ADDRESSING a special meeting of the Canadian Club, on "The Future of Greater Britain," Sir George Doughty said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am deeply indebted to you for your great kindness in giving me this opportunity of addressing this splendid meeting of Britishers on this side of the water. I know that we all have one object in view and are inspired very largely by the same purpose in life, namely, the maintenance of the integrity and the future development and furtherance and prosperity of the British Empire.

We have inherited a very great heritage. We have had handed to us perhaps the greatest Imperial possibilities of greatness in the future that any race of men ever had the pleasure of enjoying, and as those who have given us these opportunities made great sacrifices in their day and generation for us to enjoy them, I do not believe there is a true Britisher in any part of the British Dominions who is not prepared to make sacrifices for the furtherance of these noble ends.

Now, Mr. President, I, of course, am not quite as free to speak here as I am in my own country, because there I say what I like whether they like it or not. I find as I have gone about Canada, whether those who listened to me quite appreciate some of the views I expressed or not, at least they have the courage and the kindness of looking upon one as desirous of aiming and doing the right thing.

Now, Mr. President, this great country appeals to me enormously. I have been right across from the east to the west. This is not my first visit here. Six years ago I went across from the east to the west by the Canadian Pacific Railway and enjoyed it very much. This time, I have been making a long sojourn. I suppose I have travelled twelve thousand miles already, embracing each Province of Canada. I am

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* Sir George Doughty, Ex-M.P., Grimsby, England, has long been prominent in English politics. The London "Daily Mail" says that he is a main standby of the Conservative party at election time. "He is called the 'Demosthenes of tariff reform.' The chief whip of the Conservative party insists on his going to wind up all by-elections. He is by common consent the last heavy shot in the locker."

intensely proud of being, if not an intimate citizen, at least of having the right to call myself a British citizen with some investment in all the great principles that are making Canada strong to-day.

Now, you have a great country; you have a great future. Probably in no part of the British Dominions are there such opportunities as I observe in every part of Canada. Wealth unbounded appears everywhere. It seems to me that God has blessed this land, not merely with bountiful soil and beautiful lakes and mountains, but with every other natural blessing that any other part of the world enjoys at this time. Therefore, in the government you have in the future that is before you, I would ask that you will look at that matter, not so much from the personal view and standpoint, but from the possibilities of your prosperity, making for the general advantage of the British race as a whole.

These great Dominions that are scattered about the earth, which have been called up to now British Colonies, but which I prefer to call British Sister Nations, these great Dominions have got what they have through British energy and enterprise and government in the past. But we have to look at the future and to ask ourselves "What is the future to be?" Are you desirous as a nation of becoming a separate people on the face of the earth, of throwing off your supposed allegiance to the mother country and to the islands of Great Britain? Well, I cannot find anybody, any serious-thinking man in any part of Canada that I have visited that is very keen on that aspect of the question. Of course, such has been the method of government from Great Britain that, if you were to decide to do that to-morrow, you are free to do it as you stand to-day. But, gentlemen, since the past has been good to you, has not the future greater blessing and fruitfulness for you within the domain of the British Empire?

I know that as a great nation grows in riches it brings around it the jealousies of other people who are looking about them for expansion, and as Canada becomes better known for its natural wealth, as its people begin to develop into richer citizens, if you have no power to defend yourself, what is the use of making dollars if you have no strong arm to secure your wealth? What will it avail you when the enemy comes much stronger than yourselves. Therefore, I submit, for the advantage of each and every part of the British Empire, it is essential that we should not drift further apart, but by every means at our command we should come closer together and bind ourselves together as the heart of one man, and then we

will be able in the future to meet any enemy, whatever and whoever he may be that might attack any portion of our great Imperial dominion.

And then, Mr. President, there is another aspect of this question which, I know, will appeal to Canadians as you become more advanced as a nation. As you become richer in natural wealth, as you become more world-wide in your influence, you will of necessity require a world-wide policy. While you may say "We will be insular"—we are like that ourselves —as your great interests grow, of necessity they will find some portion of their resting place in every part of the world, and either as your people go to other countries or as other people come to this country from others in the course of trade developments, just as these things take root in other countries, is it essential that you, as a commercial nation, should have some influence in the world policy, and in times of extremity that your voice may be heard, and that justice may be done to you as a consequence of the strong arm that may be behind you.

Why, I have been over a thousand miles along the Pacific coast. I have seen there the magnificent scenery and beautiful inland seas that belong to Canada, all along that coast line, up its wandering rivers, such as the Skeena and the Fraser. I have seen the most naturally beautiful scenery that I have ever beheld in any part of the world. It did strike me that if you had no strong arm behind you, if even a little country with great aspirations as to the future, such say, if you like, as the Japanese, if they were to land an army in one of your creeks or in some of those marvellous inland waters or harbours which nature has made there, if they were to land their people there, I want to know how you are going to remove them, I want to know how you are going to prevent any invasion like that under the present circumstances so far as Canada is concerned. I say this: You ought to have the power to make your position known more thoroughly in Great Britain as to the necessity for proper protection of the coast line of Canada. The Dominion of Canada, I am very glad to see, is doing something in the direction of a navy. It is a wise step. It is wise from the standpoint that it is time you were doing a little for yourselves. But it is also time for a much more important consideration, it is time for you to preach into the very soul of your children that youthful independence and spirit which will produce for you men that will man your navy and under extreme circumstances form some unit in the protection of the British Empire.

Mr. President, I therefore say that you ought to have a voice in the Government of Greater Britain in order that you may from time to time, through your representatives, put the case of your own protection before those who to-day are responsible for such protection.

But, sirs, I said a little while ago that we were held, as it were, loosely together by the bond of sentiment that binds us so happily together. The time has come when Great Britain must take another step, so far as every part of her dominions is concerned, because this is not the day of nations. When I was a boy we used to speak of other countries as nations, and they were intelligent to our minds by the area such a word represented. To-day, we are speaking, not of nations, but of empires. It was Prince Bismarck, that great, far-seeing, German, through whose efforts were created the German Empire, and it was through his marvellous statesmanship there came the adoption of the principle of tariff reform, the home market for the home workers. That laid the foundation of the German Empire, a great and powerful and mighty people, which I hope to see continue to grow in influence for good over every part of the world.

And then, sirs, you have upon your border line another great country, another great empire, I refer to the United States, whose greatness and power and influence in the world, speaking as they do the British tongue, is going on as a great, mighty, rolling wave for the protection of true civilization in every part of the world. You have the Empire of Japan, the Empire of China, the Empire of Russia. May I tell you the world is going to be governed in the future by empires? What are we going to be? What is the British-speaking people going to represent in the future? Are you going to be satisfied by the Nation of Great Britain, the Nation of Canada, the Nation of Australia, the Nation of South Africa, each a separate nationality, playing its part very much as Holland is to-day, without any great world influence, about whom great peoples excel them in all their glory and power. There is but one way for us to take, and that is to keep our place in the world, the greatest, the first, and I hope I may say the noblest people the world has ever seen, and we will do that, sir, if we continue to work out our common salvation through Imperial unity.

I see a great deal said nowadays about reciprocity—that seems to be the catch-word of the present moment in Canada—reciprocity. Well, you know your own politics better than I do, therefore I am not going to teach you, but I would suggest

to our friends across the border, "If you want reciprocity, why not start and lower your tariff to ours to commence?" I remember, you know, that example is better than precept, at least I believe the Inspector teaches that in the Schools. But, sirs, be there a great question to be settled, there will be those who will work for the best interests of Canada.

On other questions, I express no opinion whatever, but I do express a perfectly natural view that the natural line of reciprocity should, in the first instance be between the various parts constituting the British Empire. You in this country have freely given to the Mother Country a preference, which has had a very valuable influence upon the trade of Great Britain. We have given you nothing in return. We could improve that preference very much to our own advantage if we had the right to discuss it with your statesmen, but we have no right to discuss that question until we are in a position to offer you something in return for your trade kindness. Further, we believe in Imperial preference. And I would like to say to you gentlemen here that life in this quick country, quick lunches, quick everything—I would like to say to you, will you kindly remember that I come from a much slower country, that we do not in politics move as rapidly as they do in some cases, that the people of England take a long time to change their minds. They have to be assured of the step they take before they take it. But, be assured that although we move slowly, we move surely, we move on those lines which go to lay the most solid matter, the foundations of the Empire upon which we are trying to build. In every part of England, men are being converted by thousands to Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform. I ask you not to believe the fairy stories told every now and again against our great leader, Mr. Balfour, who is doing so much to forward the whole great question of Imperial Preference and Tariff Reform. These maxims are growing rapidly in the minds of the people of England. We are going to win at the next election, and we shall carry forward our great scheme, and in the near future there will be offered to Canada as a further step towards Imperial consolidation a preference of advantage to colonial products over any product produced in any other part of the world.

And now, Mr. President, my time is sliding away, and I know how particular you are as to time—as you ought to be—but there is just one other aspect of the question I would like to touch upon. It is, how is this great movement going to shape out in the end? It is easy to talk, as we are constantly talking, about Imperial federation. Well, Mr. President, there

is no other real solution of our great question, but that every part of the British Empire should not only enjoy the privilege, God over all, but the responsibility attached thereto, and, sirs, I admire very much the form of government which has been evolved on this side of the world. You have your Provincial governments, none of them cast in the same mould, but the people of each Province governing themselves as they want to be governed. Nobody cares enough so long as the government of that Province is trying to do the best for the people of that Province; and then you have over and above it all the great Dominion Government that covers the greater questions affecting the whole of the Canadian people. Now, I venture to say that but for a common flag you could never have done that. It was the flag that formed the unity under a Dominion government, under the great government, and under the illustrious men you have to-day.

Now, gentlemen, as the flag has done that for Canada, and as you have your separate Provincial governments, do you think it is beyond the bounds and powers of common British statesmanship that we are going to evolve an Imperial congressional power that shall have within its hands the interest of the whole of the British people? That is what I say we are working to. We are desirous of seeing a Federal Parliament established that shall have its direct representation from the Provinces of Canada—I do not say from the Dominion alone, but from the various interests representative of each of these Provinces. Do you not see how that would work in every part of our dominions, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, as well as in Canada, and in the midst a Federal Parliament representative of the peoples of the various countries in the various parts of the world. You have a big country and a small population. You are getting bigger every day, and if you are within the Empire, in that way, in my judgment, you could work out through that great Parliamentary interest many of the problems to the greater advantage of Canada than there are being worked out at the present time.

Now, Mr. President, it is said that that is all right, and probably we shall have something like that bye-and-bye; but you tell us, "You had better put your own house in order. Why don't you have provinces in Great Britain, why not a Province of Ireland and a Province of Scotland and a Province of Wales and a Province of England." Well, you know, we live in an old country, with old traditions and old ideals of government, and sometimes someone finds, I regret to say, that those who try to work certain interests have not the same

object in view that you have in promoting the Greater Britain here. I regret to say that Ireland has been a thorn in the flesh of the British Government for a great many years, and there is no man in England or out of it, who is a greater admirer of Ireland than I, for I married an Irish lady myself. None ever who has seen their grievances and realized the difficulties of the government of Ireland in the past but can understand; but I believe many of these have gone by, and beyond occasional desires for an independent country, and independent parliament and an independent executive, further extensions of local government would have been given to the Irish. I believe the solution is not far at hand, but it is not on the lines that some men would desire to carry it, namely, a separation instead of unification of the British Empire. Give us a fair opportunity in England to settle our grievances on the same pacific and happy lines that you have given your provinces, with the same spirit of loyalty and the same depth of character in its government, and England will not be behind-hand in meeting any difficulty of the character to which I refer.

Further, gentlemen, I ask you to do something in this matter. You can all do something. Since you have a certain investment in British character, British idealisms, in British love of liberty, in British determination in all its very great departments, since you have an investment in all that is past and future in the British life and character, I ask you to preach Imperialism everywhere. Do not think a cut and dried scheme can be produced in a day—it never has in any great problem, —and do not say it is impossible, because the man who cannot do the impossible is not much good in the world. We have in our great national history, myriads of instances in which our statesmen, our soldiers and our sailors have done the impossible, and we shall work out this great problem, and all its possibilities and difficulties will be smoothed with a great Imperial government which will cover effectually every son of Britain in every part of the British world.

Therefore, I ask you to do your part towards British Imperial unity for the interest of Canada, British Imperial unity for the benefit of the whole British peoples, and by doing that you will help on the cause and you will become one of the most important factors in making our great British Empire, with all its great past, brighter, stronger and more enduring in the future than anything it has known before.

(*September 29*)

The Impending Naval Crisis.

By Mr. Carlyon Bellairs.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject of "The Impending Naval Crisis," Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, ex-M.P., said:

Gentlemen,—Your chairman referred to the fact that you had been fortunate in securing several visitors from over the water to address you. I don't know about that. The situation, you know, is a bit peculiar. We all come here to seek information, but we are waylaid and called upon instead to impart it, whether we will or not.

That is the position in which I find myself at the present moment. Well, I have cast discretion to the four winds, in bowing to the inevitable, in attempting to prophesy without knowing. I, at least, propose to give you my view.

I believe that the world is in for a crisis—a world crisis—about the year 1914. All conditions, I think, point to that conclusion. The reasons are many, both direct and indirect. Among the indirect reasons may be mentioned the growth of Socialism in Germany. The Austrian-Hungarian agreement also ends in 1915, and any movement resulting from its termination will be felt a year in advance. The German army, it is fair to assume, is being fashioned for war at a definite date in that it is being financed with borrowed money, and the whole preparations will reach maturity about 1914. There is also another issue that is likely to have an important bearing upon conditions. The Japanese alliance ends in 1915, and the termination of that alliance is likely to be anticipated.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking at Vancouver, I believe, is quoted as having said that the Japanese alliance had proved of great importance in protecting the frontier of India against Russian aggression, and that this was the viewpoint of the whole British Empire. Now, I do not think that Britain depends upon the Japanese alliance for the defence of the Indian frontier. Would not any man preferred to have said:

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* Mr. Carlyon Bellairs, Ex-M.P., Kings Lynn, Norfolk, England, has been Vice-Chairman of the Navy League and also of the Parliamentary Navy Committee, of which he was the founder. He is also an extensive writer on naval subjects and was lecturer for the war course for Senior Officers at the Royal Navy College.

The protection and defence of the Indian frontier from 1914 would be largely in the three great transcontinental railways ready to carry British and Canadian troops to its defence.

Conditions are such generally that they cannot be treated in a piecemeal or parochial way. It is not a question for England alone, but for England and the Empire. England depends absolutely on her freedom and control of travel on the great sea roads. Canada, with her great railways, east to west, depends on this trade across the seas. No Monroe doctrine will defend shipping and trade, upon which England and the Empire is dependent. Canada cannot afford to be a parasite, groping her way through the musty records of the ancient Monroe doctrine.

History teaches that our army has nearly always fought abroad, that the soldier has had to go to his work on the back of the sailor. Advocates of additional naval development are told that the financial strain is too great. This is not so. Under the circumstances we can stand more. It is not one hundred years ago since the French revolutionary war. One hundred millions would not have been too great a sum for the French at that time to spend in bringing the supremacy of Napoleon to an end. Let me assure you of this: the people will not bobble over a few millions spent in Dreadnoughts to prevent war altogether.

The crisis of 1914 should be met by preparations in 1910. It should be met by the immediate inauguration of an aggressive constructive policy. A ship-building programme on a large scale should be launched. The navy saved a war during the Fashoda period. War was averted by the preparations of four years before. Again, at the outset of the South African war the South African Republic telegraphed Berlin asking assistance, but the Minister of Foreign Affairs replied that while the South African Republic had the sympathy of Germany, Germany could not interfere, as England was in command of the sea. This was the result of spending money on naval development in previous years. It was the second time in recent years that the navy has saved the Empire from war.

The situation which confronts Britain to-day is grave. Even Mr. Asquith confessed that it was a most unexpected state and condition of affairs. Germany has overtaken us in the rapidity of their building, and she has already caught us in respect to gun mountings. The remedy is immediate ordering of Dreadnoughts. The congestion of the building programme of 1911 will not rescue us from our undesirable posi-

tion in 1914. Germany is laying down ships at an unusually rapid and significant rate. According to the present programme, 1914 will find Germany with 21 Dreadnoughts and Invincibles, as compared with Britain's 24. The margin, I say, leaves nothing to effect the reinforcement of the Pacific upon the termination of the Japanese alliance, to provide for the fleet of the Mediterranean, and to make provision for refitting and risk of accidents in navigation. There is no margin of safety. The policy of England involves the necessity of keeping considerable of her fleet at sea, and constant risks are involved from mines and torpedos, while units of the fleet must frequently be laid up coaling and refitting. In the day of battle, England should be able to meet Germany's 21 vessels with 33, instead of only 24.

This congestion of building, to which I have alluded, has been brought about by procrastination, and it is now certain that 1911 cannot come to the rescue. I believe absolutely that the year 1914 will see the crisis. Six times already has England been the break-water to turn back the aspirations of one ruler struggling after world supremacy and world domination. We have got to see to it that Germany doesn't make the seventh, the successor of Philip of Spain, Louis XIV or Napoleon as would-be ruler of the world. In season and out we must be up and doing. Our naval supremacy must be maintained unchallenged. First we must make sure of our navy, and second we must make sure of our army and military forces. We must be ready to mobilize whenever required. The present chief military member of council testified before the War Commission that in the South African war, 680 out of 750 of our military were organized purely for local defence. We have ten men in goal and only one forward. It ought to be the other way about. It is always a foolish policy to spend money on luxuries and starve for necessities.

Then there is Mr. Haldane's army scheme. Napoleon, you remember, said it took seven years to create an army. That being the case I am somewhat sceptical when the Secretary for War undertakes to create an army in six speeches. The territorial army scheme provides for an expenditure on an army, which could not be moved, of a sum equivalent to the cost of thirteen Dreadnoughts. It would have been better, in my opinion to have spent a portion of this money on seven new Dreadnoughts. Seven additional Dreadnoughts would determine the issue of peace or war in 1914.

The question arises: Why are the facts not faced by the Cabinet, and why is the navy not put in such a position as to

put a stop to all alarmist feeling. As a matter of fact, the Empire cannot get directing from some twenty-seven men gathered in a room. It has been said that the greater number of wise men there are assembled together the less wisdom is obtained. But it is of vital importance that some mind should gain the ascendency and focus our policy upon sane lines. Lord Melville once said of Cabinets: "It doesn't matter what they say in the room so long as they all agree to say the same thing out of the room." Another observation which has been much quoted was the counsel, "We must hang together, lest we hang separately."

Two maxims might well inspire the present Cabinet. All cabinets are confronted with such difficulties in these matters. The Unionist cabinet of 20 would fail—as it did fail in the South African war—to adequately direct the affairs of Empire. There is necessity for a better basis of Government. There should be a radical change in the construction and constitution of Parliament. Local and parochial issues should not be permitted to monopolize the attention of imperially-minded men. As a result of the existing condition we have to contend with the influence of the little Englander. Although relatively these little Englanders are a small class, they occasionally succeed in getting into Parliament, where they have opportunity to become rampant. The little Englander directs all eyes inward to our littleness, instead of directing all eyes outward to our bigness. He is not representative, but he gets in on local issues. What we want is to get some system of parliamentary government in Britain, such as you have here in Canada in which the federal and provincial governments are both allocated their jurisdiction. In an imperial parliament devoted to imperial affairs the little Englander would never get in at all.

The most important question to us is to get rid of the little England sentiment. You can't bring him out here to learn, but you can change the constitution of parliament and alter the existing system of government. In this connection you members of the Canadian Clubs can do much. We like to have Canadian speakers visit the mother land and talk to us and give us the Canadian view. We would like you to preach the doctrine of British preference in all matters of trade.

Let me say one thing to you before I close. There is no decadence in England among the people. When we raise alarms about Germany we do not distrust or doubt the people. We distrust the Cabinet and the little Englander. In a Parlia-

ment devoted to Imperial issues the little Englander would not be present. The people themselves are imperially-minded. It is owing to having old machinery of government that the little Englander exercises disproportionate influence. It is the man behind the gun who counts. It is the man behind the gun in the navy. It was the man behind the gun who won Trafalgar. The men are all right and perfectly certain. If only given the weapons they will present you with victory as Nelson did in the past.

Britain must move forward. She must improve her system of government. She would do well to model a system somewhat upon that of the confederated Provinces of Canada. She wants less of the bureaucratic love for water carts and wants to look more to her powder carts. She has her opportunity. Her people are all right. It is after all the people's battle and it is worth while.

In concluding let me make application to you for assistance. We would like any of you who are willing to come to England and tell us concerning Canadian opinion. Canadian opinion is valued in England, for we want Canadians to stand with us shoulder to shoulder in an effort to stiffen the backs of the leaders of public opinion in England. Thus we can be assured of development and progress, of building up an even greater Empire than we have to-day.

(*October 3*)

Great Britain Under Free Trade.

BY SIR ALFRED MOND, M.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on "The Economic Position of Great Britain under Free Trade," Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Let me say at the outset that I consider it a very great honor indeed to be invited to address the oldest Canadian Club in the Dominion, in the capital of the banner Province of Ontario, the important city of Toronto. In discussing for a few moments with you the subject which I have chosen I deem it well to preface my remarks with the assurance that my personal position will not be misunderstood. You are not in any particular sense in need of advice, and I would not have the presumption to advise Canadians as to their policy, fiscal or otherwise. In such matters the Canadian people are much more competent than I to deal wisely and well with them.

It is my desire to discuss very briefly, for you have not much time at your disposal, the economic aspect of our position in the mother land. You have heard a great deal of late from the protectionists, our calamity howlers, of the devastation which is being wrought and the depletion of the country under our effete and antiquated fiscal system. You know the imagination of the protectionist party is vivid, and it would be unfortunate indeed if there should be any misconception in this Dominion, which owns allegiance to the throne of England and is permeated with love and loyalty for the mother land.

No doubt some of you have been informed, if you have kept *au courant* with our tariff reform press, that the English free trade movement was due altogether to one Richard Cobden, a semi-lunatic who by his unsupported testimony persuaded the people of Great Britain to reverse their entire fiscal policy. This, however, is for consumption only at tariff reform meetings. The simplification of the British tariff was

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* Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., Swansea, Wales, England, is the Honorary Treasurer of the Free Trade Union, and is one of the most energetic advocates of free trade in Great Britain. Last session, the Prime Minister is said to have characterized Sir Alfred's contribution to the debate as the best speech upon the subject for at least four years.

begun as early as 1825. In May, 1840, the House of Commons appointed a select committee to investigate import duties. At that time Britain had no less than 1,150 different rates of duty on imported articles.

The striking result of the analysis was that out of a revenue of £21,000,000 from customs, 17 articles produced 94½ per cent.; 29 other articles produced almost 4 per cent.; so that 46 articles out of 1,150 produced over 98 per cent., and all the others together produced less than 2 per cent. Nobody would have credited such a result had not this commission been held.

And before the analysis was made no doubt protectionists would say, "If you do not have this widely extended tariff, where is your revenue to come from?"

It was on this report that the great reforms of Peel and Gladstone were based, which swept away practically the whole of our old tariff, and the establishment of a tariff which enables England to-day to levy on a small number of articles, and without increasing the price of the same to the consumer, secure customs revenue to an enormous amount.

One of the greatest vindications of the sound economics of our free trade policy is to be found in the rapid and successful development of new industries. Take the motor car, for instance. The French trade at one period predominated and led. Under a protectionist system it would be urged that if this trade is to develop in England it would require the assistance of a protective tariff. It has, however, developed in England to such an extent under a system of absolutely free production, that France has to take second place in this industry.

Again, the English boot manufacturing trade, which at one time, some years ago, was thought to have been lost to the United States, rejuvenated itself and is to-day more prosperous than ever.

Instance after instance can be given of the stimulating effect on industries, not by the artificial stimulation of a protective tariff, but by the healthy influence of free competition. It is generally recognized in life that competition is best; why should this universal rule be disregarded when we come to production between domestic and foreign industries. A protected industry, like charity-aided individuals, never having to stand on its own feet, takes to leaning on the crutches of the benevolent public. Take the crutches away, and it will either walk or fall down. If it is incapable of standing on its feet, is it worthy of the artificial support on the back of

the general public? The infant industry, reared on the bottle of tariff manipulation, remains weak and rickety, and, like the pampered child shielded from every one and from healthy emulation of other children, never grows into a strong man. When you suggest it is time for the feeding bottle to be taken away and for it to go out and eat its food like a man, you will find that its parts are either undeveloped or in a condition of senility. In either case the generation continues to plead and pleads successfully for their industry to be allowed to remain parasitically attached to the bottle of its State mother.

The fallacy of the infant theory in all protected countries is a remarkable vindication of the soundness of the economic theory of free trade.

Although no free trader will allege it is impossible to stimulate certain industries in the home market by removing the pressure of foreign competition, still no protectionist has yet pointed out how it is possible to assist the export trade of the country by that policy. The fact that protectionist countries increase their exports is no contradiction of this statement.

Britain, depending as it must do on the disposal of its surplus products to a large export trade consisting of very considerable manufacturing products, cannot be benefitted by having this export trade more difficult owing to a protective tariff at home. In countries where the export trade is relatively of less importance and the home trade of more importance than in England, the restrictive effects of the protective tariffs by raising the cost of production in the export trade of the country is less marked.

Many careful students have given their opinion that the high tariffs of the United States are the cause of their relatively failure as exporters of manufactured goods.

The question of food supply has an important influence upon the subject. The area of England and its large population per square mile must make England depend for her food supply sources outside her borders. This will naturally direct English trade considerably to such countries as are prepared to exchange agricultural commodities for English manufactures. As goods must pay for goods finally, in the trade of the world, it is obvious that the nations must supplement each other's deficiencies. To carry on trade they must trade with one another. Tariff restrictions interfere with their natural development.

England has developed such industries to which it is specially adapted by position and climate and natural resources and also it has developed industries which have benefitted most from the tariffs of competing countries. The high tariffs of many of its industrial competitors have given England a commanding position in the industrial markets, more especially in the far east. They have also greatly facilitated England's position as a shipping and ship-building country. The great preponderating position in the manufacture of textiles and the building of ships can be directly traced to the tariff policy of other countries. Let me quote you some figures on ship-building, excluding warships:

——	1906 Tons	1907 Tons	1908 Tons
United Kingdom.......	1,828,000	1,608,000	930,000
Germany..............	318,000	275,000	208,000
United States..........	441,000	475,000	304,000
All the world including the above	2,920,000	2,778,000	1,833,000

The most economic production is for the nation to do that which it can do best. By producing commodities to which it is best adapted for the smallest amount of labor with the least effort, this country will derive the greatest amount of wealth and have the most prosperous population.

Any attempt to reverse the policy of allowing the British workmen to enjoy the lowest prices on the prime necessities of life by raising the cost of living and diminishing the purchasing power of wages, must either create a higher wage standard with no increased benefit, or lower the rate of living with diminshed efficiency, and thus impair England's position in the world's markets.

The framing of a tariff schedule is in all circumstances difficult, and in nearly every case unsatisfactory. In most countries statesmen have only to deal with a modification of the existing tariffs, and industries have more or less grown up under tariff conditions. To impose on such a complicated and highly developed industrial country as England, which has developed under a free trade system, a tariff, with all its complications and difficulties of settlement, appears to be

practically impossible, and means almost an impossible task. Loss, confusion, disturbance of trade and uncertainty of results must undoubtedly accompany such a revolution. The fact that after eight years of agitation, our protectionists have not succeeded in formulating even the outline of a tariff schedule is certainly a witness to the hopelessness of the task they have undertaken.

Let me quote to you for a moment the opinions of two prominent Unionists, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Lord Hugh Cecil, who are ardant champions of free trade. Lord Balfour of Burleigh said:

> "My ground, and the ground of those Conservatives and Unionists who are with me, is that free trade is vital to the community of the Empire and the well-being of our population. We oppose even the policy of preference, because we honestly believe that, so far from being a defence, so far from being a safeguard to the unity of the Empire, it is perhaps more likely than anything else which has ever been devised, to create friction and difficulty. We all regard the political side of our relationship with colonies as of the highest importance. We all wish to see the Empire knit together in the closest bonds. We are willing to support almost any scheme which is likely to succeed; but we see no gain in the policy which is put before us which will compensate us for our loss of freedom; we see no way out of the economic difficulties which are certain to be raised; we see, as any intelligent man must see, that there will be inequality, not only between colony and colony, but also between individuals in the same and in different communities."

Lord Hugh Cecil, writing in the Nineteenth Century said:

> "One of the economic aspects of preference presents also an insuperable objection. The taxation of food is, we are told, a necessary part of the policy of Colonial Preference. But the taxation of food implies the taxation of the very poorest of the people. Those who are on the threshold of the workhouse must pay taxation on the necessaries of life, and of no other taxation can that be said. Imagine it done directly and not by the veiled operation of an import duty. Suppose a tax collector was sent round to every citizen, including the very poorest of the dwellers in the slums of London, and asked from each sixpence per month, and that the money so

> collected was then divided among the farmers in the colonies, who would defend or tolerate such an arrangement? An English working class electorate will not permanently endure the taxing of the almost starving for the benefit of those who are better off."

These are the words of prominent Unionists. But let me say here a few words on the position taken up by our party on Preference. The positions of Britain and the Dominions on this subject are exactly reverse one to the other. Living as you do under a protectionist system, the reduction of tariffs in favor of the mother country, which I don't wish to undervalue, is at the same time easing the burden of the Canadian consumer. Living as we do in Britain under a free trade system, we should have to commence by imposing a burden on the consumer, which now doesn't exist, in order to afford this supposed benefit to the Dominions. You protect your industries against competition with British manufactures, but accord them a benefit which is fully appreciated over foreign competitors. We accord your products absolute freedom in competition with our Home producers and this opens our markets to you in a much wider sense than yours are open to us. You deal with us mainly in food; we deal with you mainly in manufactures. To raise by means of duties the prices of wheat and meat to our big industrial communities, even if only to a small extent, would be a serious thing and one which in the long run could not be maintained.

This is not unwillingness on our part to in any way assist trade in the Dominions, or any disregard of the bonds which hold us together, or any high-handed theory of past generations which compels us to take up an attitude of opposition to these proposals. It is because we feel that to connect, in the mind of the British working classes, the idea of Empire with the idea of food taxes would be worse than a blunder; it would be a crime. Even if the duties were small there would be a continuous tendency, both on the part of the agriculturist at home and of those benefitting abroad, to endeavor to obtain an increase.

But the mere smallness of the duty would not remove the sense of injustice with the many millions who find it under modern conditions sufficiently difficult to live in decency, to bring up a family of worthy citizens, to have their part in the slightest degree made more onerous than economic necessity demands.

On the other hand I must say I feel convinced that it is in the highest interests of the Empire that it should develop

its trade to its greatest capacity and that its population should grow so that its people should be prosperous and contented. Many of our protectionists have looked askance at any who look to foreign countries for the development of our trade. We are continually told that you have entered into relations to your great neighbor, to our detriment.

False accusations have been made against those who are pleading for an extension of free trade in the fiscal policy in Canada on the ground of want of loyalty to the Empire. I do not share these views. In my opinion it is the duty of your statesmen to develop the trade of your great and vast dominions to the best possible advantage. If you have products to exchange with any other country you should exchange them. I don't want to see a system adopted which would impede such development.

A young, vigorous, expanding country like yours naturally desires to seize all opportunities for the expansion of its commerce and for the sale of its products. The so-called Imperial policy! To endeavor to artificially confine and limit the powers of our aspirations or endeavors, seems to me fundamentally wrong. As a trader myself, engaged in an important industry, it is far from my mind to undervalue in any way the importance of trade relations or commercial connections.

I would not like to have it thought that I undervalue or estimate lightly the preference you have extended for the good of the mother country. We don't wish any more to be looked upon as supplicants asking you to disregard your own best interests in our favor, as I know you don't wish us to regard you as claimants for benefits at the expense of our people. We are glad to do business with you. You, too, do business with us. We are glad to think that you prefer to do business with us than with others, and you can be sure that we reciprocate that sentiment. But we feel that no part of the Empire should feel any compulsion in this matter, or should feel that they were losing opportunities for benefitting the people of their respective countries in order to make presents to other countries.

I do not undervalue trade relations, but it is not upon them that our great Empire depends. The loyalty of the dominions to the mother country, the affection of the British people for the other members of their race who have been the pioneers in wild countries and raised them to a high state of civilization, is not a question of pounds, shillings and pence, and cannot be expressed in terms of exports or imports. It is a much deeper, much stronger, much holier thing. It is

based on the grand traditions of centuries; it is based on great common ideals of right and wrong; on the love of justice and fair play, and a common language, common literature and common history—that feeling of "pulling together" which exists not merely in the relationship of family, but which lives in the relationship of nations.

We look on your achievements with pride. We regard your development with admiration. We are glad to think that you are creating a great and new British nation. We are certain that in time of storm or stress you will be ready to stand with us again as you did in the dark days of 1900.

We wish no bargaining, no feeling of disappointment or injustice or regret—the results of artificial bounties—to come between us and you. We would sooner have the Empire live on its square foundation of freedom for all its component parts, and keep this great structure of ours, reared by generations of commanding ability and sacrifice, to be added to by the generations that are to come, confident that the history of the future will be no less glorious, no less worthy, than its great traditions of the past.

(*October 13*)

Garden Suburbs and Town Planning.

BY MR. HENRY VIVIAN, M.P.*

ADDRESSING a special meeting of the Canadian Club on "Garden Suburbs and Town Planning," Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., of Birkenhead, England, said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Let me first thank the Canadian Club of Toronto for being good enough to extend to me the privilege of speaking here to-day. In the course of what I have to say—for I must be brief; you are busy men with work to do, and wisely limit the time of your speakers—I shall dispense with many of the arguments—those can be taken for granted in addressing such a gathering as this—and proceed with facts, even though it may appear somewhat dogmatic.

We, in the old land, are becoming stirred up over the housing and town planning problems which are presenting themselves to many of our citizens. We have ascertained by the reports of experts that there is a close and immediate relation between the conditions under which the people live and their efficiency as working people and citizens. As the community transplants from agricultural to industrial surroundings, and as more and more become city dwellers, the problem becomes more and more important. We have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when the development of city life should be ordered and organized and result from conscious effort rather than from the anarchy of forces responsible for the growth of many of our cities.

There are one or two facts, not without interest as showing the necessity for action and arousing the people to a realization of what their obligations are and what it means to the country that they shall be grappled with. Physicians and other experts who have turned their attention to a study of actual conditions find that children who are brought up under

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*Mr. Henry Vivian, M.P., Birkenhead, England, is the originator of the idea of the partnership of tenants in capital and profits as the solution of the Housing and City Planning problem. The development of this idea is one of the most hopeful features of the present situation in England. Mr. Vivian's unremitting work for the bettering of the working classes has been productive of enormous results. He is regarded as one of the most fluent and forceful speakers in British politics at the present time.

healthy conditions, with ample accommodation for exercise and physical development are inches taller than those who have been brought up under unhealthy conditions in the slums. Moreover it affects their weight. The child brought up under healthy conditions averages 30 pounds heavier at 14 years of age than his less fortunate brother. The difference between the two kinds of conditions is really vital to the physical development of the people. Dr. Newman, the medical health officer of Finsbury, states that the death rate among people who live in the one-roomed home is three to four times as large as the death rate among people who live in the four-roomed home. Thus you see the mere addition of home room will reduce the death rate from three to four fold.

And from our investigations we are satisfied that this slaughter of the innocents is covering the whole country. We conducted enquiries in Edinburgh, Liverpool, Birmingham, London and York. The size of the evil can be more fully realized when I tell you that the last census showed that over half a million homes consisted of one room only, while two million homes had just two rooms.

With these figures and the reports before us we came to the conclusion that if such conditions produced such a frightful havoc on the physical side, the injury to the mental power and moral purpose must also be very great. So we determined to get to work. We were stimulated to action not only by the melancholy facts to which I have just made reference, but by the brighter side—the result of experiments made by enterprising employers and careful organization. We had the example of Port Sunlight, where Lever Brothers had established a community with every facility for healthy development. Then there was Bournemouth established by Cadbury Brothers, near Birmingham. These industrial villages pointed the way. Then followed an examination of the model city of Letchworth in the making, which is an example of a city laid out to accommodate 30,000 in healthy and comfortable conditions. These examples stimulated thought and prompted action.

Yet there are limitations with us. There is the difficulty of lack of space in the old land, and the enormous difficulty of getting factories to transfer their operations into the district. Here you in Canada have a big advantage in taking hold of this problem. You have not the double task to perform of getting up the economic driving force and securing the space to organize on sound health lines. You have an opportunity that is not ours. This word in passing.

I have alluded to the results of inadequate housing on the physique of the people. But the housing is not the only factor responsible for this deterioration. Other evils contributing are overcrowding, lack of exercise and open air. In England we are finding by bitter experience that these conditions have an effect on the death rate. I spoke a moment ago of the increase in the death rate. Let me give you some figures. In the case of one-roomed houses the death rate is 40 per 1,000; with two-roomed houses, 20 per 1,000; with three-roomed houses, 15 per 1,000, and with four-roomed houses, 8 to 10 per 1,000. In the case of infantile mortality the rate is two or three times as large in the case of one-roomed houses as with those of four rooms.

These remarkable figures show that as the breathing space of a house increased, the death rate diminished. We are realizing in England that this is a problem affecting millions of people, and is the greatest contributing quantity to the inefficiency of the race.

Now, however, there is a bright side to the case. The establishment of model cities such as Letchworth, which is an example of how a city should be built, with accommodation for 30,000 people, having bowling greens, a garden to every house, artistic effects, and the factories so situated as to give the minimum of injury to the health of the people.

In London we now have two model villages in the suburbs, one in Ealing and one in Hampstead. Here they see that the number of houses to each lot is limited, provision is made for children, so that there is no danger of their being run over by the street cars, and where at the same time they will be sent out of the way of their mothers. Hampstead, I believe, will soon be the finest suburb in the world, and already it has a population of over 30,000 people.

It was while visiting Hampstead that Earl Grey first got the idea of inaugurating the campaign in your country, and having me visit Canada. While there his Excellency, with Hon. Sydney Fisher, were struck with the bright faces of the people with whom they chatted and had their tea. They became interested in our co-partnership-in-housing movement. They found we had also model villages in Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Liverpool, Stoke-on-Trent, Leicester, Manchester and at Newcastle-on-Tyne where the authorities have offered a stretch of ground 200,000 acres in extent, for the purpose of a model town.

These towns are developed in a peculiar manner. Every citizen is encouraged to become a stock-holder in the company,

there being a fixed interest. The result is that before long a man owns the house in which he lives. But should a man decide to leave the village for Canada or elsewhere the money is paid back to him at par. But I do not think that persons living in these villages are likely to emigrate to Canada.

These individual efforts resulted in the town-planning act. Hitherto county councils had not had the power to handle the difficulties arising from town development. But this act gives the county council power to lay out in advance all the area beyond the town, including that which may ultimately be brought in. The chief or principal city in a county becomes the chief authority, and takes the initiative in inviting the co-operation of the smaller towns for the forming of a plan providing for the improvement of the whole area in the district, with a view to the regulation of the street railways, the building of houses, etc., so that when a town grows up it is not necessary to buy up areas at enormous expense to clear them away.

In Germany this idea had been in vogue long before it was put into practice in England. In the city of Frankfort the district all round the city has been planned out for the next twenty years, providing for gardens, parks, residences, and public buildings, so that if the town grows it grows upon these lines.

Not only are these things being done from a health standpoint, but also with a view to improving the architecture of the city as a whole. We are thinking in towns instead of in streets or houses. Effect can be added to a town by choosing well the sites for its public buildings, instead of having them dumped down anywhere.

And right here, you must pardon me if I presume to give some advice. Big mistakes, it seems to me, have already been made in Canada. I have in my mind a city with a population of 26,000, which will surely have a hundred thousand inside of twenty years, and yet the main street is less than sixty feet wide. The town is so badly planned that, inside of twenty years, it will become a death trap unless enormous expense is made, and the problem is increasing in importance as time goes on. Automobiles are coming on to the streets, running from factory to factory, travelling at twenty miles an hour. What does that mean to the pedestrian? If there is not provision made for foot-paths and opportunity for crossing, in twenty years the modern city will be intolerable. In Toronto and Montreal the problem is enormous and is daily increasing, is it not?

As Raymond Unwin has pointed out, the introduction of the co-partnership principle marks a new era in housing; for not only is the individual likely to procure for himself a better house and a larger garden by obtaining them through a co-partnership society than by any other means, but the introduction of co-operation opens up quite a new range of possibilities. For through the medium of co-operation all may enjoy a share of very many advantages, the individual possession of which can only be attained by the few.

The man who is sufficiently wealthy may have his own shrubberies, tennis court, bowling green, or play places for his children, and may, by the size of his grounds, secure an open and pleasant outlook from all his windows; but the individual possession of such grounds is quite out of the reach of the majority. A co-partnership association can, however, provide for all its members a share of these advantages and of far more than these. In fact, the scope of the principle is limited only by the power of those who associate to accept and enjoy the sharing of great things in place of the exclusive possession of small things.

In exceptional cases some enlightened owner or company may so lay out an estate as to provide for the common enjoyment of some of the advantages of the site; but usually everything is sacrificed which will not produce a revenue, and which cannot be divided up into the individual self-contained plots, marked by the maximum degree of detachment, which are so desired by those who know only of individual possession and have not learned the joys of sharing.

Where a site is not being developed on co-partnership lines the whole position is changed. Instead of thinking and planning only for a chance assortment of individuals there is now a whole to be thought of. A home is to be planned for a community having something of organized life. A centre is needed for this life: institutes, schools, clubs, or places of worship may form such a centre, towards which the design can be made to lead. The site can be thought of and planned as a whole; and the certainty of some degrees of co-operation will enable spots of natural beauty and distant views of hill and dale to be preserved for common enjoyment. Play places and shelters for the children, greens for tennis, bowls, or croquet, can be arranged, with the houses so grouped around them that while they provide the occupants with ample recreation ground, they also afford more pleasant prospects from the windows and more attractive views for the streets.

In this way instead of the buildings being mere endless rows, or the repetition of isolated houses having no connection one with the other, they will naturally gather themselves into groups and the groups again clustered round the greens will form larger units, and the interest and beauty of grouping will at once arise.

The principle of sharing, therefore, not only causes each individual house to become more attractive, but gives to the whole area covered that coherence which, springing from the common life of the community, expresses itself in the harmony and beauty of the whole. The harmony of outward expression must in turn react on the life that flourishes under its influence, at once stimulating the growth of co-operation and giving wider opportunities for its practice. How much the architectural beauty of old cities and villages sprang from their being the outgrowth of an organized civil life is perhaps little realized, but the ugliness and dreariness of the towns and suburbs which have resulted where such common life is lacking are but too evident to all. I look for the principle of co-partnership to give us again, in a new form, a commercial civic life which will once more infuse harmony and beauty into the homes and into the suburbs and villages, which, with the necessary public buildings for general use, will be the outward expression of the life of these communities.

All this has its meaning to you Canadians. You are, in many cases, particularly in your great west, in the beginning. Look well to your future and you will be indeed well advised.

(*October 17*)

The Canadian Mountain Regions as a National Asset.

By Dr. T. A. Langstaff, F.R.G.S.*

ADDRESSING a special meeting of the Canadian Club on "The Alpine Club of Canada and the Value of Canadian Mountain Regions as a National Asset," Dr. T. A. Langstaff, M.A., F.R.G.S., said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I have first to thank you for your kind invitation to me this afternoon—I was only passing through Toronto to-day—but it gave me very great pleasure to accept it. I must begin by saying that I am devoted to mountaineering, and I am not at all accustomed to speaking. I like speaking very much indeed, and on the very few occasions I have spoken in public, there has been the greatest difficulty in getting me to sit down. So, if at five minutes to two you will kindly scrape your feet, or make some other sign, I will understand. I cannot help having been born and brought up in the Old Country, I don't claim to be more than half civilized, but I do claim to be just as much of a Britisher as any Canadian, and I ask to be allowed to speak to you as one of the Brotherhood, not as an outsider who has come here to give a sermon, or anything of that sort.

The President has told you that I have employed my time in mountaineering in different parts of the world,—mountaineering and mountain exploration. I must first advance some sort of an excuse for so strange a proceeding. I am devoted to big game hunting and other things of that sort, but I do not think there is any pastime quite as fine as mountaineering. It is not simply for the sake of saying that you have been there, that I have been such and such a place, that I have been a certain height up mountains. It is for a good many reasons. First of all, it is the most strenuous sort of sport I know. You are only trying to take your own life, or not to take it, as the case may be. I do not think that any

* Dr. T. A. Langstaff, F.R.G.S., London, England, is one of the world's most famous explorers. He has climbed all the highest mountains in the world and has attained the greatest altitudes yet reached by man. He went into the Himalayas with the British Expedition to Thibet under Col. Younghusband and explored the great watershed of Asia. He spent a considerable part of last summer in the Canadian Rockies.

man can travel in the mountains without improving himself. The effect is not only physically, but to character; you not only make yourself stronger and fitter, but mountaineering calls for all sorts of things by exercising the powers of self-control and endurance. You have to put up with a lot of discomfort. You frequently are very terrified, at least I am, and you have to make up your mind not to show that to your companions. You do not do very well from the point of comfort, and you are jolly lucky if you get snow to sleep on instead of rocks; and altogether mountaineering, as a pastime, knocks out of your system a good many of the unpleasant results that always follow in the course of civilization.

Well, of course, if I were speaking to infants, or to Americans, I dare not come here unless I were prepared to offer undiluted, unlimited and exaggerated praise of everything in the country; but you don't want that sort of thing. I have often been asked, since I have been in the Rockies, are the Rocky Mountains finer than the Alps? Well, it is almost impossible to compare different mountain ranges, therefore, I have no hesitation in doing so. As a field for sport—and I speak from a considerable experience—the Alps are unapproachable and unsurpassed as a field for the exercise of the art of mountaineering. There is a very great deal to learn in it. The mountains in the Alps are more difficult, the difficult climbs are more numerous than they are here. They are higher, the weather conditions are harder. In the Alps, conditions are such that you can very easily get about from one peak to another. On most of the principal mountains, there are numerous club huts, built on the glaciers, drive roads in other parts, pony roads in the valleys, together with splendid hotels and chalets, so it is very easy for a man in the Alps to climb three or four difficult peaks in a week. During a month or six weeks in the Alps, a man can put in twelve or sixteen climbs of the most difficult sort. That is impossible in the Rockies. The peaks are easier, but a great deal harder to get at. You have to take a great number of days for them.

As regards the Caucasus, it is outside practical politics, but the sport is very, very good. It is rather finer than in the Alps, but it is harder to get to, and yet it does not offer the same attractions as the Himalayas. Under the Himalayas I am including the whole of the mountain ranges, which embraces a country in which there is more variety than there is from Alaska to Mexico. The conditions in the Himalayas are totally and completely different in the different regions.

You cannot generalize about the Himalayas without very grave risks, but in general, I should say, from an experience of three years spent there, and less than six months travelling in the mountains, it is an ideal field for the mountain explorer; but it is not the ideal field for the mountainer, because distances are so great, the size of the individual peaks is so enormous, the difficulties of transport and all that sort of thing so extreme, that you count it a good season if you go to the Himalayas and climb one big peak. If a man climbs one peak in six months, he has done jolly well. In some cases he will take one season to find out where there is a peak to climb, and then, if he is lucky, he can go back the next season and climb it. That, of course, is all very well for the enthusiastic mountain traveller.

Now, this summer, although I am a life member of the Alpine Club of Canada, the President of the Alpine Club very generously insisted on my sister and myself being their guests, and I spent a very enjoyable time. I was at their summer camp in the Rockies, at Consolation Lake, during the end of July. Before that I had started in on my own account. I had gone down from Banff with a pack train to Mount Assiniboine. I told you that the climbing in the Rockies was not as good as that in the Alps—that is on the whole—but the ascension of Mount Assiniboine by the route I took and under the conditions and weather that I met will always rank as one of the hardest climbs that I have done.

Well, after the Alpine Club Camp, from which we had a good deal of climbing, I went north with Mr. Wheeler and other members of the Club to the Bow Pass and over another snow pass to the head of the Yoho, and then I was at Glacier, and this last September I have been down with Mr. Wheeler on an exploration of the Selkirks. Although it is a first visit, I have seen a good deal, at least I have seen enough to form some opinion as to what our mountains here are like, and my opinion is that there is not any other mountain country in the world that has such a fine playground for humanity as you have in the Rockies. Switzerland, I think, we have called the playground of Europe. Now the Rockies will be, must be, the playground of the world. I do not think there is an exaggeration about that statement. The area covered by mountains of the Western Cordillera is enormous. The individual scale of the mountains, of the building, is very small. That is a very great advantage, because nowhere else in the world have I ever seen from the same point of view in the same locality such a combination of snowpeak and plain

and forest and glacier, lake and stream, altogether at one time in the same place, as I have seen in these mountains. In the Himalayas you walk for a week through the foot-hills; you then take another week getting rid of the forests, another week going up some rough river valley, and another week up a glacier, and another week to get to the foot of the peak. Here, everything is close together, and the scale is small, and the result is a country more beautiful than Switzerland.

There is one passage in which Ruskin, speaking of a view in the Jura Mountains of Switzerland, says that he tried to imagine what that view would be like if all traces of humanity and of historical reminiscences had been removed from it, and he could only imagine a wilderness. Well, of course, he did not see that view in the Jura without any castles or chalets or cows, or anything of that sort, but he tried to imagine it. Now, to me, the absence of all traces of humanity, the absolutely complete absence of all signs of humanity is, I think, one of the charms of the Rockies. In Switzerland, there are many beautiful lakes, but you will generally see a penny steamboat on the water, and you will have a pink chalet in one corner and a yellow cow in the other, and you will have lots of trippers and long glasses of lager beer. I do not think it any loss to the Rockies that you do not get that there.

There is another view-point concerning the Rockies. Of course, it is a much lower one than the high subjects we have been discussing. There is the difficult aspect of the country. A real genius at Ottawa has discovered that you cannot grow wheat on a glacier. Well, that is true in a sense, but there would be very little wheat in Alberta and other places if it were not for the glaciers. They are the natural sponge that prevents the water that falls at one moment from running away altogether. They are an absolute necessity. But apart from that again, although it is difficult to sell town lots and town sites in the Rockies or make use of it in that sort of way, its very geographical conditions mark it out as an open space, as a space whose only return will be to give pleasure to its owners by using it and travelling over it. It is the natural playground. It is not often easy, say in a big city like this, to fence off a park for the use of the people, but it is absolutely easy and in every way desirable in the case like the Rocky Mountains that one should recognize that it is going to be used chiefly for recreation by its owners, who are the Canadian people. At the present time, for any one who has got long enough time at his disposal, a month or so, you can take a pack train and you can go into the Rockies, and in the

Rockies you can get about anywhere, but in the Selkirks you cannot unless you cut trails. The absence of trails in these mountains, of course, makes travel much more expensive, because you have to take a much longer time, but the man who has got time has got no kick over that.

Now, as regards the ordinary tourists—I mean tourists, wretched people who do not climb mountains, but who do like seeing them—they are very well provided for along the C.P.R. At Banff and Field and other places, especially, there are lots of good driving roads. I mean for people who cannot bear to sleep outside of an hotel, to whom the idea of sleeping in a tent fills with thoughts of grizzlies and I do not know what. For these people a great deal is being done, and I think enough is being done, and no reasonable man can have any objection to it. There are lots of good hotels and excellent opportunities to see the mountains for the ordinary tourists. Of course, Lake Louise in the month of August is absolutely impossible for anyone who enjoys Lake Louise. It is crowded to perdition, I may say, by tourists. Of course, they are mostly—a good many of them—uncivilized people from the South!

But I have got one complaint to make, and that is about the Rocky Mountain Park. I have been in that park, north and south, and had a very good time there. That park, as far as I could learn, was eighty miles long and eighty miles broad, but I am told that it has been enlarged down to the international boundary. There appear to be no acurate maps of that part of the country in existence. The only map which appears to be recognized is one gotten out some years ago by Norman Colley. There is no survey of the park. I went down, as I told you, to the south, to Mount Assiniboine. I received great courtesy at the hands of some of the Dominion authorities in the District. But they were unable to furnish me with any authorized map more recent than ten years ago. As I have said, I have a kick coming over the fact that I am not allowed to shoot in the park. I have not any kick against the regulations on my own part, for I fear that no matter how much shooting I did, I would not be successful in bagging any game. Some people, you know, do not think I am a very good shot. But, however that may be, I hold that the full privileges of the park should be accorded to its owners, the Canadian people.

There are three game wardens, two of them excellent fellows who look after the game, but you must remember that they have 6,400 square miles of territory to cover with few

trails in it. It is consequently an impossible task. If you want to shoot, you have only to find out where the game wardens are and go some where else! There is plenty of game for everybody there. All I suggest is, that pony trails, or pack trails, costing some $50 to $70 a mile at the outside, should be made up the principal valleys in the park. I tell you what it is like by the Bow Valley. You start off at Laggan, and on the Government trail you have a beautiful field of dead trees you have to cut through, and numerous other obstacles, and finally the trail peters out in a windfall, apparently anywhere they stopped cutting. You traverse about on the hillside, and, if you get through, you come to a mile and a half of muskeg, and after you get through that, you find yourself down at the bottom of the valley, which takes you up to the Bow Pass, one of the finest beauty spots in the Rockies.

Of course, you have all heard of Lake Louise and Lake O'Hara, but on the other side of the Assiniboine there are two lakes, which are not on the maps, and they are more beautiful than Lake Louise and O'Hara, more beautiful, in fact, than any other lakes in the world. But we could not take our pack train. There was no trail through there. But this National park is the finest investment of principal, for there is not a park like this anywhere else in the world. I have been through the Western States. I have seen those other parks, including the Yellowstone, but I do not know them as I know the Canadian National Park. The Yosemite of Yellowstone cannot really compare with the Rocky Mountain Park. It has not got the glaciers and snowpeaks, and all that sort of thing, that you have in the Canadian National Park.

It seems a pity, when you have such a gorgeous playground as that, that much more use is not made of it. I am not saying that Canadians do not appreciate their mountains. The Alpine Club of Canada, now only five years old, proves the contrary. Canadian parties have ascended for the first time some of the most notable peaks in the Rockies. But Americans, and those poor, deluded people from the Old Country, have done a good deal more in the past in the Rockies than anybody else, and I merely venture to address you to-day, because I think that a good many people in eastern Canada do not really know what a glorious possession they have over there. And I tell you again, that I say, knowing that I am not exaggerating in any way, that for general beauty and for the facilities of enjoying an open-air life or holiday, and all that sort of thing, I do not believe there is any other mountain range in the world which offers equal opportunities with your mountains.

(*October 24*)

New Zealand—Its Scenic Attractions and Trade Possibilities for Canada.

By Mr. W. H. Triggs.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject of "New Zealand—Its Scenic Attractions and Trade Possibilities for Canada," Mr. W. H. Triggs said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Members of the profession to which I have the honor to be annexed are supposed to be equal to any emergency. It is recorded of one enterprising editor that so fully was he prepared that he had two editorials written on the Day of Judgment—one to be used if it took place according to schedule, and the other in case, by reason of some unforseen occurrence, it was unavoidably postponed. I confess, however, that when I was asked by your secretary to address you upon this occasion, I was a good deal taken back. You see, speaking is not my vocation. My work has consisted largely of criticizing speeches—not of making them. I now find that it is a good deal easier to criticize the other fellow's speech than it is to make one yourself.

Nevertheless when I was asked to address such an important gathering as this on the subject of New Zealand, I felt a very great compliment was paid, not only to me, but also to my country, and one which I ought not lightly to refuse.

There are two points about the Dominion of New Zealand which I want to make clear to you at the outset, and that is, first, that it is a very small country compared with this great continent Dominion of yours; and, secondly, that it is a very young country. New Zealand, in fact, has only six-sevenths of the area of the United Kingdom, while the length of its two principal islands is 1,100 miles from north to south. Unlike conditions here in Canada, the north is warm and the south cold. In the north we grow oranges, lemons and olives, while the south strongly resembles Scotland in climate, only it has more sunshine. Here we grow oats and turnips. The climate generally has been compared to that of Italy. It has no great

* Mr. W. H. Triggs is editor of "The Herald," Christchurch, one of the leading newspapers of New Zealand. He was, during the past summer, Chairman of the Overseas Committee of the Institute of Journalists which met in London, England.

extremes. And, withal, New Zealand is the healthiest country in the world. Its death rate is 9.57, which is the lowest in the world. It is a narrow country, no part of it being more than 75 miles from the sea. It is said, in fact, that you can depend upon recognizing a resident of the capital city of Wellington in any part of the world, because whenever he comes to the corner of a street, he instinctively clutches his hat. The population is roughly speaking one million, of which some 40,000 are aborigine inhabitants.

New Zealand has no metropolis—no overshadowingly large city. But the island has four splendid cities, each having between 60,000 and 70,000 population. These are Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.

Now in this little talk of mine I would like to take you all with me on a trip to New Zealand. I should like to start you a little earlier than this. If I were addressing Englishmen I should seek to take them at such a time as to escape their winter; although this year I understand they escaped their winter anyway. But you Canadians consider your winter, I am told, as the best part of your year, and most delightful. If you left, say in the early part of October you would arrive in New Zealand's early summer. I think you would find it a delightful trip. You would have the benefit and advantage of seeing the beautiful part of your own country, the Rockies, at its best. You would proceed through British Columbia to Vancouver and thence go by vessel to Honolulu, and on to Figi and then to Auckland, our northern city.

Auckland is a very beautiful city. You could visit the wonderful Thernol district with its magnificent natural baths and hot springs, and its dazzling color effects. It has more of these springs than in any country in Europe or in any country of its own size in the world. Among the chief features of the mineral springs in this district, which is the volcanic district, are the healing qualities of their waters. Patients come from all over to be treated for rheumatism and skin diseases. Moreover, Madame Racheal professed by them to make people beautiful forever. The natives do all their washing in the boiling springs and many cook in them.

The scenery in the southern island is very fine, with its magnificent mountains and lakes and fiords. The highest mountain is Mount Cook, which is 12,500 feet high, and there are a number of other peaks 9,000 or 10,000 feet high which have not yet been climbed, so there is plenty of opportunity for your Alpine climbers.

In 1840 New Zealand was proclaimed a British colony. The natives gave over the sovereignty of the country to Queen Victoria. These natives were brave and chivalrous, but they had their weaknesses. I think it was Sidney Smith who said to Bishop Selwyn, when that noble missionary was about to inaugurate his work, "I understand they have cold missionary on the side-board. I hope it will not disagree with any of your folk."

But New Zealand is not wholly given over to scenery. She is a country of rich and varied resources. Her average wheat yield during the last ten years has been 31.55 bushels per acre, and her average yield of oats 99.27 bushels per acre, while thirty-six million acres are in sown grass, and she produced twenty-four million sheep. She has more land in sown grass than Australia and Tasmania. In mining, New Zealand produces over two million tons of coal per year, some of it of very fine quality, and her gold yield is ten million dollars per year.

New Zealand's exports total one hundred and twenty million dollars' worth per year, and her imports about ninety million dollars' worth. From the United States we take about ten million dollars' worth of goods. Now what I want to know is why should not a great deal of those imports come from Canada instead of from the country to the south?

Let me tell you, gentlemen, that we in New Zealand have a very great admiration and affection for Canada. We like the Canadians who have visited our shores. In 1906 we held our international exhibition in Christchurch; the Canadian exhibit, on which your government spent some $50,000, was one of its finest features and was continually thronged with visitors. More than this, our men fought alongside of yours in South Africa and sealed with them a blood brotherhood which can never be forgotten. I think I can say that we in New Zealand are honestly doing our part to bring about a closer union between the two countries.

Our little Dominion has developed the commercial and maritime spirit so strongly that it has become the parent of two powerful shipping companies, one of which has started recently a line of cargo steamers between New Zealand ports and Montreal. I believe the prospects of that new service are considered quite satisfactory, and I have no doubt that it will be the means of diverting a good deal of the New Zealand trade, which at present goes to the United States.

Another thing. We have a preferential tariff in New Zealand, and one result of the preferential tariff framed by our country is that while all the newspapers in the colony formerly

obtained their paper from the United States, now most of them procure it from Canada.

Lastly—and being a newspaper man this appeals to me—the newspapers can do something to spread the knowledge of your country in ours and ours in yours. The Press Association of New Zealand has appointed a correspondent at Vancouver to collect Canadian and American news, and has also arranged to cable Australia. He is also instructed to furnish to Canadian papers all New Zealand news, and I think all citizens of both countries should give their hearty approval and aid to such steps as are being taken to bring about a better exchange of news between the two Dominions.

In closing let me say that I should be extremely gratified if, as a result of my little and faulty talk to you to-day, some inspiration has reached the keen, trained, commercial brains in this room, and shall set them to work in such a way as to stimulate the process of bringing the two Dominions—the great Dominion of Canada and the little Dominion of New Zealand—more closely together.

(*November 8*)

Reciprocity with the United States.

By Mr. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject of "Reciprocity with the United States," Mr. Wallace Nesbitt said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I desire to express my appreciation of the honor you have conferred upon me in asking me to address the Canadian Club of this metropolitan city. The subject of Reciprocity with the United States has been canvassed so much of late that I shall not attempt to deal with it except in the most general way. There are so many others better qualified to speak upon the items in detail that it would be an impertinence for me to offer suggestions on items which might come up for discussion. I shall endeavor to point out what I understand to be the points of view of those for and against the idea of broadening of the basis of trade between ourselves and the United States.

There is, first, the man who views reciprocity as meaning a lowering of the tariff or practically no tariff upon certain items between the two countries. This man's view usually is that on the items of which he is the particular buyer there ought not to be any duty, and is particularly represented by the western agriculturist.

There is another class who are anxious to maintain a tariff to protect the Canadian manufacturer, but who wish to see an abolition of the duty so far as the United States is concerned upon goods that he has to sell. This is largely the eastern farmer, who wants access to the United States eastern markets for the products of the farm, but at the same time, if possible, to keep up the tariff wall so as to protect our manufacturers on this side and thus maintain his home market as well.

There is a third class, who would like to see both as to natural products and manufactured articles practically a com-

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*Mr. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C., has been one of the leading counsel of Canada for many years. Following a period of prominence at the Toronto Bar, he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, but from this he resigned to resume the practice of law. Latterly he has interested himself in public questions, especially in the subject of Reciprocity, and on this he has spoken with the clear vision of the lawyer and the disinterestedness of a distinguished native of Canada. He was born in Oxford County, Ontario.

mon tariff between the two countries and a great universal flowing of trade from north to south. This, I think, is a more limited class on this side, but represents, in the main, the advocates of reciprocity on this and the other side.

There is the manufacturing class, who desire to see no change, but that the tariff should at least remain stationary, and there is still another class who desire to see no change in reference to the American tariff, but who are very anxious to propitiate the sentiment which calls for cheaper goods in this country and who are prepared to meet that sentiment by an increase in the British preference and a creation of Imperial Reciprocity!

Notwithstanding what a section of the press says, that this country is hostile towards any reduction in the tariff, I am convinced that there is a wide feeling of unrest amongst many of the consumers in this country, and that some changes can and must be made to meet that demand. On the general subject of reciprocity it is almost impossible to get the average educated and friendly American to understand the feeling of hostility or indifference in Canada towards the overtures which were made to this country last spring by President Taft. We had so long been seeking entrance to their markets and had made so many overtures that our friends on the other side had become convinced that all that was needed was an indication that they were ready to trade with us to have any such overture greeted with open arms, and it is very difficult for them to understand the Canadian attitude. I was asked last spring to speak at a banquet of the Economic Club in New York upon this subject, and found it necessary to explain that so far from our people welcoming special trade arrangements with the United States there was, as I say, a feeling of indifference, if not of hostility. It was necessary to explain this attitude, to go back to our treaty relations with the United States since 1783, and to shortly trace the difficulties we had met with in one treaty after the other. I shall not trouble you with a discussion of anything before the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, but I think to understand the arguments pro and con it is necessary to shortly review our history for the last sixty years in Canada.

Any one reading the state papers just after the cutting off of the colonial preference in the markets of the mother country will be struck by the extreme distress and poverty and backwardness of the Canadian provinces at that time. Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario were all feeling the loss of the fostering preference, and Lord Elgin, then Governor-General, turned to the United

States in order to endeavor to find a market for practically all we had to sell at that time, namely, natural products. The treaty embraced practically all these, such as grain, animals, poultry, cheese, lumber, flour, fruits, eggs, hides, bread-stuffs, fish, butter, furs, etc. This treaty lasted from 1854 to 1866. Under it the exports from Canada jumped from two millions to over forty millions, or twenty times, and to show the enormous benefit that our country received at that time it is only necessary to state that in 1887 the total exports were thirty-seven millions, or twelve per cent. less twenty-one years after Confederation than they were at Confederation, notwithstanding the fact of the enormous expansion to the south, the growth of railway and steamship facilities, and the wonderful influx of consumers from the emigrants who crowded into the United States, and although during that twenty-one years Canada had taken to herself the status of a nation, had linked up by the Intercolonial Railway the Maritime Provinces with Montreal, and that we had linked up Halifax with Victoria by the Canadian Pacific Railway. One would have expected that with the great growth and expansion of our own country that our exports to the United States would have doubled or trebled within that time under these favoring and fostering circumstances; but because of the abrogation of the treaty our trade, as I say, was less by twelve per cent. twenty-one years after the abrogation of the treaty than it was in 1866. These figures are most significant, and one ought not to under-estimate their importance in discussing the probable present advantages which might be derived from a treaty largely on the same lines.

After that treaty was abrogated, Canada felt herself to be in almost desperate straits. Sir John Macdonald negotiated with great difficulty the Treaty of Washington in 1871, which was finally put an end to in 1885. This treaty largely related to the free entry of fish other than from the Great Lakes, and the interchange of canal and railway facilities. This treaty proved to be of very little service, because under a ruling of the United States, although fish were to be admitted free under the treaty, the cans in which the fish had to be shipped were said to be subject to duty, and this practically made the treaty a nullity. Under another ruling Lake Champlain was held not to be part of the canal system leading to the Hudson, and we were deprived of all benefits of our shipping in that direction, and in 1883 we were notified that the bonding privileges were held to be no longer in force, although as a matter of fact, nothing was ever done under this! We tried again and again to obtain for our farmers the benefits of freer trade, and all

our attempts were treated either with cold indifference or spurned!

Then came the difficulty over the Behring Sea matter and the Alaskan matter, and the result was that in the spring of 1910 a feeling of suspicion and distrust had permeated the minds of most of our citizens as far as governmental dealings with the United States were concerned. The friendliest possible feelings existed towards our acquaintance, but a settled conviction of distrust existed towards their government. I put it in a sentence in New York by saying that we loved them as a people, but as a government we distrusted them.

In the spring of 1910, owing to a clause in the Payne-Aldrich tariff, which required the President to rule that the tariff of any country was not discriminating against the United States, otherwise the maximum tariff would be applied to articles coming in from that country, a very critical situation arose. We had recently made a treaty with France, and while President Taft was perfectly willing to recognize that a preference given to the mother country, or to sister dominions over-seas, was not within the intent or spirit of discrimination, yet because of certain items in the treaty with France he felt that it would be impossible, unless some concessions were made to the United States, to do otherwise than rule that there was discrimination in fact against the United States. A section of our press and a great many of our public men clamored for the stand-pat doctrine and that we could not yield a jot or tittle upon the subject. With exceeding wisdom, I think, the authorities at Ottawa did make certain concessions, which enabled President Taft to rule that the minimum tariff applied, and thus avoided a tariff war, which would undoubtedly have affected a great many important interests in this country, and probably the very people who were shrieking for an unyielding attitude would within six months have been cursing the Government if a tariff war had been brought on, with its attendant evils and tying-up of credits in the bank, etc., etc.

That difficulty having been happily averted, President Taft announced what I may be permitted to call his "continental doctrine," namely, that owing to the geographical propinquity of the two countries for nearly four thousand miles, the arteries of trade were so much in common that a tariff doctrine should be applied as between the United States and Canada differing from the tariff doctrine between the United States and other foreign countries. This was a most important departure, and he followed it by himself suggesting to the Ottawa authorities that Washington would be glad to take up

with us the question of a trade treaty. Hence, the discussions which have arisen on the subject of reciprocity.

Let me now turn for a moment to what had been happening in Canada during the years following the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 and why it was that in addition to the sentimental considerations of hostility to a Reciprocity Treaty there should be a different practical business view from that which had been entertained for so many years by our statesmen.

Sir Francis Hincks pointed out to Mr. McLane in 1851 in a letter, which for its foresight into the future was very remarkable, what the effect of a hostile attitude towards trade upon the part of the United States was likely to be in Canada. He said:

> I am, moreover, firmly persuaded that should the Canadian trade be forced into other channels, as seems not improbable, it will then be estimated at its true value by the people of the United States.

Apart from President Lincoln, the most astute statesman, in my opinion, in the United States at that time was Mr. W. H. Seward, the Secretary of State. In 1857 he said:

> The policy of the United States is to propitiate and secure the alliance of Canada while it is yet young and incurious of its future. But on the other hand, the policy which the United States actually pursues is the infatuated one of spurning and rejecting vigorous, perennial and ever-growing Canada. I shall not live to see it, but the man is already born who will see the United States mourn over its stupendous folly.

These views were most prophetic, because immediately after the abrogation of the treaty we were compelled to seek new trade avenues. Our fortunes from this out were based upon trade routes east and west, and the markets of Europe and of the Orient. We have spent vast sums of money in improving the harbors, the channel of the St. Lawrence, in building the Intercolonial Railway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, Grand Trunk Pacific, and subsidizing and assisting the Canadian Northern Railway by Government guarantees. All in the endeavor to open our new areas of lands for settlement, for our manufacturers, and by giving to the farmers of the west railway communication, the cheapest and speediest communication with the mother country and an ability for them to sell their farm products in the mother country on an even basis with their competitors.

So that when President Taft announced his desire for the extension of trade relations, Canada was found to be in the situation which had been predicted fifty years ago by Sir Francis Hincks to Secretary of State Seward, and no longer anxious, in fact many of her vital interests opposed to the change of trade route and the attempt to create new markets, which was felt to be practically a wasting of hundreds of millions of dollars, which we had expended in building up trade routes and markets, and would imperil to a great degree the most valuable market of all to the agricultural producer, namely, the home market. Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Victoria, all would feel the stress of competition both from the specialized products of the great factories of the United States, and from the diversion of the trade which flowing south would be lost to them.

Let me point out to you what the advocates of reciprocity say as to this. As to the effect on trade routes I quote from Mr. H. M. Whitney, of Boston:

> New York and Boston and Portland are the natural outlets for the foreign trade of eastern Canada. St. John and Halifax are twice as far from Montreal as New York, or Boston, or Portland. The Canadian Atlantic ports are not to be mentioned in competition with the American Atlantic ports for passenger business. Our steamers are larger, and social conditions count for very much with travellers. Under existing circumstances, what Canadian going abroad or coming from abroad would not prefer landing in New York, or Boston, or Portland, to disembarking in Halifax or St. John? And with the increasing size of our cities, the advantage will increase rather than diminish.
>
> The elevators for storing and handling Canadian grain should be located on this side of the line, and the steamers of the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk Pacific should in the winter time at least find their 'home' port in New York, or Boston, or Portland. And if, under a reciprocity arrangement or otherwise, the farm products of Canada were admitted free of duty, the Canadian Government would be friendly, instead of hostile, to the use of American ports for Canadian business. My belief is that such a course would promote the cause of reciprocity on the broad lines of free trade between the two countries.

The answer of Montreal would be that the millions which have been spent in creating, during several years, the second

largest shipping port on the continent of America, would be practically lost, and the growth of this great city would probably be paralyzed! The suggested effect on the great industries of Canada I can best state by quoting Senator Beveridge, of Indiana:

> There must be reciprocity with Canada. Our tariff with the rest of the world does not apply to our northern neighbor. That policy already has driven American manufacturers across Canadian borders, built vast plants with American capital on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workingmen to supply trade.
>
> That capital should be kept at home to employ American workingmen to supply Canadian demand. We should admit Canadian wood pulp and Canadian paper free in return for Canada's admitting our agricultural implements, our engines, pumps and other machinery free. We should freely admit Canadian lumber to American planing mills in return for Canada's freely admitting other American manufacturing products to Canadian markets.
>
> We should also have a special tariff arrangement with this intimate neighbour and natural customer. This would mean millions of dollars of profit every year to Indiana's factories. Reciprocity would mean vast increases in Canada's purchases from us.
>
> This policy has been prevented by the reactionaries of New England who wanted to prevent Canadian potatoes from competing with the potatoes of Maine; Canadian eggs from competing with the eggs of New Hampshire, and Canadian paper from competing with the paper mills of the paper trust.
>
> Not the Bourbons of France in the time of Louis XVI., not the tories of England in the period of George III., ever insisted on a policy so blind, so foolish and so ruinous as that so-called statesmanship which, instead of fostering a purchasing market in Canada, is making Canada a manufacturing competitor.
>
> The imaginary line that separates us should be more and more easy to cross; the Canadian and American people should be knit closer and closer together by ties of commerce as they are becoming closer and closer knit together by ties of blood.
>
> John Bright's splendid dream of one nation covering the whole continent from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico with the same blood, same speech, same institutions, and a single flag perhaps cannot be realized; but the

idea of two peoples, brothers in origin and race, brothers in institutions, literature and law, becoming also brothers in industry and commerce can and will be realized.

So much for what may be called the great commercial and trade interests and the arguments in reference to them.

The answer that the Canadian makes so far as these interests are concerned is, that we want these factories located on this side; we want these citizens to build up our own nation; we want these working men to create homes and become Canadians! To the farmer, the people who thus argue, point out that the home market is the best; that the United States are likely in order to decrease the excessive cost of living to the eastern consumer to take off the present duties, 6 cents a pound on butter; 4 cents a pound on cheese; 25 per cent. on flour; 45 per cent. on vegetables, without our having to sacrifice that which creates the home market for the farmer, although I am bound to say that the probabilities are that you will not get the American negotiator to be willing to allow our natural products to get the benefit of his market unless he is able to point to the manufacturer on the other side some reciprocal trade benefit that he has obtained, although one would have thought that the taking off of the tariff and the consequent decrease of the cost of living to so many American citizens would have been argument enough in its favor.

To the farmer, it may be pointed out that the effect of the upbuilding of his home market by the tariff in Canada has been not to increase the price of the goods which he has bought. With one or two exceptions, nearly everything the farmer buys to-day is no dearer than it was twenty years ago; in other words, the purchasing power of his dollar as to most of the things which he has to buy, is about the same thing as it was twenty years ago. But how about the other side of the picture? The farmer gets for what he has to sell from 25 per cent. to 125 per cent. more than he did twenty years ago. In other words, while his dollar buys nearly as much as it did twenty years ago, that which he sells gives him from $1.25 to $2.25 for his dollar of twenty years ago. So that his benefits have enormously increased without much more burden being placed upon him. That is as it should be, because, after all, the strength and virility and life-blood of a nation is in the farming class. They are the backbone and the sinew of any nation that is truly great and strong. You must have the small landed proprietor if you want a really great people. The commercial and industrial classes are never, to my mind, to be compared

in real, lasting strength, and in that which goes to make up a great nation, with the small proprietory, landed class. On the land they acquire habits of thrift, industry, independence, and of tenacity of purpose, which the great classes in the city do not have.

The east has burdened itself by the building of railways, etc., to seek the western farmer, and has enabled the creation of the farm, and it is our duty to give him rates to the eastern market and the markets of the mother country by our railways and shipping facilities, which will enable him to make a living in competition with other sellers of products in these markets. To do this he must not be over-taxed. He must not be made to pay the profits upon watered stock. He has a right to demand and will demand at your hands that you, while having a tariff to protect you, should not have a tariff that protects you against indifferent business methods or not up-to-date machinery or a tariff that gives you unjust profits at his expense. I am firmly convinced that there are many of our industries to-day which are paying out profits upon so-called capital which never had any existence; that many of our businesses to-day by better management and economies and a real attention to business could make substantial profits upon the real money invested in the business without as much tariff protection as they have, and, mark you, the western farmer and the eastern farmer is becoming alive to that situation, and will insist upon what he conceives to be fairer treatment to the consumer.

It is objected, too, by many of the opponents of reciprocity that the freer interchange of trade is bound to result in such a tying-up of our affairs with the United States that it may lead either to great bitterness or to political union. The answer made by the advocates of reciprocity I have usually found to be the views of Sir John Macdonald upon the subject in 1865:

> It would be impossible to expose in figures with any approach to accuracy the extent to which the facilities of commercial intercourse created by the Reciprocity Treaty have contributed to the wealth and prosperity of this Province; and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance which the people of Canada attach to the continued enjoyment of these facilities.
>
> Nor is the subject entirely devoid of political significance. Under the beneficent operation of the system of self-government which the later policy of the mother country has accorded to Canada in common with the other colonies possessing representative institutions combined

> with the advantages secured by the reciprocity treaty of an unrestricted commerce with our nearest neighbors in the natural productions of the two countries, all agitation for organic changes has ceased—all dissatisfaction with the existing political relations of the Province has wholly disappeared.
>
> I cannot err in directing the attention of the enlightened statesmen who wield the destiny of the great Empire, of which it is the proudest boast of Canadians that their country forms a part, to the connection which is usually found to exist between material prosperity and the political contentment of a people, for in doing so, they feel they are appealing to the highest motive that can actuate a patriotic statesman, the desire to perpetuate a dominion founded on the affectionate allegiance of a prosperous and contented people.

Speaking for myself, I do not think that too much stress can be laid upon the views enunciated at that time. It has to be borne in mind that at that date our population was very different. Our ties of kinship were much closer. We had not the enormous foreign population that is pouring in upon us at the present time. The hostility of the North towards everything British at that time was very marked, as evidenced by their indifference to the Fenian Raid, their practical endorsement of the gathering of hostile bodies upon our borders, the necessity for the protecting arm of Great Britain was keenly felt, and there was a distinctly hostile wave throughout Canada towards anything looking towards closer relations with the United States at that time. Then, too, there were peculiar circumstances at the time of the treaty. Our farmers had obtained great benefits from the high prices obtaining during the Civil War. The United States was divided into two hostile camps calling for supplies. There was a market for everything in the way of natural products that we could give them, and I doubt very much if our farmers at the present time would, take it on the whole, find the market of the United States any better, although nearer, than the markets of the mother country. And I certainly think that owing to the friendly feeling which has sprung up between the two countries, free trade would practically mean the absorption of this country by the United States.

If the point of view is that of indifference towards that, then I can readily understand the advocates of reciprocity clamoring for complete freedom of trade; I can readily under-

stand that point of view upon the part of American citizens, but if the ideal of a Canadian is the upbuilding of Canada as a nation, that she should grow strong and great and free as an aggregate unit of the Empire, then I can understand that he should naturally turn towards imperial reciprocity rather than towards continental reciprocity; he would prefer to answer the demands of the consumer in Canada for the lowering of prices by saying, "By all means let in foreign goods by increasing the British preference;" in that way help our banker, who has furnished us with over six hundred millions for the upbuilding of our country within the last five years, help our kinsmen, give the British workmen employment in furnishing the cheaper product for his Canadian kinsman, and build up the Empire. Instead, as I have said before, of having simply the slender thread of kinship to connect us, let us as an aggregate unit of the Empire connect the Mother Country and all the over-seas dominions by the great red arteries of commerce, where trade flowing from one to the other shall create that Empire, the future of which we so fondly look forward to, by the upbuilding of all its component parts. Such an Empire marching in order and friendship along with our brethren to the South will do far more for the peace of the world than a breaking up of the present relations and an ultimate absorption of ourselves in one great continent here under one flag. I believe it is better for the future of the two Anglo-Saxon peoples on this continent that we should grow up side by side, that we should, differing in our ideals, each fulfil our national purposes better by a healthy comparison of methods than by a unity of government.

Let me sum up the situation thus. I should like to see the whole matter enquired into. There are, perhaps, many benefits that we can receive and many benefits that we can give. I think that you can fairly trust your Parliamentary representatives to deal with the matter from a Canadian and national standpoint, and to see to it that our interests are fully protected. I hope that we can be free from party bias on such a question. It is regretful that in matters affecting the interests of our common country many of our public men are unable to see anything but mere party advantage. It is one of the very things which makes one hope for continued connection with the mother country. There in the past, men have risen above mere party consideration, and have left their party in what they conceived to be the best interests of the country. They have given their very best to public life, free from mere opportunism. That has not been so in the past to such an extent in the United States.

It has certainly in the past not been the ideal of some of our public men, and I only hope that the time will come when any such question as the present, which affects vitally the future interests of our young nation, arises that we shall rest rather upon the ideals which have been taught in the mother country by her public men, than upon that which seems to be the besetting curse and sin of public life here to-day, namely, to look at everything merely from a party standpoint and whether it would benefit the "ins" or the "outs."

I trust we shall not have a policy framed on lines which apparently all are agreed upon as the best result to be obtained, having in view the conflicting interests involved, suddenly repudiated because political opportunism embraces an alliance with discontent which, however prejudicial to the whole country, is for the immediate benefit of party.

This question is bound to be dealt with in the near future. The consumer is likely to criticize more and more carefully tariff legislation, which should be framed intelligently. He is more and more likely to narrowly scrutinize the enormous capitalizations which are nursed and fostered by the tariff, and he is likely more and more to call his representatives in Parliament to account and to ask that tariff legislation shall be framed not in the nature of what is called the "pork-barrel conference," namely, "scratch my back and I will scratch yours," but upon a consideration of whether the business is one that should receive any tariff protection at all, whether it is one that in the common good of the whole had better not be allowed to languish and die rather than to maintain a mushroom or hot-house existence at the expense of the general community.

My suggestion finally is, to treat all proposals with the utmost courtesy and consideration; to examine them under expert advice with great care; to consider, first, what is best for Canada as a whole, having in view our future as a nation and as part of the Empire, and second, whether the interests of the consumer as a whole demand the cutting off of tariff protection and cheaper goods coming into the country, let those cheaper goods so far as possible be obtained by giving the benefit to the mother country, as being, as I say, our banker and our best customer, and as assisting the British workman, and if we are to have reciprocity, let it be so far as possible reciprocity within the Empire. It is my earnest hope that the whole subject may be made a matter of the gravest consideration at the earliest moment by an Imperial Conference, dealing with the whole question of the relations of the mother country with the over-seas dominions and the connecting together of the Empire.

(*November 14*)

The Depopulation and Impoverishment of Rural Ontario.

BY MR. GORDON WALDRON.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The Depopulation and Impoverishment of Rural Ontario," Mr. Gordon Waldron said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I have noted from time to time the almost unbroken procession of distinguished foreigners who have been diverting your attention from the problems of Canada to those of Europe and Asia, and I have been fearful that I might not in this forum say the things to which your ears have been by long practice attuned. But as you are doubtless good Canadians, I may, I hope, entreat your indulgent attention while for a few minutes I discuss the very pressing home problem which I call the depopulation and impoverishment of rural Ontario.

That rural Ontario is now undergoing an experience which may without misuse of language be called depopulation and impoverishment, I have no doubt. For fifty years, we have been familiar with the drain of the exodus, which twenty years ago we did not hesitate to avow was sapping our national life and threatening our very existence. The magnitude of the exodus was never fully disclosed by the United States census returns, from which we learn that in 1860 the number of Canadians in that country, acknowledging their origin, was 249,970, in 1880, 717,157, and in 1900, 1,183,225. These figures do not include the emigration of those who had entered Canada as immigrants. In 1890, Mr. John Charlton, a careful authority, stated in the House of Commons that more than half the immigrants arriving in Canada ultimately found their way to the United States. It may be noted that the whole immigration into Canada from 1820 to 1890 has been authoritatively estimated at fully 3,000,000.

* Though he has been connected with industrial and legal matters as a profession, Mr. Gordon Waldron turns by choice to economics and journalism. He is a writer for *The Weekly Sun*, of Toronto, and has strong sympathies with the rural life of Canada. His views on economics are radical, but he has travelled and studied widely and commands a hearing by close understanding of his subject, whether as a speaker or writer.

Our own census returns tell us that for thirty years population has made relatively little progress. From 1891 to 1901, Prince Edward Island lost 6,000, New Brunswick gained 10,000, Nova Scotia gained 9,000, and Ontario, the banner Province, the garden of Canada, the keystone of Confederation, as we vainly boast, gained only 68,000, and that notwithstanding all our efforts to promote immigration. At this moment we are discussing a proposal to turn the three Maritime Provinces into one. Why? Is it not a confession of depopulation and impoverishment—a confession that, in the restraints of Confederation, these provinces have bled their life away?

That exodus went largely from Ontario and in the main from the land. It was in the main an exodus of farmers.

Now there is a change. We no longer talk of the exodus. It is, we say, Canada's growing time, Canada's century. We are, we boast, annexing the United States. Yet, painful as it is to disturb a pleasant delusion, it must be said that there is still an exodus so large that without a compensating immigration into the Northwest, we could not possibly long survive. On turning to the public reports, I find that notwithstanding all our confidence and buoyancy, seventy thousand persons left Canada last year to make their home in the United States. That is very disquieting, notwithstanding the compensating inflow into the Northwest. Seventy thousand is for us a good number. It is one in every hundred of our population, taking that at the very liberal estimate of seven millions.

These people went, it may be assumed, from the old Provinces east of Lake Superior. I do not know if the Maritime Provinces are still able to contribute to an exodus. We do know that the superintendent of colonization for Quebec lately reported that 10,000 persons left sixty rural parishes in that Province last year to reside in the United States. How greatly Ontario contributed it is impossible to say.

Wherever that exodus went from, I may venture to say in the presence of manufacturers unable to fill their orders from the West for lack of labor, that it did not go from the cities and towns of Ontario. It was an exodus from the land—an exodus of farmers.

But let me confine myself to rural Ontario. There, the evidence of depopulation and impoverishment is so plain that I am sure that you have all noted it. Unrepaired buildings and fences, neglected orchards, ill-cultivated land, land turned to pasture and in effect abandoned, the disappearance of the farm laborers and their dwellings, the fall in land values and the very

significant fact that farm production has not appreciably responded to an extended period of high prices.

Should opinion differ as to these evidences of depopulation and impoverishment, no one can deny the force of the evidence furnished by the official reports of the Province. There is first the birthrate. Excluding from the population of the Province the eighteen cities and fifteen towns having a population of more than 5,000, I find that the birthrate in the rural districts and villages and towns under 5,000 is under twenty-two per thousand. Although I have not been able to abstract the birthrate of the purely rural population, we may learn the facts pretty accurately by noting the figures in such counties as have no considerable manufacturing industries and no towns over 5,000. In the year 1907, the birthrate in the county of Frontenac was 18.4, in Haldimand 18.7, in Huron 18.5, in Lambton 18.5, in Lanark 18.4, in Northumberland and Durham 18.4, in Prince Edward 17.6, in Peel 17.4, in Lennox and Addington 17, and in Dufferin 15.8. In most of these counties there is one town or more. If we could exclude these and the incorporated villages, we should find, I am sure, extended rural areas where the birthrate has fallen to 14 or lower, and scarcely exceeds the death rate. That, on the other hand, the birthrate in our eighteen cities should be 27.9, and in the fifteen towns over 5,000 25.3 per thousand is in itself a demonstration of depopulation and impoverishment which by its mere assertion confounds and humiliates our bragging complacency.

There are the schools, which thirty years ago had fifty to seventy-five pupils, and now have but a mere handful. It is important to observe that the young men will not teach and that the schools are falling into the hands of young girls. The Bowmanville Statesman says that within a radius of twenty miles of that town, in the old banner county of Durham, there are thirty-four schools which have for teaching this term young girls, who are teaching on permits or what are now called temporary certificates. The Draconian bureaucracy of the Education Department, blind to the conditions with which it has to deal, finds or will soon find its well-intended efforts to sustain a high level of rural education fail.

But more strartling, perhaps, are the official statements as to the movement of the rural population in this Province. Often, in the older counties, at least, the rural population has fallen to the level of what it was in 1865, thirty to forty years after settlement, or lower. During the past eight years, the rural population of the whole Province, despite immigration which has been considerable, despite the new settlements to the north

which have been considerable, and despite the natural increase or difference between births and deaths, which is doubtless appreciable, has fallen off 63,000. In 1872, the rural population of Perth was 31,000; it is now 26,000. In the same year, the rural population of Norfolk was 25,000; it is now 19,000. In 1872, the rural population of Huron was 50,387, it is now 36,567, a loss of nearly 14,000. In 1881, rural Middlesex numbered 53,000; it is now less than 40,000.

In our cities and towns, we have a gratifying natural increase of roughly ten in the thousand. Had Huron kept all its population to this day, while increasing at a similar rate, its rural population would now be not 36,000 but 70,000.

There remain the figures as to the comparative movement of rural and urban population. Mr. C. C. James is my authority. From 1888 to 1908 the rural population fell off 86,000, while during the same period the urban population increased 450,000. From 1898 to 1908, the rural population decreased nearly 64,000, while the urban population increased 306,818. This enormous exodus of farmers went in the main not to the cities, but beyond the limits of the Province. Rural Ontario has not, as I have no doubt most of you assume, been depopulated by the attractions of our own cities. If the whole rural decrease had gone to the cities, and not largely as we know out of the Province, there would still be an urban increase of 365,000 for which, excluding natural increase, immigration is the only explanation. Immigration is replacing the exiles in large measure with Russian Jews, Macedonians, Greeks and Italians. It is neither a pleasant prospect nor a laudable exchange.

These facts—and they are not all the facts, some of which are so pitiful that I shrink from publishing them—I think, justify me in speaking of the depopulation and impoverishment of rural Ontario. Their significance is unmistakable. The gravity of the farmer's ills is proved by the mere assertion of the extent of his movement of exile. With a net loss of 86,000 in twenty years, do we need to marvel that farm production falls off or fails to respond to the stimulus of high prices? Especially significant is the rural birthrate. That indicates, not a buoyant and adventurous people migrating with a light heart, but a disheartened, dejected and embittered people migrating away from its wrongs and oppressions.

Steadily, one might say ignominously, the original stock which settled this Province is passing into exile. It was the best that the British Isles ever gave to America, a Julian *gens* from which the proudest nation might boast its descent. The best, not merely for its intelligent power to produce wealth, but

for its morals and its training in democracy and English civilization. It matters not whether its exodus be to the United States or to the Canadian Northwest, Ontario cannot afford to lose this stock, nor can Canada endure its removal from this Province. And we mouth the language of patriotism and loyalty, who barter this stock for the putrescent scum of eastern and southern Europe.

For its appropriateness in this connection, I beg to read part of a letter which appeared in a weekly paper signed "Retired Farmer." He says, speaking of what he calls a splendid farming district a hundred miles from Toronto:

> The other day, I took note of the exodus there. In a stretch of six miles between X and Y, I knew the names of the original settlers who came in between 1832 and 1840. In these six miles, there were forty-eight of them. To-day, there are to be found there only eight of the family names of those who occupied the land as late as 1865. They are scattered from Dan to Beersheba, mostly beyond the limits of the Province. I recalled, and took note of sixteen cottages and houses other than the dwellings of the farmers themselves, which in my youth used to teem with the workers and their children, who lived happily by their labor in the neighboring fields. There is not one of those dwellings standing to-day, and their occupants have gone with the ebbing tide. Of one of them, thoughtful nature shows a perennial memorial in a bed of mint growing by the wayside. The places of the others, nature after thirty years mindful of the cherished hearth, still marks by a clump of green, high above the surrounding waste. Such scenes mark, surely, a national danger; one might say, while under their spell, a national calamity.

Economic science would qualify the facts which I have stated by saying that, during all these years, capital and labor have been deserting the land, and economic science would say with its eyes shut that the causes are economic. Economic, in the main, if not wholly, they are. There have been, in history, small migrations in quest of religious or political liberty. But, this like most migrations has been for economic relief,—a migration to more favored places, where the rewards of labor are larger and more certain. To most of you that seems heretical. You are eager to tell me that the farmers of this Province were never more prosperous, and that you know that there is no place more favored by nature and man than rural Ontario. You press to tell me of the bank deposits and the high prices. I

answer, you may be right. But you have against you the 86,000 and the natural increase however small and the immigrants from the Old Land who have left rural Ontario in the past twenty years. One hundred thousand people by their action contradict you. Besides, it must be admitted that rural Ontario has not been favored like the cities, for these have not lost population, but have increased enormously, and in so far as they have been recruited from the land, they condemn your estimate of rural Ontario.

What are the economic causes? The principal are protection and the exclusion of the farmers from the markets of the United States. To these I shall confine myself in the few minutes remaining at my disposal.

The farmer, the miner, the fisherman and the lumberman are our producers of crude wealth. Most important of all is the farmer. In 1878, Canada deliberately imposed high protection to build up and foster cities at the expense of the producers of crude wealth. The plan succeeded, as it must. When the west opened up, it produced wealth quickly, and having no factories, sent its orders to the factories of Ontario and Quebec, which were enormously stimulated. Capital and labor were drawn from the land and when the native stock of labor was exhausted, the demand went out to the four corners of Europe. So, our urban population grows and will grow as long as conditions remain unchanged. I was lately informed by a leading public man of the west that in ten years they will produce six hundred millions of bushels of wheat. If so, and if existing conditions of price and market and tariff continue, Toronto will become in that time a great city far above the half million mark. Those who plan permanent investments in lands and houses or factory plants would wisely inquire whether these conditions will remain unchanged. For if they change, if Russia and South America in wheat production outrun the Northwest, burdened as it is by a high tariff, a market limiting products to a few and heavy freight charges to the sea, if the farmer, realizing the extent to which he is unjustly exploited, uses his political power to crush protection, there will be disaster. Haman will be hanged on the gallows fifty cubits high which he built for Mordecai. And the farther investment has gone on the faith of these artificial and unjust conditions, the greater will be the disaster. Nor are we all agreed that when the legislative props and supports have been removed Toronto will be found to be situated where it may in a wider competition maintain its greatness.

The Ontario farmer is excluded from the markets of the United States, not by our acts but by theirs. Opinions may differ as to the motives of the United States in their dealings with Canada, whether their object was to be unfriendly to Britain, to force Canada into union or to satisfy their own selfish interests. Nothing could have been more ungenerous or more unwise. The old Provinces, commercially and politically isolated from each other, have been commercially isolated from the natural market at their doors. There have been mutterings from time to time, but Canada has remained faithful to her allegiance. Who has borne the burdens of exclusion? Not the dwellers in the cities who have been taught to believe that exclusion was their advantage, but the farmer, whose cause I plead here to-day. He is the patriot without fear and without reproach, who daily through bitter suffering and disappointment has kept the flag flying and the cities comfortable.

Those who make light of the benefits which may result to agriculture from admission to the markets of the United States tell us that the farm products which would be admitted are not important. They think only of wheat which is produced by a minimum of labor and has not materially increased in price for years. Wheat is to-day 88 cents. At that price it is not largely grown in Ontario, but the farmer devotes himself to products which require more labor, which is not to be had. Are we quite sure that the competition of Russia and South America may not reduce the price of wheat to such a point that it may not be profitably grown even in the Northwest? The importance of a wider market is in this, that the farmer will be stimulated by the hope of gain to the most varied production and be thereby enabled to draw labor again to the land, to be followed by capital, when there is a surplus, over the maintenance of the farmer and his help, with which to reward capital.

The farmer has no misgivings. Ever since 1866, he has dreamed of re-entering his natural market. At this moment, negotiations are pending which may, if the plenipotentiaries on this side are not discouraged or intimidated, achieve his desires. Yet in the face of his needs and his distress the cities, Grit, Tory and Imperialist, have risen with one voice to frustrate his salvation. It would not be surprising if the farmer, roused to resentment by this selfish action, should tear away the privileges which the urban population enjoys.

Relief is to be found in tariff reform, in admission to the markets of the United States and in a reduction of the federal expenditure.

There is another remedy offered by our friends who call themselves Imperialists. It is preference in the British market. Of that I do not venture to speak, lest I lose my reputation for temperate and cautious speech. Suffice it to say that I regard the tariff reform movement in England as at heart a movement for agricultural protection, and I am convinced that agricultural protection, once enthroned in England, will prove itself quite as destructive to Ontario or Canadian agriculture as the industrial protection of the United States or Toronto.

Let me conclude. A rural decrease of 86,000 in twenty years after an exhausting drain during the thirty years previous, a rural birthrate scarcely exceeding the death rate, an urban increase of 450,000. That is a condition for which every consideration of patriotism and sound national life demands an immediate remedy from which we ought not to be deterred because the only remedies suggested involve sacrifice of privilege and conjure up vain fears of political consequences.

(*November 28*)

A Harbor Commission for Toronto.

BY CONTROLLER F. S. SPENCE.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "A Harbor Commission for Toronto," Controller F. S. Spence said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—When you come across the Atlantic, enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence, get into the middle of the Straits of Belle Isle, you are just 2,234 miles from Liverpool; and you have before you 2,259¾ miles of water navigation to Port Arthur. When Providence laid out this continent it was done on a wonderful scale—an unequalled waterway and means of access right into the very heart of the best and most productive part of it, and of all that 2,259¾ miles there are only 73½ miles that men need to touch. To effect this navigation you have 2,186 miles of open water, and at Toronto, just about halfway from Belle Isle to Port Arthur, Providence scooped out one of the finest harbors on the face of the earth. And, by a curious combination of circumstances, right alongside that harbor—of course its beauty and usefulness are not developed yet, but they are potential—right alongside that harbor is placed and retained until the time has come when it can be used to the public advantage an immense area of in the neighborhood of fifteen hundred acres of the best industrial sites to be found on this continent.

Now, the proposition we are dealing with is the co-ordination and development of that industrial location and this harbor upon that wonderful waterway. May I say, preliminarily, that I am not at all an advocate of what is generally called government by commission. I hope we will never have government by commission in this country. It may have advantages and benefits in the United States, where methods are not so democratic, where the people have not got so much control of administration as they have under the British system. We want to keep away from that plan as long as we have a better one.

* Controller F. S. Spence was long celebrated as a temperance advocate before he entered municipal politics in Toronto. His work in the temperance arena had much to do with the expansion of the wide areas of "dry" territory in Ontario. As an alderman and latterly as member of the Board of Control of Toronto he has been steadily conspicuous for his clear understanding of municipal problems, for his defence of the rights of the people, and for his work to promote improvement in the city's harbor.

Just a word or two along that line. You must bear in mind that government has two diverse, essential functions. There is the function of legislation and the function of administration, and the work of legislation cannot have too broad a basis. Originally our race took every citizen into that work, in the sharing of it. The old English folkmoot was on the hillside, where the citizens passed the laws, and appointed the sheriffs to carry them out. As time went by it became impossible for everyone to have a hand in legislation. We eventually appointed chiefs of the various bands, who got together to consider what kinds of laws ought to govern the people, and afterwards this principle has been worked so that the more men you can get together for legislation the more points of view you will bring to bear on the question considered. You want to have the work done by the largest body of men, as representative of the people and of the whole country, and still not be unwieldly.

Now, for the other function of government the case is totally different. Administration is best done by the fewest men that can well attend to it. It needs, however, to be made, as far as possible, first, concentrated; secondly, specialized; and, thirdly, responsible. Through a thousand years of careful experience and planning and thinking we have developed the English plan, which is this: That you have your legislative body, and you have your administrative body. A fundamental principle of our method is that the administration must be responsible to the legislature; that any man who is charged with an administrative duty must, either personally or through the head of his department, be represented on the floor of the legislature, and the people's representatives control the purse-strings; that the administration is controlled by the representatives of the people, who criticize or approve of the acts of the head of every administrative department, and that is what we call responsible government.

Compare it for a moment with the United States method. In the nation, in the city, in the municipality, they elect the legislature as we do, and they bring it as far as possible into harmony with public opinion; but when they come to the administrative part of government, they take it away from the control of the representatives of the people. They elect a president every four years, and every member of his cabinet is chosen by the president, without the people having any voice in it, and not a man can put his nose inside the legislature or have anything to say. The result is that you have an arbitrary form of government, radical, and different from the British

form of government. We have a legislature representative of the people, and every one who administers a great department sits there and gives an account of his stewardship. The same is carried down to the cities. The average American mayor is a man who is not allowed to go into the council chamber; and he, with the advice of two or three ward bosses, appoints all the officials—for the police department, the fire department, the charity department, the property department—so that the people have the disadvantage of having no control over their administrative officials.

The result has been the adoption of what they call the commission plan. That is, they have made the administrative officers responsible to the people by electing them directly, but forgetting the importance of the legislative function, they have appointed or selected too small a body to do the legislative work effectually, and the result is that they run up against difficulties right away; and, to make their basis of legislation broader, they have had to add the referendum system to the commission plan—altogether a complicated method of obtaining what is in our country obtained by a very much simpler plan. Not only that, but by concentrating all business in the hands of a few men, and by giving the people only an occasional chance to have a selection of the men who are in charge of the government, public interest, under the commission plan, in public affairs fades away, and at several conventions recently in the United States, where men of legislative experience have met, there has been denunciation of the commission plan, and I think it will not be long before they are tired of it.

The administrative body of control in the city of Toronto, responsible, having seats in the local parliamentary body, under the English responsible government plan, are every day, or at every meeting at any rate, under fire from the representatives directly of the people, all their financial affairs subject to reversal and criticism. The Council handles the purse-strings, bringing to bear upon legislative work as broad an extent of public opinion as you can desire. Do you not think the responsible plan of government is better than any poor fad of democratic and oligarchic character?

You will find, however, that for the performance of certain duties, both under the American system and our Canadian system, we have adopted the administrative commission plan—remember, not a body to do government, but a body to do some executive work. The illustrations will come to your mind at once. The carrying out of the railway law is entrusted to the Dominion Railway Commission; the administration of the co-

operative movement for the union of municipalities for cheap power is committed to the Hydro-Electric Power Commission. Then there is the Niagara Falls Park Commission, the license commissioners appointed to administer the license law in different parts of the Province, the Ontario Railway and Municipal Board, the Technical School Commission, and so on. They are bodies, remember, not appointed to even do administrative work, not appointed to do any legislative work, but simply appointed to gather some information or frame laws to do some particular thing. The executive or administrative commission, appointed by a responsible, rightly-constituted British form of government to do a particular kind of work has been found to be a very effective plan for the accomplishment of results.

Now, let us come down to the particular application of that to the condition we find here. This movement for Toronto harbor—originated by the Board of Trade and promoted by the president, who has given so much energy and attention to it—was primarily an industrial proposition. It was not an unfair proposition. It was a proposition to place in the hands of a body that would have continuity, that would specialize and try to concentrate the administration of that great industrial area known as Ashbridge's Bay, to the east of the harbor, occupying some 1,350 to 1,500 acres of land and water, that wanted to be filled up. It belongs to the city; it is public property, which should be made a location for industrial sites.

How is the best way to carry it out? This harbor needs to be dredged. It needs to be supplied with docks, wharves, and warehouses. When you come to dredge out a channel you take up the very material to best fill up the land. What you take out to make deep approaches and dredge channels can be used for the foundations of docks and the filling up of the land, and the use of this land for industrial sites is an important matter for a harbor commission. The present Harbor Commission is composed of two members of the Board of Trade, two members of the City Council, and an official appointed by the Dominion Government. These five men look merely after the harbor, in the way of keeping it dredged, the approaches deepened, and the dues collected. If that body's functions were to be enlarged, in order to administer the harbor and its adjacent industrial areas, with wharves to accommodate the factories, and railway lines upon the wharves, leading up to the factories, you should have these matters in the hands of a permanent body, concentrated, and with continuity—that is, the whole body and bones of this harbor commission idea.

Now, let me point out, that in dealing with our water-front we have, at the present time, a good many jurisdictions. The present Harbor Commission controls the dredging of channels, collecting of dues, and the regulating of boats coming into the harbor. The Dominion Government controls the approaches, and spends annually thousands of dollars in building entrances and dredging channels. The docks and wharves that belong to the city lying along the water-front are handled by the Property Department. The location of sites is looked after by the Assessment Department, and the life-saving and maintenance of order is in the care of the Police Department—six separate bodies. All these functions could be a great deal more successfully operated by one commission, given power to deal with the whole of it.

The report that comes before the Council is, in a few words:

> "That the constitution of the Board of Harbor Commissioners for the City of Toronto be changed so as to provide that hereafter the said board shall consist of five members—three to be appointed by the City Council, one by the Governor-in-Council on his own motion, and one by the Governor-in-Council upon the recommendation of the Board of Trade of the city—the term of office of each of the commissioners to be for a period of three years, with power of removal and withdrawal.
>
> "Under the present law the Council of the city appoint two commissioners, the Board of Trade appoint two, and the majority so appointed recommend a fifth commissioner, who is appointed by the Governor-in-Council.
>
> "The method of appointing the commissioners chosen by the city shall be the method prescribed by statute for the appointing of civic departmental heads—that is, they shall be nominated to the City Council by the Board of Control, and no appointment shall be made in the absence of such nomination without a vote of two-thirds of the members of Council present and voting, but the majority may refer back such nomination.
>
> "The city shall vest in the said Board of Commissioners the management and control of the area known as Ashbridge's Bay, along the dock property and water lots owned by the city in the harbor, along the lake shore westerly to the city limits, and along the lake shore easterly from Ashbridge's Bay to the city limits; also the docks, shores, or beaches of the city's Island property, only as far

as is necessary for the protection and development thereof, and the regulation of the use thereof by boats, canoes, and other vessels. The control of any water-front park, garden, playground, boulevard, drive, or other recreation area shall remain with the City Council.

"The commission will hold, develop, and administer on behalf of the city the property vested in it by the city, accounting to the city for all its financial transactions, the books of the commission to be at all times open to the inspection of the city Audit Department.

"After providing for the administration of the said property and the performance of the other duties imposed upon the commission and for capital charges upon money borrowed by the commission for improvements, any surplus profits derived from the administration of the city property placed under the commission's control shall belong to the city, and shall be paid over to the City Treasurer by the commission."

A further clause provides for the placing in the hands of the commission the other properties and the other functions that I have mentioned already, and the whole is to be a board in the interests of the City of Toronto—practically a trust board for the City of Toronto.

Now, then, why not a government commission? Why not a civic commission, appointed by the City Council alone? The duty of controlling navigation is constitutionally and permanently a Dominion function. The Dominion will not delegate that function to any body that it has not created or that is not a body of which it has something to say in the management. The Government now has a representative upon the Harbor Commission. But the proposal here is that a great deal of work that is done by the Governmnet independently shall be vested in this Harbor Commission, that the management of all these entrances, the control of lighthouses, the policing of the Bay, and life-saving shall be held by one body.

Then there comes up the exceedingly difficult question of financing so big an enterprise as this. I will tell you the way it is done in Montreal. Montreal has no interest whatever in the Harbor Commission, owns no property that they gave over to the Harbor Commission. All the property that is used is Government property, and the Government appointed the whole of the Board of Commsisioners to administer that property. The Government has lent that commission the sum

of $12,000,000, which the commission expends for the purpose of improving navigation, for docks, wharves, channels, and all that sort of thing. The revenue from these improvements enables the Harbor Commission to pay rent and interest, and they have never defaulted in paying all that large amount of money.

Why should not the Dominion Government recognize Toronto as it recognizes Montreal? Why should not it help us to have the kind of national port they have at Montreal. It it not that there is any rivalry, and there need never be. Montreal has a thirty-foot channel down to the sea. There will always come vessels to Montreal that will not come up the St. Lawrence canals and go away to the far West. There will always be the transhipmnet of freight and passengers, and everything of that kind, at Montreal from inland vessels to ocean vessels. There may be canal vessels that will come up, call at Toronto, and get away round to the north shore of Lake Superior, pick up a great deal of freight, profitable commerce, at Duluth, Chicago, Milwaukee, and other Western ports that now finds its way down to Buffalo.

A word or two to show that, notwithstanding the fact that we are building transcontinental lines, they will never be able to take care of the transportation interests of this country, rapidly as the West is growing. The last year for which we have full returns is 1908, and in that year the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Grand Trunk Railway brought grain to the amount of 285,262 tons to Montreal, while at the same time down the St. Lawrence and down the Erie and Welland Canals, having to tranship at Buffalo and at Port Colborne, there went 760,374 tons—nearly three times as much as went over the two transcontinental railways. That grain will, of course, not bring very much to Toronto.

Look at Toronto—its location. West of you lies the granary of the Empire. Away to the east of you lie the markets of the British Empire. Right here at Toronto you are where the raw materials produced in other countries and produced in Northern Ontario can be manufactured into the finished products. Here is the point of transhipment, and here is the site for industrial undertakings. There is a railway on the east side of the Don and a railway on the west side of the Don that the city has the right to take over at any time at a slight advance on the original cost of construction. In fact, all three of the great railroads have access to this industrial site. Here you have in the Ashbridge Bay site three transcontinental roads put into direct contact with the

possibilities of deep waterways; Pennsylvania coal at a very low rate; enlarged canals to cheapen transportation, and the factories brought into contact with Ontario ore that will come down from the Northern country. These enlarged canals mean the bringing here of English raw materials at a low cost. The new industries mean an appreciable increase in population through the employment provided. These industries mean that you have turned aside a great part of the developed energy at Niagara. In fact, you have got a situation that cannot be paralleled on this continent.

May I read to you two or three sentences from the report of President Stephens of the Montreal Harbor Commission, after he came back from the Old Country, being sent over by the Government to find out about the ports there? He says:

> "The ports that are doing the biggest business, and doing it most efficiently, are the ports that have kept their facilities ahead of actual requirements.
>
> "Unity of authority, concentration of business, depth of water areas, and facilities for despatch of business are the prominent characteristics of successful port administration.
>
> "Great port development has invariably been followed by increase of trade and population."

He emphasizes over and over again that if you are going to have a harbor and port business you must make preparations for your business before it comes.

Gentlemen, I just finish as I began. Providence has blessed us with the location. Providence has given us opportunities that it just wants a little effort of ours to develop into possibilities, into operation; that will give Toronto a position as an industrial and commercial centre that I do not believe its most sanguine citizens have ever anticipated, and because I think all that can be carried out more effectively by the plan outlined in this report of the sub-committee of the City Council, advocated by the Board of Trade, and endorsed by the harbor commissioners of the City of Toronto, I have pleasure in recommending that project to your favorable consideration.

(*December 5*)

Democratic Tendencies: Safe and Unsafe.

By Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Democratic Tendencies: Safe and Unsafe," Dr. Charles W. Eliot, former President of Harvard University, said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The democratic tendencies with which I propose to deal appear in all democratic countries, such as Switzerland, France, Australia, Canada, and the United States. They are also manifest in some countries, like England and Germany, in which numerous survivals of the feudal system still persist. Let us first consider the unsafe or undesirable tendencies, which ought to be first clearly perceived, and then resisted, in order that democracies may make durable progress.

All democracies exhibit a tendency to complacency or self-satisfaction, which militates against progress. In consequence of this self-satisfied state of mind they are apt to remain ignorant of customs and methods that have elsewhere proved useful or highly promising. Thus one Swiss canton will long remain uninterested in definite progress which another canton has achieved, or one state in the American Union will remain for decades ignorant of, or uninterested in, legislation which has been a proved success in another state. This same self-satisfaction is the foundation for the tendency to self-glorious pride which all democracies exhibit—notably, the French, the American, and the English. The self-glorification would be harmless, though foolish, if it did not tend to prevent the enterprising enquiry and study that must usually precede a social or governmental advance.

* Dr. Charles W. Eliot has been referred to as the most distinguished private citizen of the United States. His chief work has been as President for thirty years of Harvard University, Boston, the greatest University of the United States. This gave him naturally a pre-eminent position in educational circles, but his opinions on all sorts of public questions have been sought and heard with the greatest interest. For many years it is doubtful if any other citizen of the Republic not in public life has equalled his influence along various paths for the betterment of the life of the people.

The individualism which free government fosters tends to produce in many persons an unreasonable self-confidence. Thus almost everybody in the United States thinks himself capable of planning his own house, laying out his own road or street on his own land, and of acting as school agent or school committeeman, or town selectman. Democratic faith in experts is scanty and feeble. So long as government remained simple in its functions this artless self-confidence was meritorious in the individual, and not unsafe for the community; but in proportion as all government, whether local or national, becomes compleh, this failure to perceive that the expert is necessary becomes dangerous to stable progress. Applied science now enters so abundantly into most of the functions of government, whether local or national, that the services of experts have become essential to the efficient performance of government work of all sorts; and it can no longer be assumed that the ordinary citizen is capable of discharging properly the actual manager's duties in any department of town or city work. The democracies must learn to distrust the untrained man, and must acquire respect for experts and confidence in them.

It is characteristic, also, of democracies that popular opinion, and action based thereon, move forward and backward without steadiness of march, a democratic populace being in this respect just like a stumbling, wayward, inconsistent man, who nevertheless struggles onward. A benevolent despot, or a benevolent oligarchy or upper class, can achieve industrial or social progress with more certainty and rapidity than a democratic mass can, as the excellence of municipal government in Germany, in contrast with the failure of municipal government in the United States, abundantly demonstrates. If, for example, millions of common peope have to be persuaded that fiat money is an evil, it will take longer to abolish fiat money in a democracy which has once adopted it than it will to get rid of it in an intelligent despotism or autocracy which has been temporarily forced to issue a depreciating currency. As a rule, a democracy must learn from its own experience; it has great difficulty in profiting by the experience of others. A small ruling class, which for some reason wants to learn, is much more capable than a democracy of learning from the experience of other people recorded in books or open to inspection.

Democracies tend to increase the number of elective offices and to elect their officials for short terms. This is one of the most undesirable tendencies that democracies have manifested.

The theory on this subject is that the people can so retain effective control over the public servants. In practice the elections become so frequent and the ballots so long that the people really part with their power to a few professional political managers, of whom the most intelligent are themselves office-holders. In the United States these managers are known as "bosses" and "machines"; and there they have been responsible for a great deal of corruption, inefficiency, and misrule under the forms of democratic government. The remedies are reduction in the number of elective offices, with the consequent shortening of the ballots, lengthening of tenures, and the utmost publicity concerning the acts of parties and candidates before elections and of legislatures in the preparation of legislation.

It is a natural consequence of frequent elections and the multiplication of elective offices in a democracy that the members of legislatures and the office-holders should be frequently changed. At any one moment, therefore, many of the legislators and officials are without experience in the management of public affairs; and are, therefore, not only ignorant of their duties, but timid in entering upon them. Feeling strongly their own inexperience and incapacity, they naturally wish to follow precedent. Hence the extraordinary conservatism of democratic administration. The tendency is strong towards a timid adherence to established methods, even when administrative abuses are in plain sight. The principle that it is better "to bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of" has enormous weight in democratic administration.

The perfect freedom to travel and to change one's residence or place of work which prevails in most democracies has certain dangers in regard to family life and the social habits of the people. If a laboring population, through the prevailing liberty, becomes nomad, family life is apt to be impaired. Casual and temporary aggregations of men separated from their families are apt to disregard some of the moral obligations held sacred in permonent communities—men can desert their wives by merely shifting their places of work; divorce is facilitated by the action of courts mainly in consequence of the frequency of desertion; and the life-long residence in one village or one town, which is a great security for family affection and the homely virtues, is lost to great numbers of persons. This same free migration of the laboring people promotes that formidable concentration of population which characterizes to-day all the civilized states, but is

worst in huge democracies. The concentration is itself one of the grave evils which accompany liberty; it gratifies the new-born desire for commotion, pleasure, and gregarious excitement, but brings in its train a troop of physical and moral dangers.

Despotic and oligarchic governments always used their power to promote the interests of the throne, the nobles, and the priests—that is, of certain classes very small in comparison with society as a whole. Democracies exhibit the same unpatriotic tendency to promote through legislation and otherwise the interests of separate classes in the community; but the favored classes are not small, but large, as, for instance, trades unionists, laborers whose income is small, and mechanics as such. Any class likely to be favored in a democracy commands, as a rule, a considerable number of votes, which politicians wish to secure; and if the class is also highly organized, legislative favors to it are all the more probable. This democratic tendency to class legislation appears in what is called "labor legislation," in the exemption from taxation of small incomes and the tools of a trade, and in the tariffs which increase the profits of capital in a few industries. To give any private persons, or any special class, advantages through governmental action is always prejudicial to the interests of the community as a whole; and it is by no means clear that illegitimate favors to a large class are less injurious than illegitimate favors to a small one. The numerous exemptions of favored classes from the operation of tax-laws which ought to be universal in their application—like the exemption of incomes under two thousand dollars, for example—unquestionably impair the interest of those who profit by them in sound government and particularly in wisely economical government. When millions of men who, in their own opinion and belief, contribute nothing to the support of government, can cast votes which may determine the public policies, the foundations of the state in justice and equity are less solid than they ought to be. If, for example, by the votes of untaxed citizens progressive taxes are levied on incomes and inheritances, there is danger that the running expenses of government will be paid in some measure out of capital which ought to be preserved for industrial purposes. This danger is more imminent in a country which, like the United States, habitually uses the greater part of its revenue for unproductive expenditure, as, for instance, for military pensions and the building and maintenance of a navy, than in a state which, like Switzerland, has few unproductive expendi-

tures. That the progressive income and inheritance taxes to which all democracies incline may be used for unproductive expenditures instead of the productive expenditures to which in private hands they probably would have been chiefly devoted, is not the only objection to them; if they are made large, so as to confiscate considerable portions of great incomes or great estates, their imposition discourages in the most capable money-earning class the accumulation of property. Now, on this accumulation of property and its preservation from generation to generation the progress of the arts, sciences, and industries ordinarily depends.

It would be safer, therefore, for democracies to avoid all sorts of class legislation, both those which aim at giving special privileges to a class or classes and those which aim at imposing special burdens on a class or classes; but to this rule exceptions may wisely be made in communities where the abjectly poor are numerous or the very rich become oppressive.

Under oligarchies the higher grades of the public service are apt to be overpaid, and the lower grades underpaid. In democracies the tendency is just the other way—the lower grades are apt to be better paid in proportion to the service rendered than the upper grades. Moreover, most democracies exhibit a tendency to outdo aristocratic governments in the creation of sinecures; but the sinecures exist, for the most part, in the lower grades of the public service—more clerks are employed than are needed, more laborers are set to dig a ditch than can possibly work in it to advantage, postmasters are allowed to hire for a fraction of their salaries assistants who do almost all their work, unnecessary substitutes are employed because the regular men are given shorter hours, longer vacations, or more holidays than are really needed. These democratic errors increase expense and diminish efficiency. They give privileges or advantages to numerous employees, to the injury of the service as a whole as regards both fairness and discipline. Through all these errors of democracies the individual suffers as well as the state or the community. It is impossible to demoralize a public service without demoralizing the individuals who are members of it. As the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus said many centuries ago: "That which is not good for the swarm, neither is it good for the bee."

All democracies tend strongly to collective action through public law, and through the action of the innumerable corporations, associations, and combinations which are fostered

by democratic legislation. The collective action of the community is taken more by these chartered corporations, associations, and trusts than by direct governmental action; and much of it is economical, effective, and wise from the democratic point of view, provided, however, that the democracy succeeds in resisting effectively the tendency of collective industrial action to create monopolies by destroying competition. The success of the existing democracies, whether in Europe or in America, in regulating monopolies and maintaining the good kinds of competition, has been far from perfect, but their recent efforts in this wise direction have been highly creditable, and are likely to persist, perhaps because the mass of any people suffers from monopolies and hates them, whereas despotic or autocratic governments have always been inclined, first, to maintain monopolies themselves as sources of revenue; and, secondly, to sell monopolistic privileges to private persons for cash. Kings and princes used to grant monopolies to favorites or to purchasers at high prices; democracies, having inadvertently permitted, or even abetted, the establishment of many monopolies, are now beginning to regulate them effectively by public law and public administrative force.

Let us turn now to the wholesome, or desirable, tendencies of democracy. In the first place—and this is fundamental—democratic government tends to quicken the courage and energy of the citizens. It does this, first, by leaving the individual freer than he has been under any other form of government, freer to come and go, freer to pursue the occupation which most attracts him, freer to rise from one social or industrial layer to another, and freer to contrive and secure improvement for his family, and particularly for his children. Then, to assure these various freedoms, a democracy abolishes all privileges of birth, permits no inheritances of title or function, and no castes or fixed class distinctions, provides elementary, and even secondary, education at low cost or free, and ultimately makes some elementary education compulsory for all children. It thus encourages in almost every citizen the initiative and aspiration which are main sources of efficiency.

Democracy has the effect to make the individual citizen and society as a whole habitually hopeful. The democracies are all characterized by a general expectation of progress and improvement—of greater good to be. Now, hope is a principal element in both private and public happiness. In spite of the exaggerated denunciations of modern industrialism in which socialists and unionists nowadays indulge, an immense,

almost universal, hopefulness has characterized the free peoples for several generations past.

The broad suffrage which a democracy always confers contributes strongly to the mental development of the mass of the people. It gives them numerous opportunities to think, discriminate, and judge, calls all the voters from time to time away from the routine of their ordinary lives, and makes them consider questions and procedures of wide interest, which are often difficult and many-sided. Democracy has no better tendency than this, for whatever makes a man think about the common welfare, or his own welfare in connection with that of others, enlarges and exalts him. It is a chief merit of the democratic form of government that it makes every conscientious citizen take thought for interests and hopes which far transcend his own. In any genuine democracy there will always be a considerable amount of new legislation, and this legislation will have a progressive quality. The goal of democracy—the largest happiness of the greatest number possible—is never reached; but democratic legislation is always pressing toward that goal, and is therefore progressive. Democracy recognizes no fixed, permanent code, either in law or in ethics. No single authority come out of the past prevents progress in Christian states, as the Koran, a fixed, unalterable authority in both Church and State, obstructs progress in Islam. Many people to-day are inclined to regret that democracy makes so many new laws; but the tendency to progressive legislation is one of the best that democracies exhibit; although it often happens that experiments in legislation are entered on with too little consideration.

All democracies tend to spend more and more money on education of all kinds—elementary and advanced, cultural and utilitarian, liberal and technical or industrial, linguistic, historical, and scientific. This is the wisest tendency of democracies, because ignorance and superstition make genuine freedom impossible. A recent admirable development of democratic activity in education is the extension of public expenditure for teaching purposes quite beyond the period of childhood and youth. Thus, the efforts to promote the public health, such as the campaigns against tuberculosis and the bubonic plague, proceed mainly by the provision of public instruction through illustrated lectures, exhibitions, and the press. This instruction is addressed to adults as well as children, and to all classes of the urban population. The same admirable democratic tendency is illustrated by the recent use of public money in teaching better farming, by itinerant lec-

turers and model farms, to the entire agricultural class already settled on the land, but not working to advantage. In the United States national money, state money, and part of the income of the great Rockefeller endowment, called the General Education Board, are all used in this way.

Democracy tends strongly to produce a wide distribution of property among the people. Thus almost every adult male in the United States, whose parents were born there, has property of some sort—land, a house, furniture, tools or other chattels, a savings bank deposit, a life insurance policy, a share in the stock of some corporation, or a bond of some corporation, town, or city. Every such owner is a conservative force, ready to defend the right to hold private property, and to transmit it to descendants. To these fundamental rights, which foster the personal virtues of industry, frugality, and constancy in family loves, and are, indeed, the foundations, both moral and material, of civilization itself, the nineteenth century added a new democratic privilege—that of receiving and transmitting education. The privilege caps the climax of the long democratic ascent. It makes safe the universal participation in government which many political philosophers have thought dangerous, and opens a long vista of social and industrial progress. People who are concerned about the alleged progress of socialistic doctrine ought to find consolation in the fact that diffused property-holding, education, and inborn love of freedom in combination oppose strong obstacles to the progress of genuine socialism in democracies.

Recent years have supplied many demonstrations of the truth of the statement that in democracies a well-informed public opinion ultimately decides all political and social questions. The tendency of public opinion in democracies is, therefore, worthy of careful study. Time does not permit me to mention more than three comparatively recent developments of public opinion in free states; but all these three are of high importance. In thorough-going democracies public opinion has settled to the conviction that the social levelling which results from a democracy must always be levelling up. Since freedom has no tendency to produce equality of conditions, but the very reverse, there will be in perpetuity many classes, or layers, in democratic society. What democracy can do for this diversified society is, first, to keep the different layers mobile and not stiff, so that there shall be freedom of motion for the individual through and among them; and, secondly, it can be continually lifting the manners and morals of the lower layers up toward the level of the higher. In this process,

however, democratic opinion has no illusions. It knows that there must always be individual leaders of superior merit, and it is eager for leadership; it knows, too, that "in the scales of the destinies brawn will never weigh as much as brain," as James Russell Lowell said. Not the equality of all men, or even equality of opportunity, but infinite diversity, with appropriate and available opportunity for each sort of human being, is the democratic goal.

In the second place, democratic institutions unquestionably promote a general sympathy and good-will among all classes of the community; and, in consequence, democratic society has arrived in recent years at a clear perception that no class in the community, however self-respecting, can be completely happy, or even comfortable, so long as any other class is vicious or degraded, and therefore miserable. The precepts and practices of preventive medicine have done much to bring democracies to this last opinion. They realize to-day as never before that "the sores of Lazarus have a poison in them against which Dives has no antidote," to quote again that wise and far-seeing democrat, James Russell Lowell. Hence innumerable efforts on the part of government, voluntary associations, and public-spirited individuals to dig up ancient evils by the roots, to defeat pestilences and imprison contagions, both moral and physical; to secure public sanitation in town and country, and for urban populations free means of health and wholesome pleasures—in short, to promote the common good.

Finally, there is a beneficent growth of democratic public opinion against the worst survival of barbarism, war, a growth rooted in the convictions that the democratic masses pay all the costs of war, and that war costs more and more in both blood and treasure, as applied science creates more and more costly and efficient means of destruction, and improves the means of transportation by land and sea, so that the areas devastated by war and the size of armies and navies can be greatly enlarged, but enlarged at tremendous cost. It is clear that under a democratic form of government war will always be more costly than under an oligarchic or despotic, because more will be spent on the private soldier, inexperienced officers and civil agents will inevitably cause much waste of both men and material, and exaggerated and fraudulent pension schemes will prolong through at least two generations after a war a widespread demoralization. The progress of democracy has already made dynastic wars impossible, and bids fair soon to prevent wars between Christian nations for the conquest of

territory. It remains for democratic public opinion to bring about the establishment of an international tribunal, with an international police force behind it, to which all disputes between nation and nation can be referred for settlement, and subsequently to find the means of stopping the progressive expenditure on armaments and military and naval training.

The strong tendency of democratic opinion against war is one of the best signs of our times. Democracies have been accused of being quick to fight, when swept by waves of passion or of fear; but it is very doubtful if democracies have in the past been any more liable than aristocracies to either fury or panic. However this may be, in the future the well-grounded conviction that in their blood and their labor the masses pay the terrible cost of war is likely to exercise a calming influence in times of popular excitement. It is only the burden of past war and of preparations for new ones which to-day prevents the liberal expenditure of public money for the direct promotion of human welfare on a great scale.

(*December 12*)

War and Manhood.

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN, LL.D.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "War and Manhood," Dr. David Starr Jordan said:

Mr. President, President Falconer, and Gentlemen,—I may say, to begin with, that this last week has given me my first experience of the Canadian clubs, and I do not know that I have ever met anywhere a group of people of any sort that has given me so much pleasure to face as these men of the Canadian Clubs of Montreal, Ottawa, and, to-day, of Toronto. It is one of the hopeful signs that such clubs are possible in a democracy—that you can bring out so fine and large a body of business and professional men that are absolutely free in their discussion and willing to be freely talked to by anybody.

I am going to talk to you to-day—you who of all the world have the least need of it—of the evils of war. We, in our various ways, are working towards—I happen to be in a position where there is a little responsibility making towards it—towards, I say, the ideals of peace, and by that we mean the taking of unreasoning anger out of the councils of the world. We do not mean that we have any specific that will prevent the breaking of street car windows. It is not necessary that we should have something to prevent a country insisting on what they regard as their rights. What we refer to is the matter of international peace, and international war as opposed to peace, and we think that peace comes in the direction of the extension of the idea of law.

Law represents the way in which things come about—the best way of doing things. The law in the ordinary sense represents the ideal relations between man and man. If you want to know how a man ought to act towards his neighbor there are statutes. We are making statutes all along the

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fishery boundary. They have to be subordinated to the higher law by which the fishes themselves carry on their creed.

Laws, like gravitation—the best way in which the planets, the stars, and the suns circle in their course, the best way in which apples can fall to the ground—cannot be improved. There are no possible amendments to a real law. The law of God represents the best possible way. We want to bring about the child of law in the groups of men called nations. Ever since civilization began we have the movement in this direction. Before man wrote history, every man's hand was against another. Every man and every woman's life was a tragedy, like the life of the wild animals. Little by little we have got rid of tribal wars, ordeals of war, individual combat, wars between cities, wars between counties, between robber barons, between rival barons, wars through the succession of dynasties. There is only one place where killing on a large scale has legalized itself, and that is in war between nations. We have the old proberb, "In arms the laws are silent." We want it so that "In law the arms are silent," among civilized people.

Now, of course, this line of work has been taken up at The Hague. We have had three conferences, and through these conferences made many changes for the better. We have made it so that seaboard cities are no longer subject to bombardment. Merchant and passenger vessels will not be subject to attack. There is a very strong sentiment in Europe to that end. And for all these things which make war a nuisance to commerce and trade all regulations will be made whereby this form of nuisance will be abated. We want to get behind all that, and stop the use of war as a means of settling the difficulties between nations. Almost always these difficulties are unreal, and have their origin in the desire of someone in authority to turn the attention of the people against some needed reform.

I was talking the other day to one of that noble group of men who realize what France most needs. He believed that just so long as France was turning her eyes to Alsace and Lorraine, just so long as the thought of revenge was paramount, just so long would her attention be taken away from matters of internal reform and her progress retarded. The majority of the French deputies are high-minded and turning their attention towards internal affairs. You will hardly find a war in the last hundred years that has not been used by somebody as means of heading off political movements in the country—movements in the direction of reform.

We want a simple solution. We found a very simple one in the more or less hundred years' difficulty in Newfoundland. We referred it to some good lawyers at The Hague, and so settled with absolute justice the claim of the Americans. I do not say the American side, because you are all Americans. If I do so, you will understand it is the mere force of a bad habit. Every contention on the side of the United States that was turned down deserved it, and every definition that deserved to be confirmed was confirmed. See how easy it was, and so with many of these disputes. One after another, as soon as the nations realize that they are going to be brought with their quarrels before a tribunal such as that which settled the Newfoundland fisheries dispute, they will settle out of court. The fur-seal case will soon be so settled, within a few days, to the satisfaction of both sides. There is nobody ought to have satisfaction out of it except both sides, as both sides when they understand the people do not want except what is fair and just. People did not war in the old days except when robber bands used to go out and levy on the people and rob and murder and pillage and destroy, living on the country; but in modern times wars are prepared long beforehand. When you have men in the country who have no immediate interest either of plunder or politics—when you have countries put in that way—you will not find the people agreeing to fight.

The people of Germany and England are desirous of going on with their affairs. They have no desire to come across and kill their peoples; and, if they did, there are a great many they would rather kill than the people of the other great civilized nations in the world.

In speaking against war I am not going to go over old ground very much, and so I am not going to discuss the horrors—there are plenty of them. The sorrows of war belong to the women; and if there is anything that has been an appeal for the womanhood of the world it is the loss of brothers, sisters, and sweethearts in all these many wars—a loss very seldom found; every soldier has at least one sweetheart, and it counts up enormously.

I am not going to talk very long of the financial cost of war. You will find men on the street who will say that war is very costly in heroes and soldiers. That war is the source of all the fine attributes of men, is the creed of many. Courage, willingness to resist tyranny, magnanimity, the fine traits, soldierly traits, are all shown up, some say, by little groups of men in every country, by war. If they were true truths we

could afford to send men to the wars. It is simply not true that war is responsible for the great qualities of bravery, courage, and magnanimity. War, more than any other agency, is responsible for the distress of this world. We find against the creeds of so many, battles, murder, robberies, flames of cities. In that we see the magnanimity of some noble man. You will see these against any other similar background. I know if you had an earthquake here, through this building you would have deeds of valor as fine as on any battlefield. You would take part in it as in any other field of battle.

Our mountains in California dance about and shift on unstable foundations, and the holes they make come together with a slam. We had at Leland Stanford University the largest dormitory that has ever been made—great blocks of stone, four storeys high. One building held three hundred and twenty-five students, with immense chimney ornaments, which during the earthquake broke off right level with the roof and crashed through all the different storeys, clear down to the basement, taking men and their belongings, chairs and tables, as a stratified mass, down through the building. Professors, whom you could hardly imagine as distinguishing themselves on the field of battle, commenced the work of rescue within five minutes. One carried twenty or thirty men out before the dust had ceased to obscure the building. They had them in safety before the jar was over, taking them out of that stratified mass, and saving the life of all but one of those boys. He was struck by a rock. There is as much danger in a shaking building as on any battlefield anywhere, and none of those professors had any previous thought of any occurrence of the kind. There were men there with white livers that morning. You could see them right through their clothes. But it was not the earthquake that made heroes of these men. It is the courage made in peace by intelligence and education, the courage that comes from doing one's duty, from resisting evil, from living a pure life, from living the kind of life that we are calling the peaceful life.

I do not say anything against military men. We have chosen the bravest and strongest of them. We have called them out. Officers are not strong men because they are officers. They were picked because of their strength beforehand.

I was also at San Francisco, that community of people larger than Toronto—350,000 of them homeless and living out in the parks and fields outside of the city. I saw young men among them—young automobile fellows—you know the

kind—men who carry someone along to crank up. I saw these fellows working fifteen and twenty hours a day to help. The apostles of the rights of man, the voices of social discontent, the men who vent this social condition, I found all these fellows out in the field, being waited on; not one of them did a single stroke of work.

If we were looking for war as a source of all the fine virtues we would not come to Toronto; we would go where war is plentiful. Since Toronto was born they have had one hundred and twenty battles in Venezuela. If you wanted to fill up the ranks, say, of the North-west Mounted Police, you would not come here, or to Montreal, Winnipeg, and places where there is no war; you would go to Venezuela to get these fine, strong characters, to get strong men; you would go to Turkey, where they have wars.

I want to show you two things. One of them is in regard to the finances of war. I have begun to study that, and I have begun to find things I did not expect. The war debt of Europe is $26,000,000,000 of our money. It is greatest in France, with $5,000,000,000. Germany comes next, with $3,800,000,000; Great Britain, $3,700,000,000; Italy and Spain, $2,800,000,000 each, which is fairly in proportion to wealth; and then the other countries make up the rest. The interest on this immense sum of money amounts yearly to $1,250,000,000, mostly paid by the working man. You understand the farmer gets his income from what he sells. The laborer is better fitted to pay taxes, because you can take something of what they get. I have been told by men who know that one-ninth of London's population do not pay taxes, because, you see, they are not receiving anything. Or, if you do not like that illustration, go over into France and Spain, or anywhere, and it is a matter of fact that it is the laboring man who pays the taxes, because, for various reasons, other men have found a way out more or less complete.

There are about sixteen bond-holding firms that control the war debt of Europe. They are what is known as the Unseen Empire. They control Europe. The credit of the Bank of England has a psychological reserve, and over and above is an absolute certainty that its notes are good. This Unseen Empire is what may be called the psychological reserve of Europe. If you travel in Europe with a draft drawn on one of these great firms, you are sure that it is good, because it represents the credit of Europe—the Rothschilds, the Goldsmiths, the Bishops, the Cassels, and so on, some sixteen or seventeen of these firms, who do not own this debt,

but they control it. They could own it if they wanted to. You understand—I don't—the difference between controlling and owning. There are men like Havemeyer, whose proceedings appear to be infamous, for when he died he did not own any part or parcel of it.

This Invisible or Unseen Empire had its origin at Frankfort with the first of the Rothschilds, the Red Shield, and this man, getting well ahead, was present, or through his representatives, at the Battle of Waterloo, and sent by courier the news of *La Belle Alliance,* and then the sign of the Red Shield was ready to buy up all the stocks and bonds that were depreciated, as so many were, by the activity of the allies of Waterloo. When the regular news came the bonds were all sold and everything was quiet. It was time to pay up the French bonds then. I understand it is pretty hard to find the facts about these men. They do not differ there from the men on this side of the ocean. Quiet men, with an occasional museum, a hospital or library, or something of that kind—they do not attach their names. But supposing each of these men spends a million dollars a year—for every man is not known to spend very much on their families, dependents, and associates in the Invisible Empire—it still leaves $1,000,000,000 more than they can possibly stand. To this Invisible Empire goes ten to twenty Rockefeller fortunes every year.

When France was beaten by the Germans in 1873, a tremendous indemnity was exacted. It was paid in the usual way. France went to the Rothschilds—the Invisible Empire—and borrowed the money, and their debt is $5,000,000,000. That is high finance, but it involves a very large expenditure of interest money, but that can be financed, too, with the result that this empire gets a stronger and stronger hold on the property of the nation.

I do not believe that there is any more danger of war between England and Germany than there is of war between England and Mars, and when Mars looks red there is danger of trouble. England is too wise and sensible to begin war wantonly. Germany, if she is not too wise and sensible, is too clever to begin a war wantonly. But behind all this there is the Unseen Empire, and war would mean the ruination of credit and the breaking up of the whole system. Admiral Beresford proposes that England should borrow $2,500,000,000 more, in order to add to the debt, and in order to have something to show the Germans when they go peering out across the channel to see if England is prepared. I don't believe any nation ever scared another nation into peace by

its warships if it wanted to fight for any other reasons. I don't believe in a nation preparing for war in times of peace. I believe rather in preparing for more peace, through education, through the development of the country's resources, through sanitation, through all the various elements that strengthen a nation, fitting it for holding its own and depending on the power of right and the majesty of law. I believe the building of a number of warships by Great Britain produces a similar programme in Germany, and I am afraid it is leading the United States on the foolish track.

In Europe—I am jumping the track, but I will kill a certain number of things before I get through—I found, in going to Europe for the especial purpose of talking these things over with the men interested in the movement for peace at The Hague, that they all look forward to seeing the two nations in the New World taking the lead in all these matters. They are free. The only nations not now in the hands of the Invisible Empire absolutely financially, with the exception of the barbarous nations that haven't any credit, are Canada and the United States. The Unseen Empire, I am told—I may be mistaken—holds $100,000,000 of the United States bonds; she holds most of those of Australia, New Zealand—in fact, practically all except those of Canada and the United States. Therefore, we are free lances. We are able to take our part in the cause of peace. Secondly, Canada stands in the position of being connected by blood and history with the greatest nation of Europe, of being connected by blood and neighborhood ties, ties of language and commerce with the greatest country outside of Europe, and connected so closely with both of them that it is not possible to conceive of her taking part in war with either so long as Canada exists.

In testimony of this is that long trail running from the far Yukon to the Atlantic, of some five thousand miles—a boundary line that splits towns in the middle, even splits houses, so that the owner can vibrate as circumstances require, passing through all these great lakes and the mountains down to the sea, and then on up again to the North; and of this boundary which is disputed nearly all the land is used with all the brutal frankness common to blood relations, and not a soldier, not a warship, not a gun to protect it from the quiet and reasonable gentlemen of the other side. When you begin to look at this from the European standpoint, that boundary looms out large as one of the great things above all others. There is hardly a boundary line or frontier in Europe over which even hardly a tourist may go for fear he will photograph something.

The other day, in Boston, I took part in a conspiracy to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Ghent and to place overlooking Niagara Falls something as visible as it would be desirable. My idea would be a stone bridge—something permanent. I do not know whether there is any room among so many of those electrical plants to put a bridge, but it may be there is, where our ancestors fought so savagely with each other, somewhere at Queenston Heights or in that neighborhood, to commemorate a hundred years of peace.

I was going to say that I do not see where the financial side of this thing is going to end. I cannot see how the debt of France, piling up at the rate of $200,000,000 a year, can leave the French people any equity in their country after a certain time. I cannot see how the debt of Spain and Italy, piling up at the rate of $140,000,000 a year, is going to leave the poor people of those countries any equity in their countries. That the debt of Great Britain is piling up at an alarming rate is but too true, and London has the slums of the East End in all their poverty and wretchedness. The condition is the same in Germany, except that the German law which makes people work and insure themselves obscures the fact that they have the same burden as any of the other countries. I do not see where it is going to end. I do see that if we in Canada and the United States want some time a pleasure-ground or great park, when these assets come up for auction, it is going to be comparatively easy for us to buy in some of these mortgaged States cheaply. You can see how it is better to live in a little country than in a big one. The commerce of Switzerland is greater in proportion than that of England. She has no warships and fortifications for her seaport towns—not even for her canals. The fortification of the Panama Canal is one of the pieces of folly which looms up large among the things that are under discussion now.

I was at the Experimental Farm over near Ottawa the other day, and among other things Dr. Saunders showed me certain forms of wheat that he had made to yield one-third more to the acre than its ancestors had done, by taking out the finest heads and breeding from them and disposing of the rest. He also showed me a herd of cattle that was yielding one-third more milk than their ancestors by simply picking out the best cows and sending the others to the butcher, or sending them to the farmers around. We know that it is possible, through selective breeding, to bring about almost any change that one may like. We know of the breeds of dogs we made from wolves. Now, this selective breeding is the magician's

wand by which men can summon any form that he likes. Take the great plant-breeder, Luther Burbank, who has done so many things. It is within us to work along steadily on the law of selective breeding—"Like the seed is the harvest." The only way is to get rid of the poorest and breed from the best. The strongest may leave, and those left determine the quality of race. Heredity always runs level. There is not a nation sliding down except by the killing of her strongest or through emigration. Emigration from the counties of European countries has left the home county poorer. Emigration from the Eastern States has made the West richer and the East poorer, but they have not made the world any poorer, because we that have gone west, and Englishmen from the farther East, the world is richer for our moving out, even if England be poorer because she has lost us. If you take most of the physically strongest—those with the most dash, those who are the most courageous and enterprising—then those that are left will breed from a lower stock, and the race will deteriorate. The standard stature is shorter than some years ago, but, of course, size is not everything, but they are breeding from worse and smaller stock.

To compose the armies of all the great struggles of Europe the bravest and strongest were drawn. Take the great battles of the Peninsular War, or during the Napoleonic period; the men who fought were the flower of young manhood. In Europe the battlefields are the graves of hundreds of thousands of brave soldiers. At Austerlitz, in the defeat of the Austrians and Prussians, and at Jena, in the defeat of the Prussians, thousands of the most virile of the nations were killed. Or, when the finest army in the world of 600,000 Frenchmen invaded Russia, only 20,000 spectres returned, and what must have been the drain on that great nation! I visited in Maryland a place where 150 acres of men—North and South—were buried. I know that all those national cemeteries cover something over 12,000 acres of young men that are buried and stacked up down there. These men are a little better than the average. Little by little by the drawing away of the strongest and leaving the poorest at home, you are going to have a final and long result. I have studied the same story in France, Spain, Italy, England and Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Germany, and every part of Europe. This is the evidence of what war has cost. Now, this has been known a long time. The reason that Rome died was because the Romans were gone—the fallacy of breeding from an inferior stock instead of breeding from the strongest. The barbarians invaded and occupied the unoccupied territory.

The future of Canada is not resting on her magnificent resources in the way of lumber, mines, and, still more, in the way of fine soil. It rests in the kind of men coming here. She is breeding from superior stock, and for that reason Canada has a right to look to the future. We breed from good stock in the United States, and from a lot of bad stock that has ben turned over to us by people who have been striving to secure the last dollar.

Just another word. Nearly 200 years ago Benjamin Franklin, one of our greatest scientists and philosophers, was the first who thought or noticed the idea that war affected the breeding of nations. What can be more apt than the quotation, "Wars are not paid for in war time; the bill comes later."

(December 16)

Modern Diplomacy.

BY MR. URDAIN J. LEDOUX.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Modern Diplomacy," Mr. Urdain J. Ledoux said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Following two such distinguished men of my own country in the educational field, and also in that field in which I am engaged, in that of world dominization, men of mature experience, men both large as to their physical person and as regards their minds, and even more their spirit, I feel that I, a youth, a young French-Canadian, am placed somewhat at a disadvantage; and my first words to you are those that, may I hope, bring me your indulgence, that I, under such circumstances, might be called to address you on a subject of such importance as "Modern Diplomacy."

I wish that I could be privileged to address you in the language in which I have been educated in your midst—that is, in French—for one reason, a very special reason, because I feel that I could discuss the subject which your chairman this evening had requested me to discuss, of that of nationalism, in a true spirit of that old citizenship that I was holding on this side of the border, and that is of the Canadian citizen, of a brother, of French-Canadian extraction.

I may truly claim the spirit of internationalism. My parents—of French-Canadian extraction—migrated to the United States in their youth, and married there, in the midst of the strangers of the New England States, lived there for ten years after their marriage, accumulated a certain amount of money, as some did at that period through the most strenuous economy, and returned through that love of country—through that love of what they call *"la patrie de la nouvelle France"* —returned to your midst. And they had hardly resided in Canada one year until I was born.

*Mr. Urbain J. Ledoux, formerly American Consul at Prague, Bohemia, is a former Canadian, claimed by the United States by right of naturalization. He resigned from the United States Consular Service to join the International Peace Bureau at Boston. A writer in the "Review of Reviews" said of his work as Consul, "No one can spend any time in investigating conditions in Central Europe without hearing the name of Urbain J. Ledoux."

When man was created and then was given the companionship of woman, man was bound—a community through ties of blood. Those ties kept him bound, and bound solidly. There was no need of government. Then we had the tribes, then we had the hordes, then we had the provinces, and then these provinces continued on as regions of discord until nearly a century ago. If your mind can be turned back to the France, for instance, of a little over a century ago, you will find it in every dukedom, in every district where a count held supreme, in every district where a baron held supreme, with a different monetary system. You will find it with different customs; you will find it not united, but divided. Within those districts man had found his passions and his pleasures confined—man was of the village. But science came to the aid of humanity, and from then have we seen man progress and go towards that international spirit that you may call empire, or confederation, or internationalism, but that true spirit of brotherhood that is cemented by mutual interest.

Man is no more of the village; man is of the nation, and when I read and hear that some of my former fellow-countrymen, in spite of the fact of their good intentions, through a lack of that communication with their fellow-men of different creed, of different language, of different customs, endeavor to return to those conditions, that we are dividing nations and bringing discord, I can only say that I regret it sincerely, and that I notice with pleasure it is receiving the condemnation that is fully deserved, and receiving a lesson in their midst as regards its unfortunate results that shall, I hope, be helpful in cementing the English and French-speaking elements of Canada.

The conditions in the New England States are similar to yours here, and we both have to battle with them; and, in spite of the fact that through my declarations to-night and through the declarations that I shall make in the Province of Quebec later, where I am glad to speak in both languages, I shall continue to make them, because of their truth; and, if I shall suffer through the criticism that I shall receive, may it be the share of an apostle.

And that, I say, is more than diplomacy. It is modern diplomacy. The diplomacy of the past called for the appointment to the court of other nations the courtier who could lie the best for the advantage of his master, not the man who would brave the condemnations of thousands of millions of people to tell the truth. The diplomacy of the past is defined by Sir Henry Wotten, as this: "An ambassador is an honest

man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth." Another of an older day—Polix—who was sent on an embassy, was asked whether he was the representative of his sovereign. His reply was: "If I succeed, I am an informer of the people; if not, I came of my own volition," in the as-he-was-going-to-be-hung conditions of those days. There was another definition which might be of interest, which said: "Ambassadors are the eyes and ears of state." I stop at that; they should be.

The other day Mr. Huntington Wilson, Assistant Secretary of State in the United States, appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of Congress to defend the continuation of an appropriation of $100,000 for special commercial work in the diplomatic circles, and there he showed what they had been able to accomplish through that appropriation in securing additional trade for the United States, and it was baptized in the press of the United States as the "diplomacy of the almighty dollar," or the "dollar diplomacy." It was a new diplomacy.

An evolution has been going on in the consular service, where I have had the honor of serving the United States for ten years—first as consul in Quebec, then in Bordeaux, France, and then in Prague, Austria. There still more is the diplomacy of the almighty dollar evident. Our consular service has become a commercial branch of our government, and the consul has returned to his original function—that of commerce, for consuls were created first by the commercial men of the Venetian State, who were trading in the Orient, and, having disputes in their midst, appointed one of their own as arbitrator, who was called "consul judge." The name of consul at the time had been taken by these magistrates of mediæval times, who, holding the highest office in the community, as man was then of the village, desired to take the highest title that they had been able to acquire from Rome. They were made consuls, and they were men in commercial pursuit. Later the state, seeing the great possibilities through these commercial representatives, brought them under her wing. Then they became not only commercial officials, but also diplomatic officers, and continued so long as the conditions of the world justified it, because the distances were great. But as the world became smaller and smaller, these lost all the diplomatic functions that were not absolutely necessary for the protection of their fellow-citizens. To-day, I may say, as regards the American consular service, 99 per cent. of the duties of the consuls are commercial; the consul has returned to his original functions. He was no more of the diplomatic service; he was of commerce.

I am asking myself why, if the consul has become a consular agent, would it not be wise, would it not be possible, for the nation which is our neighbor—the Dominion of Canada—to have a consular commercial service of its own? Trade agents, if you will, but such as would not only be stationed in one capital of a nation, but would be stationed in the principal commercial points of the world. Trade agents that would not be stationed in any special district or city, but who would travel continually to investigate conditions and report, so that your commerce might be extended. For the upbuilding of all nations it is necessary, if you desire to conduct your affairs on a business basis, to be properly respresented in the management of your sales department. And, if my experience as American consul abroad, and the fact that I am of Canadian extraction and have lived in your midst for nearly six years, and, added to that, your hospitality, may in some way prompt me to leave here this as advice to Canada, you are entirely welcome to it.

But there is a wider diplomacy. The one I have been speaking of is of government appointment. There is a diplomacy that is not of government appointment. There is a diplomacy that depends on the people themselves, and it is of that diplomacy which I desire to speak to-night. It is the diplomacy that shall cement nations to each other. Internationalism shall be the result of that diplomacy—it is the diplomacy of the people. While I was in Europe this year to study international organization I came across the following conditions: Society was becoming divided into strata, and was not going to continue to be divided into nationalities. The nations were coming closer together through internationalism. Congresses were held all over Europe, and the nations and the people were brought together in one spirit, and that of a strata of humanity. We have the strata of commerce, international in character. Men were meeting in international congresses, one of which I have had the pleasure of attending in London—the International Congress of Chambers of Commerce—and there were represented forty-two nations by officers from the strongest official and unofficial chambers of commerce of the world. This was the strata of commerce.

I attended, for instance, the World's Congress of International Institutions. There had been assembled 132 international institutions, representing the professions, representing, for instance, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Pan-American Union, the Telegraphic Unions, and the Railway Unions. These had assembled in Brussels to share in the co-operation

of the different strata of society into a sure and proper support, in the knowledge of the various pursuits of mankind, to the government. There was organized a central office, and this central office was organized to ensure that co-operation with the governments of the world, in order that we may have the proper internationalism in the various pursuits of mankind. We created there, at this congress, an organization that would, as regards America, assure a representation on discussions of commerce, banking, shipping, of our Government. To cite an instance, the International Chambers of Commerce has secured three congresses of nations—first on the question of uniformity of legislation on bills of exchange. For seventy-five years various organizations strived to secure that uniformity which was so necessary to the proper conduct of affairs, but without success. We held a congress at Liege, another two years later somewhere else, and then at still another congress we secured the co-operation of the Government of Holland, and a conference of nations was held during last summer, and this question is to-day receiving the necessary attention to secure a proper solution.

We called a conference in Belgium on the equalization of customs statistics. Then Switzerland consented to call a conference on the question of the revision of the calendar. There was the new diplomacy. The business men, in organization, after a study of the subject, went as diplomats, through their organizations, to plead with their governments to call a conference of nations, and that conference was called because there was the proper backing of organization itself in the midst of the business men, and then they went further. Through this international organization are we securing that diplomacy of modern times. We went further, and organized ourselves into bands of diplomats in each country, that would, when a conference was called, secure the appointment of men who were conversant with the subject—not simply men of wealth, who, happening to be going where the conference was to be held, went as the official representative of the nation, because the nation was not ready to pay the expenses, and a man of wealth was ready to secure the honor. This was a new diplomacy—the diplomacy of business men in each calling, for instance, in agriculture, which is being discussed at this moment at Ottawa.

David Lappan has secured the establishment in Rome of the International Institute of Agriculture, and the King of Rome has subsidized it with $50,000 a year. There you have representatives of forty-four governments, who are gathering

from all nations reports on the crops of each nation, in order to prevent the exploitation of both the producer and the consumer through false reports distributed amongst the public by men who want to exploit humanity. This is again diplomacy.

This international organization, composed of 132 international institutions, to my own mind, is humanity becoming diplomats, but of the new, modern school. We are all diplomats. Those who surround this table are embryo diplomats. We have all, within our own calling, to go through the school of diplomacy in business, just as a child to secure certain favors from the parents; then in business, in order to secure the trade of our neighbors; and, perhaps, later in the night, in order to get upstairs without your wife noticing. (Laughter.) That last diplomacy is the diplomacy of the past, but it might be the diplomacy of the present by the laughter it has brought. Are we that surround this table fellow-members?—I am a member of the Canadian Club of Boston, and also secretary of the Federation of Canadian Clubs, so it may be additional fellow-membership—are we who belong to the Canadian clubs, and attend its gatherings, diplomats and members of one of these congresses which is not as yet affiliated to the larger group of international organization, but that is on account of its membership in commerce, of its membership in science, the sum of the organizations forming the larger group of diplomacy?

What will give you an instance of the possibilities of such groups of business men is this. I will cite to you what New York has accomplished in the world of business, of modern diplomacy, composed of a group of business men who were extremely occupied in their calling. It started a movement for the appointment of a peace commission by the Congress of the United States. It started out on business principles. It had a plan that was practicable, and the World's Federation League, of which I have the honor of being on the advisory board, went before the Committee of Congress on Foreign Affairs, where we secured a resolution authorizing the appointment of a peace commission, and this is the initiation in the diplomacy that is not purely and simply of national character, but that is of an international character.

With the larger organization that we have been creating in Brussels, called the Central Office of International Institutions, all of these international organizations in that one large group shall work for one thing, and that is the co-ordination of efforts, the co-operation between the various groups. We hope to ultimately secure what these various societies and

such commissions as have been appointed by our Congress are striving to secure, and that is relief from the heavy burden of disorganization, international disorganization in various lines of business, in various callings, but principally in that of world politics. The heaviest burden we have to carry in that line of international politics is that of the excessive armaments. In the United States, for instance, 73 per cent. of our revenue is absolutely absorbed by the cost of past wars and for preparation for future wars, leaving for direction, for the building up, for constructive work in the United States a paltry 27 per cent. This is of interest to you, who are starting on a policy that is of a nature to call for the centralization of all your intellectual resources, in order to understand whether you should follow the examples of others who have preceded you in it.

Without criticizing in your own home the policies that are those of your people, without following the example of one of our distinguished citizens, who has in your own home ventured, after a short period of life in one of your dependencies, to tell you how you should govern. I shall simply tell you the story of what it is costing in one special line, and that is of the larger battleships, called the Dreadnoughts, and in one universal line—that of universal armaments. You might, perhaps, be interested in knowing what you can do with the money required for one battleship of the Dreadnought type.

Here are figures compiled by the World's Federation League:

A 26,000-ton battleship costs $12,000,000; twenty years' upkeep will cost $16,000,000 more—$28,000,000 in all. Then the junk pile.

The cost of a battleship would build and equip fifty manual training schools, wherein 75,000 students might annually be taught.

It would build and equip forty Y. M. C. A. buildings of the largest size.

It represents twice the sum spent up to the present time for the construction of Harvard University.

It represents the combined cost of the buildings of the New York Metropolitan Opera House and New Theatre, Philadelphia Opera House, Boston Opera House, Brooklyn Academy, Chicago Auditorium, and the Paris and Berlin Opera Houses—the cost of one battleship!

It would pay the annual cost of educating 1,000,000 children in the public schools.

A 13-inch gun costs more than many a high school building.

To those who aspire for such costly machines of destruction these comparisons will be creators of very serious reflection.

And all that is needed to make this expenditure unnecessary is a piece of work hardly more difficult than the organization of the United States Steel Company.

What a terrible toll are we not paying for our lack of the proper international spirit—for our lack of world organization! The British Chanceller of the Exchequer says: "To maintain peace the nations of the world spend annually $2,250,000,000." The nations, by settling all controversies through an international court, could, after reserving $500,000,000 for policing, save annually $1,750,000,000.

This saving, productively employed, would build annually 250,000 miles of macadamized roads, exceeding in length the railroads of the United States.

It would build annually six transcontinenal railroads from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

It would build annually five trans-Siberian railroads. It would build annually five Panama Canals. It would build annually three "Cape-to-Cairo" railways. It would reconcile annually the losses of four San Francisco disasters. It exceeds by four times the value of all gold produced in the world in 1908.

This is worth considering, and it seems to me that there is a goal for a modern diplomacy—a goal, that of relieving yourselves and relieving the world from the heavy burden under which it is crushed. And that is the diplomacy of the people—diplomacy that, through its legislative branch of governments, shall secure the appointment of such commissions as will study this question thoroughly. By similar commissions being appointed all over the world, and then getting together, they shall draft some plan of convention that shall make this unnecessary.

It seems to me that a nation so new, a nation with such aspirations as the Dominion of Canada, could well co-operate in the work of securing for the world at large a relief from the burden of armament. It seems to me that, instead of simply limiting itself to armament, it could well balance the policy that it may have found necessary with that of the appointment of a commission to study the conditions of the world at large as regards the possibilities of our coming together on one understanding. That is the policy for you

diplomats of the Canadian Club of Toronto, having been told, and having read, what the diplomats of the World's Federation League, who are business men like you, have done—that is a policy, I say, that should be yours, as it is ours.

Let us be diplomats of the almighty dollar to relieve our pocket-books from the drain which it is suffering on account of lack of world-organization. I say to you gentlemen that, after a study of these world-conditions, I have come to the conclusion, in common with those business men who are members of that league, and who are constructors of railways and builders of large industries, I have come to the conclusion that it is not more difficult than the organization, let us say, of the United States steel industry.

As it is, no nation has consented to appropriate even sufficient funds for one man to set to work at it; and when we had secured the authorization for the appointment of a peace commission in the United States, what did we receive but a paltry $10,000, when, in the same year, two battleships had been authorized!

I desire to make this statement, that I am a big navy and a big army man. That may seem strange to you; but I am a believer in this, that as long as we have this state of disorganized society we are in the same condition as the pioneers of the '49 in California. We had then a state of disorganized society. The man from Boston who had brought some of his worldly possessions there and had started certain diggings found that men of insight had been there, too; others who were not honest and industrious were there, too, and they were pilfering. In consequence, the man of Puritan extraction, who had never carried a weapon in his life, took two, and carried them summer and winter. Why? Because society was disorganized. He barricaded his doors—society was disorganized. But the man was of a constructive mind, and has shown his spirit of ingenuity, after suffering all of the trials of the scanners of the prairies, and realized that he could not continue to do so with weapons in his hip pocket summer and winter. He started to organize vigilance committees, started to organize municipal governments, police county governments, and state governments, and ultimately continuing to keep his weapons because he did not feel safe as regards the system he was establishing or the individual he was placing there to conduct these systems. Gradually he realized that his goods were safe, and that his wealth was not being pilfered, and gradually he put away for a souvenir for his family one of the six-shooters, and the other soon followed, and

society in California to-day is disarmed, as well as it is in the Eastern States. And so I say that in the state of disorganized society the United States is fully justified, as well as Great Britain, to continue as it does without taking the proper precaution of appropriating sufficient funds to employ the best minds of the Empire and of the United States in an analysis of these conditions that force upon its people the heavy burdens under which they are crushed. It is going into an unwise —a very unwise—policy, but, unfortunately, as one of the grand chancellors of Sweden once said, when sending his son to travel over the world: "Go on, my son, and see how unwisely the world is governed."

See how unwisely the world is governed! Unfortunately we are unwisely governed in international matters, and it is time that the business men, the men of different callings, step in and inaugurate that policy of practical business—the dollar diplomacy—that shall stop the drain from his own pocket-book and the pocket-book of his neighbor.

One of our fellow-citizens, with whom I had the pleasure of conversing only last Friday, and with whom I had a long conference on world-organization, has come to the help of humanity, and has given the greatest amount ever given for the peace movement—I mean Mr. Andrew Carnegie. And this amount, I may say, is to be used for a new diplomacy, an organization world-wide in its scope, international in character, embracing these organizations that I mentioned a moment ago, who are of the new dollar diplomacy, shall bring together these various races which are continually looking upon each other as enemies, and shall help to cement in your own country the races that are speaking a different language, that have different aspirations, shall bring them together in a smelter—and there is a smelter of humanity—that of internationalism, from which shall issue the steel of co-operation and the gold and silver of universal brotherhood.

(*December 19*)

Western Farmers and Their Ideals.

By Mr. E. A. Partridge.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The Organization of the Western Farmers, and Their Ideals," Mr. E. A. Partridge said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I esteem very highly the opportunity which has been given to me to speak before this club. I do not regard it as a personal matter, but as a compliment paid to the western delegation that recently visited Ottawa, and a recognition that you must have had some interest in the work of that delegation. I think it well to speak to you of the organization of the western farmers, and off the ideals which inspire their leaders. No doubt there is not perfect unanimity on all questions, even among the farmers. Still, you must have seen from the representation we made at Ottawa that there must be a respectable body of opinion among the farmers on certain important questions.

I would like to outline to you the organization we have. In the western provinces, what we are pleased to call the three prairie provinces, a name pretty well known over Canada, we have three great organizations. In Alberta we have the United Farmers of Alberta, which is composed of two organizations that existed previously: the Farmers' Association of Alberta, and the Canadian Society of Equity. The second organization, which is the oldest of the three, is the Grain Growers' Association of Saskatchewan. The third is the Grain Growers' Association of Manitoba. The members of these three associations aggregate something like 30,000, and that growth has taken place since 1902. These great organizations of farmers have from the beginning been dealing with questions which they conceive affect their financial well being, and more and more they have come to examine social and economic problems which they believe have a bearing upon their material comfort, and their

* Mr. E. A. Partridge, Vice-President of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, Saskatchewan, was one of the important members of the delegation of five hundred Western grain growers who visited Ottawa in December to present their views to the Government on the tariff and other matters. Mr. Partridge, besides having the practical knowledge and experience of a farmer, has keen business ability and advanced views on economic subjects.

happiness. In fact the scope and character of the organizations has enlarged and broadened as time has gone on.

I remember our first organization in Saskatchewan was nothing more than a protest against certain conditions. At that time we were in the position that we were unable to enjoy freedom of shipment. The use of the transportation facilities was denied us. If a man had a carload of grain, he could not secure from the railway companies facilities for loading that car direct from the siding, so that he could ship it to a secondary market where prices for carloads are very much higher than at country points. After a good deal of protest, we organized an association and endeavored to secure redress. The elevator companies, acted in concert with the transportation companies. The latter held us up to prevent us from securing transportation while the elevator men went through our pockets. I am glad to say, however, that the representatives of our organization went to the Federal Government and secured an enactment of law which broke this combine. And so we got one point nearer to our ideal in connection with the marketing of our grain by securing perfect freedom in the placing of our grain in carload units upon the secondary markets.

One difficulty which presented itself to our organization was the fact that we were not sufficiently familiar with the financial and commercial world. We did not know all the circumstances which surrounded the marketing of our grain after it had left the initial point. We were asking for legislation from a government who frequently said, "We have heard from the other people, the people who are handling the grain and the transportation facilities and the terminal elevators, and they say you are all wrong." I remember being sent down as a representative of Saskatchewan to spend a month in Winnipeg and look into the circumstances surrounding the grading, transportation and marketing of our grain. While there, I found there was a very considerable reserve on the part of the agent who was handling our grain.

After all, the biggest asset of a man in business is the ignorance of the fellow he is dealing with. I have noticed in the realm of sociology that the morals of those engaged in different occupations take color from those occupations. One time I expressed it in this way. I said the people who settled in the New England States were an extremely good people. They left the Old Land because they believed it was interfering with their religious belief, and interfering with the manner in which they were worshipping the Deity. The came out determined

to worship the Deity in the way they thought best. They were extremely religious. I think it was in Connecticut that there was a law that a man could not kiss his wife on the Sabbath day without being fined. The man who is as religious as that is pretty well up to the mark. It is also said they never took a glass of whiskey without asking grace over it, and yet they had no hesitation, good as they were, in taking a handful of glass beads and exchanging them for a two dollar beaver skin with an Indian. I take it from that that we will find the views of those engaged in certain avocations somewhat colored by the nature of their business, and that their morality may sometimes be tinged from the same source.

Having discovered that we knew so little about the grain trade, and that it was so difficult to impress our views upon the government, we decided that the best thing to do was to get into the grain trade ourselves. And so in a co-operative manner we organized ourselves in order that we might see how things were done, what disabilities there were that could be removed. The outcome was the formation of the Grain Growers Grain Company, which drew its membership practically from the same sources as the association. They had a somewhat stormy time.

It has been said that farmers cannot unite. There was some truth in that. After six months hard toil we had secured 1,000 members, each contributing $2.50 apiece—$2,500—to wrestle with the great problem of the transportation of grain. That is the condition we were in; but we learned our lesson, and one result of it is that we could provide for such a demonstration as that which took place at Ottawa. We started out our organization with the magnificent capital of $749 less than nothing, but I am proud to tell you that after four years we now have a membership of 8,000, and a paid-up capital of more than one third of a million, and this year we handled one-quarter of the grain that passed inspection at Winnipeg.

We have done something else. We have been moulding public opinion all this time. In order to do that we had to have some avenue. In our association we had provided what might be called schools of social and economic science in which we discussed the problems that affected our welfare. We were without text books. Our people were not familiar with the literature connected with these subjects, and we had few men who were teachers of the sciences. Our association at the beginning was extremely simple and had relation to a commercial object, or the making or saving of money. But later

on we began to understand that we had a higher object than that.

It was felt to be desirable that we should have an organ, some paper that would be entirely untrammelled, free from the domination of commercial interests and political influence, through which we might communicate with one another freely, and in which every person who had a view to propound, a theory to advance, might enter the arena and freely expound his proposition. And so we inaugurated the *Grain Growers' Guide.* I am glad to tell you that after a brief period as a weekly we have now 23,000 subscribers who read it. Now I think this *Grain Growers' Guide* is one of the most important instruments for the moulding and unifying of public opinion. We are trying to get a broader view. We are trying to inject the ethical element into what we are doing. We are trying to get a square deal. We are trying to teach the people that if they are going to reach a certain goal, it must be approached along right lines, on the straight, and not by a devious path.

I would like to mention the conceptions which have taken form with respect to the evolution that is taking place in the organization of society and in the economic arena. I know it is generally regarded that the people of the west are radical. I do not care how radical a man may be so long as he is right; and we are trying to walk so that our views and actions will be right. I might refer to certain directions in which our thought seems to be leading us. I need not attempt to prove that we are developing a very strong sentiment in the direction of free trade. I think the delegation which visited Ottawa and the unanimity with which they presented their arguments—and if I may be permitted to say the logical manner in which their arguments were presented—indicated pretty clearly what our attitude in that matter is.

After all, that is based not so much upon the question of gain. It is a matter of equity. If protection is right, if protection makes for the square deal, if protection is necessary to the development of our country along the best lines, if the effect of protection upon our political life, upon our national life, upon the characters of those who enjoy the benefits of protection, and upon the characters of those who do not enjoy those benefits but are exploited by them, is good, then protection is good. If on the other hand these in the main tend in the opposite direction, it behoves us to devise some other means whereby we may carry on the affairs of the country and pay our way as a nation.

One thing which greatly surprised the people of the east, I believe, was the announcement made that the organized

farmers throughout the four provinces, including Ontario, were prepared to meet the alternative of direct taxation. You are all familiar with the statement made long ago by a British statesman, that one might tax individuals until they were clothed in rags, and afterwards tax the rags upon their backs by means of indirect taxation and there would be not a murmur. Now I believe that has been true so long as individuals have not been students of economics, and have not examined the question of taxation. I believe we are developing to such an extent that our people won't stand for being clothed in rags, much less for being taxed upon the rags. There is an alternative naturally to the removal of protective duties.

I need not enter into the argument with respect to the advantages or disadvantages of protection or free trade in a general way. Those persons who are not concerned, and who are not protected by protection do not need any argument to convince them of the undesirability of protection, while those enjoying the benefits of protection do not want to be convinced. But there is the question of alternatives. Alternatives may take certain forms. In the west it appears to us, perhaps we have been guided by reason of the fact that we are surrounded by speculators, that the west has been a country where the motto of many who come in is something for nothing, where the natural resources of the country have been exploited all around, where men have become amazingly rich by securing the natural resources, and then as the population increased, benefitted from the added increment. That sort of thing has taught us to talk along this line. I do not think we are going to be believers in direct taxation in a general way, that is by the taxation of income. I believe we are coming more and more to be believers in the taxation of land values. (Applause.) Thanks for your applause, but I can tell you there is going to be a louder noise when land taxation is alluded to two years from now, gentlemen.

We recognize, and I think our people are coming to recognize in the west, that we have got to do something to take the natural resources out of the hands of monopoly, that after all the source of inequality is not different degrees of industry, but different degrees of opportunity, is the possession by one portion of the community of those natural resources to which the human race must go for its sources of supply. We in the west believe we have got to break down that great monopoly which is exploiting our people and taking a portion of their subsistence. It is not alone the feeling that we are exploited now. We people of the west, the people now occupying the west, the past and

present generations of farmers have not felt peculiarly the pressure of this monopoly. The early settlers went in there when land was of no value, when the speculator had not the courage to go there. They lived in shacks. They fought against nature. They did not know the country. They developed and enlarged it. They carried on their farming under the greatest handicap of lack of knowledge. But ultimately they triumphed. They won out. But they had this advantage. They "got in on the ground floor," as a man would say in a land deal. They got next to nature's breast. They did not have to pay their way. They did not have to mortgage their future. Consequently, this generation is to a considerable extent enjoying the fruits of their labors, except in so far as they are taken away from them by greedy transportation companies, and by reason of having to pay for protection for our manufacturing friends.

Now we people are coming to learn that in the taxation of these natural resources is a means of raising revenue and a means of preventing their accumulation in the hands of a few. There might have to be other means of disintegrating some of the enormous fortunes which are a menace to our settlers, but by the taxation of land we may prevent a monopoly of the artificial means of production. This thing we believe regarding exploitation, and I say it to you with all seriousness, the thought that underlies the most of the leaders in the west is not a desire to enjoy more of the material blessings. Most of the earlier settlers have been in the fortunate position, that having started in on the ground floor they have been in a position that their children and their children's children will not be in, unless the economic system changes. Those who come afterwards must by purchase, displace those who have the land, and in doing so they will largely mortgage their future, and will not be free to take part in such demonstrations as we had at Ottawa, or organize public opinion, and so make the will of the people prevail.

I regret to say there are no opportunities created for the education of youth in these matters. I deplore the exploitation of our natural resources, gentlemen, but I deplore more than that the exploitation of human beings under the economic system we now have. I deplore the system of education on the prairies. We have a system which teaches children to read and write. It does not teach the fundamentals with respect to the great problems that affect humanity. It does not enlarge their outlook and prepare them for the duties of citizenship. We are speaking now as Canadians at a Canadian Club. The duty of this nation is to develop such a condition for those who

toil that will provide for the children of the toilers opportunities to become equal to any within the land in the matter of education, culture, and the ability to discharge the duties of citizenship.

That is my message to you, that is what we in the west are aiming at in our humble way, and through various agencies, through our Grain Growers' Grain Company, which though a commercial enterprise, is employing its revenue for the dissemination of light and instruction on the great social and economic questions—through the medium of *The Guide,* an organ established and maintained not by advertisements of the protected manufacturer, but by the money of the people who are concerned in making a change of the conditions. That being our ideal, we ask you to look with some sympathy upon our work, which is a movement, a desire to create a nation which shall take a dignified place in the family of nations, and which will build up a citizenship that will be a credit to us in our national life, in our intercourse with others, a citizenship which will make for equity in human relationships, which will sweeten and beautify our human relationships so that we may be able to build up a type of manhood and womanhood in whose commercial and other relationships equity will be their watchword.

(*December 29*)

The Grain Growers and the Manufacturers.

By Mr. T. A. Russell.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The Grain Growers and the Manufacturers," Mr. T. A. Russel said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Forty-three years ago, far-sighted statesmen in this country concluded a union of the scattered British provinces of North America and laid the basis of our national existence. For a generation succeeding there were many who thought this a mistake; who thought this scattered fringe of land at the northern end of the continent could hope for no separate political existence; that we must naturally ally ourselves in all matters of trade if not of politics with the powerful nation to the south; that our commercial enterprise must be confined to the cutting of timber, the catching of fish, and the growing of grain and cattle to be exported to the United States.

But the far-sightedness of our own statesmen, aided by the domineering attitude of our southern friends, changed our history and made Canada a nation.

But important above all, there was developed a national spirit which refused to wait suppliant at the door of the United States or any other country, and a policy adopted which aimed at the all round development of Canada as an agricultural and an industrial people.

This policy was not adopted without a struggle. Many a loyal Canadian thought the proposition a hopeless one. During this period there were arguments for free trade, for low tariff, for commercial union, yea, even for political union and annexation. Slowly and not without effort, however, a national fabric was reared. Our great transcontinental railway was a success,

*Mr. T. A. Russell is Chairman of the Tariff Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and General Manager of the Canada Cycle & Motor Co., Ltd. His earlier experience as a lecturer in Economics in Toronto University, and as Secretary of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, particularly qualify him to deal with such a subject from a manufacturer's standpoint. His address to the Canadian Club and his relation to the tariff through the Canadian Manufacturers' Association gave him a leading part in the tariff controversy during the succeeding weeks.

our population grew, industries were founded, cities sprang up, our canals teemed with commerce.

Gradually argument as to the policy that should guide our destiny grew less and less. The great Liberal party which in the early days had feared the result of any measure of protection, came to power in 1896 pledged to tariff revision. They came, however, pledged to give the best they had to the service of their country, and during their term of office, appointed two Commissions to take evidence and examine into our national requirements.

What was the result? No upheaval of policy, but the studied application of a moderately protective and revenue tariff amended from time to time as conditions changed. Discussion as to free trade or protection gradually ceased and our country has gone ahead and prospered under a stable fiscal policy.

But a new element has come to the front. A great deputation of farmers (or rather grain-growers) has come down from the west demanding a complete reversal of public policy; demanding a large measure of free trade; and what is particularly of interest in view of our earlier national experience, demanding reciprccity with the United States.

And they are in earnest. They have made their demands with western vigor, and I think you will agree, painted their wrongs with western exaggeration. We have heard again how the farmer is paying tribute to the manufacturer, how the heel of the manufacturer is on the neck of the farmer, of how the hard earned dollars are unfairly taken from him to the profit of a privileged manufacturing class. They have been outspoken. I would be wanting in courtesy if I were not outspoken in reply. I hope I shall not be lacking in courtesy.

The organization of this delegation was under the Grain Growers' Associations of the three prairie provinces, connected and identified, as Mr. Partridge, one of the leaders told you, with the Grain Growers' Grain Company. It is a company with assets of $820,000, has investments in bank stock and other securities of $199,000, purchased real estate for an office in Winnipeg at a price said to be $155,000, paid a cash dividend of 15 per cent. on its paid-up stock and carried forward $56,000. Not bad for a "poor farmer."

These great organizations are, through their organizing meetings, their press and their public speakers, spreading sentiment tending to inflame the farmer against the manufacturer. Think what this means. A great many of these men are comparatively new Canadians, some from Great Britain, some from the United States, others from the overcrowded countries of

Central Europe. Think what it means to have a body of men, a great many of whom have not been in the country 20 years, and are unacquainted with our national history or development, and all of whom are engaged in a single industry, demanding with all the confidence, all the assurance of prosperous youth, that the whole policy of the country developed through generations and affecting every class and industry in the country shall at one fell swoop be changed at their bidding. Is it reasonable? Is it sensible?

Now, what of these men individually? Are they the farmers we know or think of? Our mind turns to our fathers or grandfathers who cleared the land of the virgin forest, who toiled with their hands to win a farm as the reward of a lifetime's toil; who carried on the back of their horse, or, perhaps on their own back, the sack of grain for their bread through the forest where they followed the path by the blaze on the trees. But for these men a different day has dawned,—their land is ready for the plow, a beneficent government spreads the payment for it over years enough for the crops that grow on it to meet. A nation has toiled to build railroads to their doors, agricultural implements with spring seats have been devised for every form of work and the maker spreads the payment over one, two or three years. What says John Hawkes, of Regina:

> The farmer as a down-trodden, over-burdened, oppressed man is beginning to be the best joke of the century. In the west he has two or three new trunk railroads, with more heaving in sight. The Hudson Bay and innumerable branch railroads are to be his. The Georgian Bay Canal is to be made for his wheat. The old canals are to be deepened. Untold millions are to be found by the people of Canada for this purpose, and by whom? In the long run by the consumers of the farmers' products—by the farmers' customers.

Like all other classes, there are all kinds of western farmers. But they are no down-trodden class. The heel of the manufacturer has not been on their neck; it has been at the foot of the ladder steadying it so that they might mount. Many of them are landlords, who measure their possessions in the denominations by which countries and continents are measured, that is, square miles. Many live in towns and farm by proxy, simply letting contracts for sowing and reaping. I met more than one man in the west threshing 100,000 bushels of grain. Many I say are landlords, not farmers. Others of course are not.

We as manufacturers grudge them not this—rather we are glad. We rejoice in their prosperity, but surely we have a right to ask that they drop the fervid oratory talk about paying tribute to anyone; when it is the common knowledge in Canada to-day that there is no class in Canada making so great a return on his cash investment as the farmer in northwestern Canada. Can this delegation speak for the farmers of Canada? John Hawkes, Regina, says again:

> I venture to say, as a matter of cold fact, that the Western farmer of to-day—the type of farmer who is represented by the Grain Growers' Association—instead of being overtaxed, does not pay his full share to the taxes of the Dominion in proportion to the prosperity he enjoys.
>
> There is an old saying "Let well enough alone." I believe that the present tariff in Canada is as fair, reasonable and businessslike as it is possible to frame one. Farmers and manufacturers would do well to frankly recognize the fact and be contented with such modifications as circumstances may call for as time goes on. Both of them are in clover to-day if they only knew it. The young Canadian farmers know nothing about reciprocity—have never considered it. The Americans, British, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, are necessarily uninformed. Before anyone ventures to say what the Western farmer's views on reciprocity are, let that same farmer have time to figure out the difference between a customer and a competitor.

David Jackson, Grimsby, says in the Hamilton *Spectator* of November 8, 1910:

> In view of the fact that Parliament meets soon, it might be well to let the Government know that Mr. Drury, "Grand Master of the Grange" (who has boasted in a recent letter to the *Globe* and *Farmers' Advocate* that he will appear before them asking for a reduction in the tariff) does not represent the views of the farmers in Ontario. In speaking about the farmers of the West asking Laurier for free trade, he says "the farmers of the East are at one" with them, that the agricultural press and "farmers' associations" are all in favor of free trade or tariff for revenue only. Would like to ask by what authority he puts himself up as the mouthpiece of the "farmers of the East?" Who are the Grangers, anyway, and how many are there in Niagara Peninsula? The answer, methinks, is that they are practically a defunct organization.

> The writer recently asked ten staunch Liberals like himself and who are also engaged in mixed farming their views on reciprocity. Nine out of the ten were against, seven were for higher duties, saying it would cause the Yankees to build here. The one exception is a ward of the United States receiving a pension.

The province of Quebec is satisfied with the present tariff, and does not ask for any revision. It is becoming more and more a manufacturing centre, and is attracting to its large centres a population which makes a constant demand for agricultural products.

The Ontario Fruit Growers' Association passed this resolution:

> Resolved—That in view of the possible negotiations with the United States in regard to reciprocity of tariffs, the Ontario Fruit Growers' Association wish to place on record their unqualified disapproval of any reduction of the duties in fruit coming into Canada without consulting a committee to be appointed by the association. The duty is now much lower than the duties on manufactured goods and lower than they ought to be in view of the fact that there can be no monopoly or combine in fruit; the price being fixed absolutely by the law of supply and demand.

The Winnipeg Vegetable Growers sent this petition to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and to the members of the House of Commons at Ottawa:

> We, the members of the Kildonan and St. Paul's Agricultural Society, in annual meeting assembled, humbly desire to impress upon your honorable body the importance of the duty now being imposed upon green vegetables coming into Winnipeg from the United States. We therefore petition that this duty be left as at present, and sincerely hope that your government will not remove the same, as asked for by the wholesalers of the City of Winnipeg in the session of 1909, as it would be the means of depriving our gardeners of a very large proportion of their earnings, and in fact, many of them would have to go out of business.

Fruit growers of British Columbia are alarmed and are preparing to make themselves heard.

These are only a few indications, got not by any agitation or advertising, but they serve to show that the farmers of Canada are not only not a unit, but that great and important sec-

tions feel the importance of the home market and are prepared to fight for its development and maintenance. In fact I am sure that only the slightest opportunity to organize would be seized by thousands of farmers to say "no" to the demands of the grain growers.

Mr. Drury, Master of the Dominion Grange, spoke for Ontario farmers. For how many of them is he authorized through the Grange to speak? Mr. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, says there are 175,000 farmers in Ontario. Does Mr. Drury represent half, or 10 per cent.? No, I venture to say it is nearer 1 per cent. But whether rich or poor, representative of all farmers or not, they had a right to a fair hearing and fair consideration for their requests. Our thought as manufacturers was that there was room for exchange of ideas between farmer and manufacturer; we sent a cordial invitation to them to visit some of our great industries, accept our hospitality and together talk over the problem of our common country. So that our position might not be misunderstood, we sent our Assistant Secretary to Winnipeg to personally convey the invitation. Then representative members of our Council also waited at Ottawa. But the invitation was declined.

One of the members of the Montreal Harbor Commission went to Ottawa to invite the delegation to view the great national work being done at the port of Montreal with a view to cheapening the transportation of grain and other commodities. The invitation was declined.

That was not the right spirit. If the cause were right, it would be advanced by meeting and discussing with all classes. No one section either east or west has all the wisdom or statesmanship, and we have much to gain in this vast land by trying to forget that there is any east or any west but by coming together and in the light of common knowledge seeking to get a common ground from which to work. More will be gained than by inflaming the farmer against the merchant or manufacturer.

The trouble is the west seems to have lost all sense of perspective. Living in an air of continual self-advertisement, it is in danger of absorbing the idea that all that is of value is west of the great lakes. The West is grand, but it can still be reminded of some facts about the older East:—

(1) The dairy produce of Ontario approaches the value of the Western wheat crop.

(2) The hay crop of Ontario alone last year was equal in value to the whole wheat crop of the three prairie Provinces.

(3) The value of live stock slaughtered in Ontario last year was greater in value than the wheat crop of the West.

I mention these points not to lessen the importance of the West, but to show how great is our country, how complicated its questions, and therefore how carefully, how broadly and generously we should approach the solution of our national problems. Frankly, I was disappointed to find reference to the development of Hudson's Bay route as our national salvation in transportation. The Hudson's Bay project may be all right. We in the East feel we know little about it. We are, I think, skeptical about its practical advantages, but generally I believe we are prepared to accept the judgment of the Westerner, who should know more about it than we do, and contribute our share to it if it is believed to be a national asset.

But would it not have been fair of this great deputation to refer to our past efforts to provide transportation to the West; to have expressed some appreciation of the Government's great work in building the National Transcontinental Railway; to have approved of the grain shipping facilities beng provided at the nation's cost in Montreal and other points; to have encouraged the building up of our waterways system by deepening our canals or even by building the Georgian Bay Canal? Would it not have been more Canadian than building all our hopes on a Hudson's Bay Railway or shipment of grain via Panama and Tehauntepec?

Let us look at the tariff requests of the farmers' delegation at Ottawa:

> 1. That we strongly favor reciprocal free trade between Canada and the United States in all horticultural, agricultural and animal products, spraying materials, fertilizers, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils, cement, fish and lumber.
>
> 2. Reciprocal free trade between the two countries in all agricultural implements, machinery, vehicles and parts of each of these; and in the event of a favorable arrangement being reached, it be carried into effect through the independent action of the respective governments, rather than by the hard and fast requirements of a treaty.
>
> 3. We also favor the principle of the British preferential tariff and urge an immediate lowering of the duties on all British goods to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff schedule, whatever that may be; and that any trade advantages given to the United States in reciprocal trade relations be extended to Great Britain.
>
> 4. For such further gradual reduction of the remaining preferential tariff as will ensure the establishment of com-

plete free trade between Canada and the Motherland within ten years.

5. That the farmers of this country are willing to face direct taxation in such form as may be advisable to make up the revenue required under new tariff conditions.

The first call is for reciprocity in natural products. Would this be profitable for Canada? This is hard to answer, too hard for me. But I will offer a few suggestions: Doubtless larger markets always benefit the producer, if not accompanied by some other disadvantage. But is it for us to talk of tariff reduction to the United States? For the past ten years our purchases from the United States were $1,600,000,000—their purchases from us $800,000,000. They are twelve times greater in population. In other words our purchases from the United States were $30 per head—theirs from us $1.10 per head. The United States average tariff on all goods dutiable and free is 24 per cent., ours 16 per cent. Theirs on dutiable goods 42 per cent., ours 27 per cent. That is, their tariff barrier was over 50 per cent. higher than ours. If reciprocity negotiation will remove this inequality we will all rejcice.

Sir George Ross points out that Canada has much to lose if the identity of her wheat and her flour is lost through mixture with inferior United States grades. During the last three years the export of flour from the United States to Britain has fallen off, while from Canada it increased 100 per cent. He points out that Canadian cheese has now driven United States cheese out of the English market. Are we to sacrifice that position so dearly bought?

At a time when greater attention than ever before is being paid to the conservation of great natural resources are we to throw down the barriers to our great forests and have their products exported in a crude state to build up United States industry? Are we to sacrifice our sea-ports to those of New York, Boston and Portland, for this is what the United States advocates of reciprocity claim will result.

We hope the present negotiations will produce some results of value, but what we in Canada should say to our Government is this:—"We have the greatest confidence in the statesmanship that has guided our nation since Confederation; we want to meet our United States neighbors on a friendly basis, but we want you to feel that you are under no mandate to carry out any treaty or agreement unless you can see well and clearly to the end and feel sure that these changes will redound to the welfare of Canada.

"We are doing well; our country is growing. Time is with us, and if to-day you cannot secure for us terms that are not only good but the best that can be had, we are content to wait, to go on as we are expanding our factories, building railways, filling up the west as we have been doing for the past decade.

"We know that the time is near at hand when the United States needs many of our products and is prepared to lower her tariff to get them whether she gets reductions in return or not."

The second request for reciprocal free trade on all the manufactured goods the farmer buys means, of course, practically on everything, for commerce is so interrelated, and these industries call on so many others for raw material which in turn would have to be free that it means practically free trade all along the line. Think what this means. If such a policy were adopted we would see such a period of stagnation in Canada as we have never known. What industrial establishment would expand? What new ones be founded? We have now in Canada 180 branches of United States concerns, with a capital of $225,000,000, employing 30,000 people. Would these people be here if it were not for our tariff? There is less reason for a branch here than for a concern to duplicate the plant in New York State. In the United States census of 1900 it was shown that there were 1,500,000 Canadians in the United States, or one-quarter of our whole population of Canada. Do we want that experience to be repeated? It will be if industrial development in Canada is stunted, for not all men will live on the farm. You ask why would this follow if we have access to their great market? Because of necessity any treaty, any concurrent legislation, any arrangement is for a term of years or is subject to change at will.

It is impracticable for any manufacturer in Canada to build and equip factories in a home market of 7,000,000 to cater for one of 100,000,000 when the 100,000,000 market may be closed in a year or a day. He could only invade the United States market safely with a United States factory. But how different with the United States manufacturer. He can stay at home, for even if this market were cut off in a day, his loss of trade which is only 7½ per cent. of his whole can easily be made up in a good year's growth at home.

There is only one way in which a wide measure of reciprocity between the two countries can be adopted with profit to Canada, that is on a permanent basis, or in other words, on a basis of political union. If you believe that to be for the benefit of this country, and I take it that one and all we do not, then

wide and free reciprocity is possible; but on no other terms can the smaller nation place itself in free intercourse with the larger.

The third and fourth requests, for the maintenance of the British preference and its extension year by year to free trade, becomes, of course, practically a nullity if the reciprocal free trade with the United States as proposed before is adopted.

I wonder if the farmers have stopped to reason out the significance of their last request for direct taxation. The farmer grows more of what he uses and therefore buys less proportionately than any other citizen. Hence a tax on imports like a tariff, bears less on him than on any other citizen. What will direct taxation, largely or wholly on land values, do to him with his great holdings of land?

These proposals are radical, revolutionary. They might with propriety be advanced at a time when trade was dull, farmers getting low prices for their produce, our population shrinking, our factories idle and our country's credit low. But what are the facts? Our western country is being filled up as fast as we can assimilate the additions; railways are being constructed, our factories are busy, our country's credit never stood so high. And what of the farmer? In the west he has grown rich in a decade. In the Niagara peninsula his land values have increased ten fold. Throughout Canada he gets 50 per cent. more for his grain and fodder than he did a decade ago. 48 per cent. more for his meat; 33 per cent. more for his dairy produce—and this at the time when the cost of manufactured goods has as a whole remained stationary or decreased. Investigation shows that a fixed amount of farm produce will buy 50 per cent. more of general manufactured goods than twenty years ago.

Is this then a time for revolution, for experiment? No, rather let us continue our policy of fiscal stability which has been at the basis of our prosperity, and if it needs amendment, amend it with care after investigation as to the conditions.

Why then does the farmer make these demands? He is in earnest, but he is misinformed. Here are some of the statements given him and he has no means of judging their truth or falsity. Their speakers say without any shadow of proof in a written statement to the Premier that the tariff enhances the price of goods by just the amount of the tariff, whether the goods be made at home or imported. Mr. Drury illustrated this in a recent article by stating that Canadian-made farm implements were sold in Australia cheaper than in Canada. Now this is a good illustration, for binders enter Australia free. In Canada the duty is 17½ per cent. If the argument which was laid

before Sir Wilfrid in seriousness were true, binders would be 17½ per cent. dearer in Canada than in Australia. What are the facts? Implements are not only not cheaper in Australia, but they cannot name a single one that is not 20 per cent. dearer in Australia despite the fact that freight is lower to Melbourne than it is to Edmonton. A farmer hearing such statements might be expected to be heard from, but is it fair?

Another speaker says: "Boots and shoes manufactured in Canada amount to $20,000,000; we imported $1,178,000. It is conceded that the manufacturer adds the duty to his selling price, therefore on boots and shoes we paid the Government $353,000 and the manufacturer $6,000,000." Can you imagine a man so misstating a case? Why would our factories sell $20,000,000 in competition with the great United States factories selling only $1,000,000 if prices were equal?

Again, Mr. Drury says the home market is a myth. Mr. Scallion, President of the Manitoba Grain Growing Association, says the home market is a joke. What are the facts? Last year we exported $53,900,000 of animals and their produce; $90,400,000 of agricultural produce, or $144,300,000 altogether; $30,000,000 of this was manufactured farm and food products, leaving $114,300,000 purely agricultural.

So as not to make their statements appear too absurd I will first compare only the produce of one province, that of Ontario. Why, the market value of the *grain crop of Ontario alone* last year was $168,000,000, or $54,000,000 more than the *farm exports of the whole of Canada,* and this takes no account of the animals and their produce, dairy products, or fruit. As a matter of fact Ontario farmers last year produced 2½ times in value as much as Canada as a whole exported in agricultural products. At the time of the last census the total value of farm produce in Canada was $365,000,000. Our exports of farm produce, including manufactured farm products, were $80,000,000. In other words, we consumed in this mythical home market 80 per cent. of all we produced. But this is not all. During the same year we imported of farm products, animals and their produce, $30,000,000, or in other words the total consumption in Canada was 86 per cent of the total product.

What does Commissioner Ruddick of the Department of Agriculture say:

> The main reason for the decrease in exports of butter and cheese is the increased home consumption. I see no reason to deplore our decreased exports. On the contrary we have every reason to congratulate ourselves that

> we have found another outlet in the enlarged home market. The lesson for us is that we should give more attention to our home trade, which has already been of more importance than we have generally recognized. I have only to state that we consume in Canada over two-thirds of our total dairy productions.

Does this sound as if the home market were a joke? Is it surprising that our farmers are aroused when they are taught such wrong statistics? I can see no excuse for Mr. Drury's position; for the western man's I can. Although we consume half the wheat grown in Canada we have a great surplus to export. And just so long as the grain growers go on *mining,* not *farming,* their land, just so long will they be careless about a home market. To-day the western farmer is growing wheat, wheat, wheat, year after year, keeping little or no stock, burnning his straw, taking from the soil of its richness and giving nothing back.

Gentlemen, this very problem is of vastly greater importance to the future of the country than the tariff or our railway rates or any other one problem. It is the problem of the conservation of our resources, the question whether we will hand on to our children and our children's children a land fertile and improved or a land impoverished and depleted. You may think me out of my element on this subject. Listen to what practical farmers say.

Duncan Anderson, speaking at the National Live Stock Association, says:

> The province of Manitoba is ready for a change in its system of agriculture. I asked one farmer how he put in his time during the winter. His answer to me was that he went to town during the winter four times a week, and his sons went down every night to play hockey.
>
> They will not feed cattle. Yet nature has given them any amount of rough feed and straw that is burned could be used to good purpose. I venture to say that in this coming spring there will be enough food set fire to and burned to feed three-quarters of a million cattle. Can farming continue on this basis? The west is rich in the fertility of the soil, but that will not last forever.
>
> Grain growing is all right in Manitoba, and in a large part of Saskatchewan, but when men are depending entirely upon a single crop system, they are going to be left —whether growing wheat in the West or potatoes in the East.

What does our great Canadian agricultural authority, Dr. Rutherford, say?

> I must say I have listened with interest, and was almost entranced with Mr. Anderson's speech—it is a wonderful and complete account of agriculture and live stock conditions from sea to sea. That speech ought to be printed and a copy sent into the house of every farmer in the prairie country.
>
> I see a number of Manitoba friends here who know that for years I preached on the same text that Mr. Anderson preached on to-night. In fact, in a year of a good crop of wheat, I used to say it was one of the worst things that could happen. Three times we got our farmers started into mixed farming; we had cheese factories started and we got them interested in cattle and hogs. In fact, we got things going nicely in the way of mixed farming and crop rotation. Then a good crop would come along and everybody would go crazy; they shut up the cheese factories and let the cattle freeze to death—all were filled with the dream of a dollar a bushel. That shows that these big crops have their drawbacks. I am convinced that moderate progress along agricultural lines will be of more benefit than those big crops. In certain older settled parts the land used to produce 30 bushels to the acre; the average this good year, was 18 bushels to the acre, and the average of the previous year was only 14 bushels to the acre. Considering that we call our prairie Provinces the granary of the world, is it not worthy of note that in England and Wales they grow 32 and 40 bushels to the acre? It shows that here we are following in the footsteps of the Genesee Valley, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota and Dakota, only with the greater disadvantage that with the exception of the last of these States they were able to go into the cultivation of corn.

Gentlemen, this problem of getting the West into mixed farming, growing other produce than grain to be shipped away, feeding their straw and rough grain to stock, killing the stock in our own country instead of shrinking it ten per cent. by shipment alive as is the present position, and no keeping our land increasingly fertile is the great problem in Western Canada to-day. And of all the means to attain that great end, I submit that the most effective is the development of diversified home industries providing an expanding home market.

Now, as to Ontario and the East: The tariff is to-day one of the least of our agricultural problems. Here are the main ones stated by our own great authority, Mr. C. C. James:

> In the province of Ontario we have 175,000 farms whose annual productions total about $250,000,000. If by some magic or process of regeneration we could turn all the indifferent farmers into wide-a-wake, progressive, up-to-date farmers, the total production would be easily doubled, and it is not beyond the reach of possibility to treble our output.
>
> You know the foundation courses upon which this great wealth may be built. These courses are plain and simple. 1. Drain the soil; 2. Sow only the best seed; 3. carefully protect and store the products of the fields and orchards; 4. Feed field products only to profitable stock; 5. Put the finished product on the market in the best form.
>
> If we could bring, in some way, the indifferent farmer to the knowledge of those five plain, convincing lines of work, we would have solved the problem; all else involved in agricultural improvement would come easily as a natural sequence.
>
> We have this year about $780,000 to spend in agricultural work in Ontario. To carry this work into every county and district of the province, to man all the branches of the Department and meet the requirements of the Agricultural College to keep pace with demands, we need approximately $250,000 more annually. At first this looks like a big sum, but in comparison with an annual output of $250,000,000 from 175,000 farms it is not so large. We are now spending on agricultural improvement just thirty cents apiece yearly for every person in the province. What we need is just ten cents apiece more.

I want to add one other problem to Mr. James' list, because I think it all important to our Ontario farmers—the problem of good roads. Here is what practical farmers think of it:

C. F. Foy, Ex-Warden, County of Lanark:

> Land contiguous to a good road increases in value. I venture to say every person here who has had to do with good roads and who has had experience in building good roads will bear me out in that. The land in Lanark has increased from $1,000 per hundred acres to as high as $2,500. Some that were before in a ruinous condition have been turned into arable, tillable land, and to-day are well worth the money which I say.

Mr. W. G. Trethewey says:

> In Ontario there are 175,000 farmers. On my farm my transportation costs me about twelve dollars a day to the city, under the present system; but, if the roads were good, I could do the work for five dollars a day. Now, we will say that you have a yearly saving for each farm, which is putting it conservatively, of fifty dollars; that would give you a saving per annum of $8,750,000.

What, then, is my conclusion? It is this. We must take the farmer by the arm though he has threatened to take us by the leg. We must in some way seek to dispel the erroneous impressions he is receiving as to the paying of tribute to any class. We must show him that goods made in Canada are not enhanced to the extent of the duty, or to half of it; and it can be shown. We must be ready, if there is found on careful investigation by those qualified to know, any undue, unfair enhancement, to apply the remedy. But we must get him to see that any slight enhancement is an investment which is bringing in industries, affording employment to our people, and providing a valuable home market. And it can be shown, for it is so. We must also show how year by year as our industries grow and competition increases, we got all the benefits of home production without enhancement of price at all. This is a work of national importance which we should assume.

But more than this, we must take an interest in the farm and the farmers. I believe the man in the city should contribute to the upkeep of roads in the country. We, in the city, should uphold the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in this Province in his request for additional 10 cents per capita for agricultural purposes. We should stand ready to second the efforts of our Federal Government in all that pertains to improvement in the growing of produce, its marketing and shipping.

Above all, let us gain the confidence of the farmer so that we can come together and know each other's problems instead of flying at each other's throat. Half of the men in the cities were raised on the farm and have the warmest attachment to it. Our country, great as it now is, will be infinitely greater, not by tearing down any one class, but by working together to build up all. Businesses, countries, nations are made great, not by tearing down, but by building up, not by division, but by co-operation.

And so to-day, let us say to our representatives who go to Washington: Hasten not into anything where you cannot see the end; our country is prosperous; if we cannot get advantages from the United States without sacrificing our own interests, come back to Canada and wait for the time when you can. It will not be long.

(*January 5, 1911*)

Some Problems of the Canadian People

By Mr. R. L. Borden, M.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Some Problems of the Canadian People," Mr. R. L. Borden said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I hope that I may justify the very touching confidence reposed in me by the Executive of this Club. And as the time is limited I will plunge *in medias res* at once. I know there is a suspicion, more or less well founded, that members of Parliament waste a good deal of time, but I hope to depart from that as far as possible.

It is needless to say that my subject is one upon which I conceive there is no difference of opinion between the political parties in Canada at the present time. So far as what I shall say reflects upon the administration of affairs, I do not think it will apply to one party more than to the other, and I want it distinctly understood that I mean to reflect no more upon one than upon the other of the parties, for there is no difference either with respect to policy or administration except in minor matters.

In the brief time at my disposal, it is impossible that I could instruct you to any effect or advantage upon matters, even if capable of doing so, upon which I suppose all of you have thought. All I desire is to impress upon you the importance of these subjects, to ask you to think more of them. By and by the people of Canada may instruct the members of Parliament upon them.

The first subject to which I desire to allude is the question of immigration. We have at the present time, and have had for many years past, a great volume of immigration, the

* Before he entered politics as Member for Halifax, in 1896, Mr. R. L. Borden held the leading position at the Nova Scotia Bar. Since taking the leadership of the Conservative party for the Dominion he has steadily developed as a figure in public life, and his party has improved as a fighting force in Parliament. Mr. Borden's conduct as leader has ever been marked by dignity and he has always been regarded with the greatest respect and personal esteem on both sides of the House of Commons. In a non-political address, such as that given to the Canadian Club, he is seen at his best, as a great citizen sincerely desirous of bettering his country, without attempting to blame one party more than another for its political ills.

greater part directed to Western Canada, west of the Great Lakes, a great part of it coming from the United States, but the volume is also very great from the British Islands and Continental Europe. We welcome our kith and kin from beyond the seas, the place from which our ancestors came. Maybe we find these cumbered with traditions of the past, but we welcome them because they are accustomed to the same institutions as we here enjoy.

The same is true of those coming into Canada from the United States: they are men of our type, and accustomed to responsible government. Their government is framed, it is true, not exactly upon the lines of our own, but they are accustomed to the principles of responsible government, to the working of democratic institutions in very much the same way as we are accustomed to have them. So far, therefore, as the immigration into Western Canada from the United States is concerned, I have no apprehensions with regard to that. I asked a man of great discernment and judgment in Saskatchewan what he had to say with respect to the inflowing tide of people from the United States. He said: "There are American settlers in southern Saskatchewan who have lived here not more than one year, but they are teaching lessons in patriotism to Canadian citizens." Therefore, I think there is no need to fear so far as immigration from the United States is concerned.

But we have a great influx of population from Continental Europe. I desire to say nothing in disparagement of these people: for the most part they are good citizens, and their children and grandchildren will make as good citizens as any in Canada. But we must remember one thing with regard to this influx: in the first place, so far as the total is concerned, we are attempting the assimilation of a growth many times greater, in fact three or four times above that which the United States of America ever attempted. That gives us some food for thought, and I desire you to think of it especially with regard to these citizens coming from Continental Europe, who have for the most part no conception of the working of representative institutions as known to us and our ancestors for hundreds of years. What are we doing to give these people some adequate sense of the responsibility that devolves and will devolve upon them as citizens of this country? The task of assimilating them is no small one, and it devolves upon the government of Canada, whether Liberal or Conservative, past, present and future, and upon every Provincial Government, to devote itself to the task of assimilating them and teaching them in some way the responsibilities of citizens under democratic institutions. I

want you to lend yourselves to every movement of that kind.

I was talking with a good friend of mine, a journalist, in Montreal, and pointed out that there were German thinkers who are declaring that the Anglo-Saxon people are unfit for the task of self-government. I was combatting that idea, and he agreed with me, but said that people will have exactly the kind of government that they deserve, depending upon their intelligence and their interest in public affairs and their vigilance in the cause of liberty. Matters may be well so far as we are concerned, but I don't think the most optimistic will deny that there is some reason for thought and cause for anxiety when we deal with the question of these immigrants from Continental Europe.

Then I want you to consider the possibility of the apparent divergence of interest and the wide divergence of sentiment between the East of Canada and the West, the part west of the Great Lakes. I will ask you for one moment to consider the history of the United States in that regard. Twenty-five or thirty years ago in the United States the divergence was so marked between East and West that there were those who were not slow to prophesy a breaking away or even a civil war. Let me remind you that we have every one of those conditions, marked in an unusual degree at the present time. With a country to the south of us containing a hundred millions of people, with its boundaries for four thousand miles co-terminous with ours, the pull to the south is very great. Then there is the great influx of immigrants from the United States of America. There is eight hundred miles of territory between us and the West almost absolutely uninhabited at present and with no prospect of being inhabited in the immediate or early future. There is the difficulty and extent of the transportation problem, and the supposed conflict of interest, arising from the West being almost purely agricultural, while the East is agricultural and industrial in its interests as well. Think of the problem the United States of America had to face, and from which they are not yet altogether free, and believe me, that in respect of these matters the same problem is dmanding the earnest and thoughtful attention of the people of Canada at the present time. But when their attention is once called to it, when they once thoroughly realize it, the problem is more than half solved. I trust every public man will give his attention to it, will lend his voice and his influence to every movement which may be devised, every effort that may reasonably be made, for the dispelling of the idea of a divergence of interest. There will not be, there is not at the present time, looking upon the interest

of the nation, any possible divergence. Looking to every man as a citizen to stand for that which makes for the interest of the whole country, and overlooking mere transient, temporary and local considerations, we cannot doubt that the interest of the East is the interest of the West, the interest of Nova Scotia is and always must be the interest of British Columbia as well.

Now I pass to another subject which is not controversial: the conservation of the natural resources of Canada. We have heard a great deal about it in late years, and we know there has been a great awakening in the United States during the past ten years. President Roosevelt called a representative gathering, and enlarged the scope of that gathering; subsequently there was a great conference of all the nations upon the North American continent, and a certain policy was laid down and certain united effort undertaken. I took up the subject in a non-partisan way in the House of Commons three or four years ago, and in preparing what I then presented, I was absolutely astounded at the lack of reasonable information on the subject of our national resources. I applied here and there, and finally through the writings of a gentleman in the United States I obtained the most certain and accurate information with regard to the resources of Canada. The Dominion Government has since become interested, and I am here to-day to congratulate them on taking it up. I did my best to assist them in the establishment of the Commission of Conservation, and I hope it will do splendid work for the future of our country.

The natural resources include the minerals, fisheries, public health, the inland waters, the lands and forests. These may be divided into those consumed by the user, and those which may extend all their benefits to future generations as well as our own. I have been reading many books published in the United States of Amercia for my own information as a public man, and have been absolutely astounded at the utter waste which has attended the exploitation of the mineral resources of that country. For every ton of anthracite coal mined in the United States there is from one ton to one and a half tons wasted, and for every ton of bituminous coal taken out, at least one ton is wasted. I am glad to see, in the pamphlet from which I gained this information, the compliment paid to my own little Province of Nova Scotia in that regard: it is there declared that there is in Nova Scotia no such waste.

As to the fisheries, I would like to say, so far as the Conservation Commission is concerned, that they have only begun

this work so far as effective steps are concerned; I want to explain that we have only touched the fringe of the question. I am sorry that the fish of Nova Scotia do not go into Canada as much as they should; it is largely a question of transportation. The motor boats, which are now being largely introduced into the Atlantic fisheries, will help. I hope to see the day in the not distant future, when the citizens of Toronto will get their fish supply from the coasts of Nova Scotia. I have had the belief that there are dozens of varieties of fish now thrown away as useless, which in the years to come will be regarded as of great value. At a summer resort—and in all summer resorts I defy you to produce anything more beautiful, more alluring, than the coasts of Nova Scotia—I saw sword fish which used to be thrown away as useless, now sold at 12 to 15 cents a pound, and a fish weighing anywhere from 250 to 400 pounds would therefore be of considerable value. If taken to the markets of Boston or New York, these sword fish would bring 15 to 20 cents a pound, though a few years ago they were considered absolutely worthless.

Coming now to the forests. I went at this subject three or four years ago with the idea that Canada had four, five or six times as great wealth in forests as the United States. After three weeks' study, I came to the conclusion that the forest resources of Canada were not greater than those of the United States, were in fact probably slightly smaller. I know there is an idea that the case is different, but that is my conviction. As to the destruction by fire, there are no very reliable statistics available. In the United States, according to a reputable authority, during the years from 1880 to 1896 $800,000,000 worth of merchantable timber was destroyed by fire, and the loss in cutting of immature growth and cost of reforestation was at least $1,600,000,000 in the sixteen years, or $100,000,000 a year. I even think the record in Canada is not very much better than in the United States. It is computed that as much has been destroyed in the United States as has been cut by lumbermen. Can it be prevented? Look at the record of other countries. The loss in the United States is nearly fifty times as great as in the Kingdom of Prussia. I think that should be an object lesson to us, to teach us what should be done for the future of our country. We have no right to destroy this wealth! It is said that in the United States twenty-five per cent. of the forest wealth is lost through unscientific methods of lumbering, and that this could be reduced to ten per cent. by better methods. There is reason for the Government of Canada, for the Provincial Governments, and for every

thoughtful citizen, to lend their interest and energy to the same purpose, of preventing this waste.

In the waters of Canada, the system of inland waters, Mr. Chairman, we have unknown wealth, in the possibilities for transportation, for power for agricultural and industrial uses. It very largely depends on the forests. A committee is investigating this question, and has evidence which will be of great value. The fertility of the three great Western Provinces depends absolutely upon the forests on the Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains: if these are cut down, the fertility of Alberta, of Saskatchewan, and probably of Manitoba, goes as well. In the United States they have investigated also the subterranean waters, a thought which has not been mooted in this country. It is said that there is an underground water-table, as it is called, at least 96 feet of water, and that there is a belt of water-table in the first hundred feet. In the United States it is computed to be reduced by 17 feet, so, taking the whole depth as 96 feet, scientists thought it to be reduced from 10 to 40 feet; the consequence is that springs have gone dry, and brooks have dried up, by the deforestation.

I have not time to touch on the question of the preservation of the fertility of the land; or that of the public health, an important question surely in face of the fact that thousands are carried off every year by diseases that are absolutely preventible.

These material, natural resources, who owns them? The Crown, as trustee for the people. What does conservation mean? It means preservation, not waste; efficient development of these resources, not locking them up; reasonable uses, having regard to the nation's interests, and last, but not least, participation by the people in all the advantages and benefits of our natural resources. They belong to the nation, and are to be used for the advantage of the people.

When William the Conqueror landed in England, he parcelled it out among his barons. The people in England have not got wholly free from that system yet, but we in Canada are not hampered; but if we do not develop our resources, but lock them up, we are simply carrying out that policy of eight hundred years ago. It is our business to see that the people at all times shall have their proper share and use of these resources. They belong to the nation.

What does the nation mean? Elisha Mulford has written one or two notable books, one of them entitled "The Nation,"

and one on "The Republic of God." From the former I quote these sentences:

> What is the nation? It no more exists in a single period of time than does race. It is not composed of its present occupants alone, but it embraces those who are and have been and shall be. There is in it the continuity of generations; it reaches backward to the fathers and onward to the children, and its relation is manifest in its reverence for the one and its hope for the other. It transcends the achievement of a single individual or a separate age. The life of the individual is not its measure. In its fruition there is the work of the generations; and even in the moments of its existence, the expression of their spirit. Burke has represented this continuity in the nation as moving through generations in a life which no speculative schemes and no legal formulas may compass. The nation is indeed a partnership, but a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.

In that way, conservation and preservation are not only for the benefit of the present, but also of succeeding generations. There is with the increasing wealth of Canada the possibility and probability that it may be very unequally divided. All men are born free and equal as to their rights and privileges before the law; but men are not born free and equal in their abilities and capacities and energy. Therefore there must be inequality of wealth. Wealth in itself is not specially undesirable. "He that provideth not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, has denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." But wealth that is irresponsible, wealth that is misspent, wealth that is acquired by unjust means, is and will be a menace to the political structure of this country. I am not seeking to preach, but only to turn your minds to this subject. The highest types of citizenship have been evolved, we know, without great wealth, and when there was no very great inequality for the time being. We know that it was in the days of luxury at Rome that the Pretorian guards put up the Empire to the highest bidder. Of this time Professor William Stearns Davis in his notable book on "The Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome," which is not a studied comparison with any modern nation, but in which certain critics have found a comparison forced upon them, writes:

> And so the Barbarians at length destroyed a society that was slowly destroying iself. The economic evil was

at the bottom. First Italy, then a vast Empire, devoted itself for centuries to a feverish effort for getting money by any means and to spending that money on selfish enjoyments. Other things went for little. No state ever excluded the ideal from its national and social life so strictly as did Rome. It taught its prosaic commercialism to all its provinces. It dies a slow, lingering, painful death after achieving the greatest seeming success in history. Its citizens served Mammon in place of God with more than usual consistency. The power they worshipped carried them a certain way, then delivered them over to their own rottenness and to the resistless enemy. Their fall was great—for their Empire with its social structures still looms as the greatest fabric ever reared by human ingenuity; while the lesson of their fall lies patent to the twentieth century.

Another writer, Dickinson, a modern writer, speaking of the difference in conditions between America and Europe, speaking of the remarkable triumphs over matter and space accomplished by the men of this western hemisphere, inquires seriously and earnestly whether they have been accomplished at the expense of the loss of spiritual force. He defines that issue: "Whether the spirit of unquenchable aspiration which created all that we deem most holy and most to be treasured in the legacies bequeathed to us by the civilizations of the ages shall find a new and more perfect incarnation in the civilization of the western world."

I leave the question with you there, deeming it no more than right that in these days of fierce industrial and commercial development in Canada, thoughts such as I have suggested should be broughtt to the minds of the people. This doctrine of civic responsibility, of your responsibility as citizens, I have preached a good deal, I hope not in a partisan way.

In New York not long ago, when browsing among the book stores, as I like to do, I came upon a pamphlet describing a course of Yale Lectures which the Hon. William Earle Dodge has instituted, to give effect to these sentiments and doctrines which a great many eminent men in the Unied States have been uttering, such men as Justice Brewer, President Hadley of Yale, Bishop Potter, President Taft, and Mr. Root. These lectures, on "The Responsibilities of Citizenship," Hon. Mr. Dodge states are to be on "a topic whose understanding will contribute to the formation of an intelligent public sentiment, of high standards of the duty of a citizen, and of habits of

action to give effect to these sentiments and these standards." I trust some one or more of our Canadian millionaires will lay the foundation of a similar series in our own country: they could do no worthier work.

How do you imagine that democratic institutions can be stable if the foundation is insecure? And how can the foundation be secure if you do not instruct the children in the schools? Every one of us owes a duty to his God, to his family, to his neighbor, and to himself, and also to his country, to this great Dominion of Canada, and to the greater Empire of which we form a part. Men now and then affect a certain attitude of contempt and superiority when they speak of politics. If politics are dirty, whose fault is it? Yours! Whose duty is it to cleanse them? Yours! And that is all there is to be said about it! I understand the anomalies of the party system,—or at least some of them; I have considered the many criticisms urged against it; but still something better can be devised, let us make the best of it. Mulford, in his "Nation," says:

> When Caius Marcius turns to the crowd in Rome and denounces them as the detached and disorganized rabble, in whom there is nothing of the organic unity of the people, the disdain of the Roman is in these words: "Go, get you home, you fragments!" And those who, in the conceit of culture, or of wealth, or of high interests, or of spiritual endowments, withdraw from the normal political action of the nation are obeying the impulse of the mob, and are as the very fragments for whom the Roman patrician felt such unmeasured scorn.

How much do you teach your children of this? Of the responsibility of a man to his God, to his family, to his neighbor, to himself? Yes, and his responsibility to his state, to his country, to his Empire? How much of it are we teaching to our immigrants from Continental Europe? So long as the "normal political action of the nation" is to be manifested in the system or party government, then it is the duty of every man to ally himself with one or other of the great political parties. I would rather see every young man allied with the political party with which I am not in sympathy, than to see him sit as a drone, taking no interest in public affairs. How much of this responsibility are you teaching to your children, and to the immigrants from Continental Europe? Can freedom and free institutions be accepted if their responsibilities be rejected or disregarded? Yes, but at the price of that freedom and those institutions.

I am an optimist: I believe in the moral and spiritual, as well as the material future of this country: "God's in His Heaven: all's right with the world;" but it is my profound conviction that it will not always be well and right with this country unless an earnest and abiding sense of their true responsibilities as citizens of this great country and of this greater Empire sinks deep into the hearts of the Canadian people.

(*January 10*)

Nationalism in the United States.

BY REV. DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on "The Growth of Nationalism in the United States," Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I can best thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me, and the opportunity which you have opened before me, by spending no time in introduction, but by recognizing the fact that you are busy men, and want me to begin at the beginning, and especially to stop when I get through.

Nationalism, or the growth of nationalism, is a world movement: a growth of liberty, and a growth of organization. The unification of Italy and the liberation of Italy were one and the same thing. The unification of Germany has been accompanied by a measure of liberty which was never enjoyed in Prussia or Bavaria, if in any of the old German provinces. The great democratic uprising in England which has been characteristic of the last century has been accompanied by a closer drawing together of the various correlated parts of the Greater Britain, and by a prospect, if I read the signs aright, of something akin to a federation between the mother country and her colonies. (Applause.) If I were not liable to be misunderstood, I should have joined in that applause, not for the speaker, but for the prospect.

That growth of democracy and nationalism has nowhere been more clearly seen than in the history of the United States in the last century and a half. The colonies, as we all know, were separate sovereign states. At the end of the revolution they were brought together into what was fitly called the United States: it was primarily, at least in the conception of the people, if not in the conception of the founders, a union of separate communities, separate states, one might almost say

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separate nationalities. This confederacy of the states, this federal government, possessed in general but limited powers, clearly defined by a written constitution; the powers of Congress were specifically enumerated, and it was provided that all powers not conferred upon Congress by the allied States were reserved to the States or to the people. Thus, as a nation, it was a nation with defined, limited powers, not with a universal application of national sovereignity.

So true was this, that at first it was a grave question how that written constitution should be interpreted, and by whom. Mr. Calhoun insisted that in this Confederacy agreed to confer sovereign powers upon the federal government, and if anything conflicted with the State's powers, the State should define its scope, and could refuse to accept it. This was the famous doctrine of nullification, which maintained that a State could set aside a law of congress if it regarded that law as conflicting with its own powers. Chief Justice Marshall said that it is the Supreme Court of the United States that should determine what laws are in accordance with the laws of the States and what are in violation of them, and determine what are the powers reserved by the States and what are conferred on the national government. This was the first step towards true nationalism: our constitution did not confer that power on the States, it assumed it, and the people said "Amen." And when the people say "Amen," there is not much more to be said: to that extent we are all Methodists.

Thus it was decided that if the Federal Government passed laws which the States regarded as unconstitutional, although that State could not stay in the Union and not obey the law, it could leave it: the union was a partnership, and if dissatisfied, it could go out of the partnership. That was the doctrine of secession. Whether it was to be a true union bound by indissoluble bonds, and indissoluble union of inviolable States,—that question was fought out afterwards; and while it did not determine what the fathers intended it to be, it did fix what the sons intended it should be in the future, which was far more important. In my judgment, such men as Robert E. Lee, were just as truly loyal as General Grant: the difference was not between loyal men and disloyal, but between men who thought their loyalty was due to one authority and men who thought their loyalty was due to another authority.

At the close of the Civil War, Mr. Lincoln proposed that the Federal Government should take some action to fix a currency. Up to that time it was a purely State affair, and bank bills of one State were not always accepted at their face value

in another. New York bills were taken with reluctance in Georgia, and Georgia bills were not taken at all in New York. When the Act was adopted by Congress creating a Federal banking system, the third step was taken towards the growth of nationalism.

Up to a later date than that, I might go on to say, a grave question with the Federal Government was whether it had not a right to control certain internal matters, such as the dredging of harbors, and widening of rivers. It was expressly denied by President Polk, and doubted by President Buchanan. The constitution of the United States gave no such power; but it was assumed,—we took it for granted—that we had a right to do things which were necessary for the welfare of the people as a nation. It was felt that the several States, for example, could not keep the River Mississippi free from filling up with sand right down to the sea. Now no one doubts the constitutionality of that provision.

Then in the matter of the interstate commerce. The constitution provided for exclusive control by the Federal Government; but whether railroads were created by an act of the Government or by an act of the individual corporations, was doubted as late as 1883 by President Arthur; now it is doubted no longer, either by the most conservative lawyers, or by railroad presidents.

Thus our nation has been growing together, and it is no longer a federation of States, but something more than a union of States: we are a nation! And this nationality has been so recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States that it has decided, because it is a nation, and not because the constitution provides for it, that it can make war and treaties, may secure property by conquest, may rule states and individuals by conquest or treaty, though those people are not in the United States or citizens of the United States. I don't know how much farther we could go.

While this process of nationalism was going on, curiously enough there has been going on a process of democracy as well, growing stronger with the nation. It is not possible for the people of the United States to elect a President, so they elect Electors, who are supposed to be wise and virtuous and excellent men. These Electors are supposed to get together and elect a President. Now we have got away from all that, and though we still elect Electors, I venture to say that no body of Electors and no single Elector would dare to vote against the President whom he was elected to elect when he was nominated. They are simply ornamental figure-heads,

whom we allow to go through the form, because it is too much trouble to change our constitution, and we still get virtuous and excellent and wise Presidents!

Now, while thus the nation was growing on the one hand in democratic responsibility and authority, and on the other hand in national concentration and power, other things were growing as well. Population was growing, not by birth rate only or chiefly, but by the great host of immigrants landing on our shores. And we were growing in territory, so that the United States, which at the beginning was a little fringe of settlements along the shores of the Atlantic, now extends from the Gulf to the Great Lakes and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Then we have been growing in wealth,—how much, I do not know; I could have told you last week, but this week I don't know.

And with this growth in territory, population, and wealth was a great growth in industrial organization. The nation had been growing more organized, but industry had been growing more organized also. The railroad system of the United States had extended with marvellous rapidity: a line of steel was laid that bound the Atlantic and the Pacific, and that later was to bind the Gulf to the Lakes. At first the great railroad systems were competing systems: one rivalled another. They were pitted against one another for freight and passenger business. But they came to realize that this cut-throat competition injures the public and inflicts a signal loss on the working man, and then the great railroad magnates and presidents did a wise thing: they got together, and undertook to unite their interests and work for a common purpose. They did not get together quite enough; they did not recognize what their common purpose was to be; their aim was not always for all the people,—in some cases it was the interests of the stock-holders they sought to serve, and in some cases those of the board of directors.

Such was the condition of affairs at the time Mr. McKinley was first elected President. The great highways of the nation had passed under private control; the railways were administered as other private property is administered. If the directors could make money by giving a rebate to one man and denying it to another, they gave it to the one and denied it to the other. In this way grew up the system of discrimination; I do not think that in the beginning it was criminal, and hardly unethical; it was simply that we did not know any better. And so it could be possible for the railroads to build up one town or demolish another. And they were so administered with

favored rates for certain shippers. Some men grew very rich, and some correspondingly poor. Out of this grew our system of monopolies. The coal mines were useful only as the railroads went into them and brought the coal to the market; and the railroads determined whose coal they would bring out. A certain man told me that he had been offered a certain price for his coal, and said he, "I have nothing to do but take that price, for if I don't, it will lie there mined and I can't afford to get it out."

The same thing happened in respect to oil, and a monopoly grew up, because certain men could carry oil at rates that others could not meet. Thus also arose the beef trust, the sugar trust, and the tobacco trust, and other trusts less large and less famous. And with this growth of control of our highways, there grew up a resultant control of food products and the necessaries of life. And there grew a restless discontent, growing greater as the country grew greater, especially in the West.

Mr. Bryan discovered this discontent, and thought he found a remedy for that, and that was free silver. But the support of other countries is needed and that was not obtained. Mr. Bryan was defeated, and Mr. McKinley went into office, advocating international bimetallism. He tried to get that policy endorsed by other nations. A second election came along, and Mr. Bryan thought that if other nations would not enter into the plan, the United States could do the thing by itself. Now, I don't think the men of our side of the border could ever be accused of exececssive modesty; but they are not so vain as to think they can do everything all by themselves. So the people said "No," and "Gold" was the verdict of the nation.

Then Mr. McKinley died, and there came to take his place Theodore Roosevelt, perhaps the best known man in America, including Canada, and certainly as much misunderstood as well-known men ordinarily are. His education had equipped him for great catholicity. Born and reared in one of the best aristocratic families of New York, an old Dutch family, educated at one of the best universities, Harvard, he understood the culture and the wealth of the east. For his health he went to the plains, where he came into touch with pioneer life and the life of the cowboys. He came east again, and becoming Police Commissioner, he came to understand the great immigration problems. At Washington he entered the civil service, and became acquainted with the politicians, from the highest to the lowest—and there are no better men than the

highest, nor—I will let you finish the sentence. Then he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and an officer in the Army, and came to understand those two branches.

In order to shelve him, they nominated him for the Vice-Presidency, and reluctantly he accepted the office. I wonder if he could have survived presiding for four years over the sleepy transactions of the Senate? But he was not called to do that for long. When Mr. McKinley was assassinated, he took the chair. This varied experience enabled him to understand the varied experiences of the different kinds of men. He invited all sorts and conditions of men to the White House. I venture to say, that never did such a curious conglomeration of men meet as you might find almost every day at the White House. Invited there to dinner, you might come across a cowboy or a university professor, a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, or a Jewish rabbi, a Southern fire-eater, or a Northern abolitionist, a Radical or a Conservative. You were only sure that you would meet some kind of man you never met before. The first time I was at the White House during Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency, I met there a Jewish Democratic financier from Wall Street, whom he had invited to consult with him over a financial policy.

I shall now indicate the breadth of his humanity by a single incident. He knew the restless discontent, he read it in the eyes of the people, in grasping their hands, by hearing people talk, and he was in the Presidential chair only a little time when he started his famous campaign against the trusts, which have given him, in the vernacular of some newspapers, the epithet of "trust-buster." He first took Rhode Island. I am told that the wealth concentrated in Rhode Island is more than in other States, and in Providence more than in any other city. If the story told by Tarbell is true, there is greater wealth and greater poverty there than in any other State,—I hope it is not so,—but in that city, wealth is concentrated, and there he issued his first pronunciamento, that the great corporations must be controlled by the national government. It was a challenge, and from Providence he went west to other cities. Carlyle says that the people are inarticulate, they know not how to express themselves. If Mr. Roosevelt had simply expressed this discontent, he would have been merely an agitator; but he pointed out remedies, though these remedies were not all formulated at the same time in his addresses. They are these: the railroads are highways of the nation, therefore they must be under the control of the nation, not for the purpose of making rates cheaper, but of making them

just and equal; they must be so administered that rich and poor, the large shipper and the little shipper, the big town and the little town, shall get what Mr. Roosevelt is accustomed to call "a square deal," a fair opportunity.

His second proposition was this: the monopolies which have grown up under the favoritism of the railroads must be dissolved. There is a law on the statute book that all combinations in restraint of trade are illegal; the State aims to break up these combinations in restraint of trade. Two of those great suits, that against the oil trust, and that against the tobacco trust, are still pending in the Supreme Court of the United States. Democracy is sometimes accused of running amuck, but we have walked *a-muck* rather slowly.

The third great propsition concerned our natural resources. Our minerals, coal and oil, our lands, our forests and water powers should be under national control. It was not a proposal to take from any one by whom such are now owned, but a proposal that they should not be in the future given over to any individual State or individual capitalist. In eating up our forests, our coal, any of our natural resources, we are eating up men and women.

These three constitute the Roosevelt policy, or progressive nationalism, the power of democracy acting through the national organization, so to control the highways of the nation that they shall be free from favoritism, the industrial organizations that they shall be free from the incubus of monopoly, and the resources of the nation that in belonging to us they shall not make monopolies in the future. These are the three essential elements in the Roosevelt policy and the progressive nationalism.

Mr. Roosevelt has been charged, accused bitterly, for not attacking the tariff. For two reasons he has not attacked the tariff. Napoleon said, "War succeeds when you concentrate your troops on a single point." Mr. Roosevelt believes in the Napoleonic maxim, and concentrated his attack on the trusts, the railroads, and the national resources, which as you see are all concerned with the same essential point. In the second place, he did not believe that the tariff is the mother of trusts, and that any revision of the tariff would destroy the trusts. He does believe in a protective system, but any revision, he thinks, is necessarily a matter of policy to be worked out by experts, not by men who don't know anything about it.

Now, gentlemen, your presiding officer offered me more time than you usually allot to your speakers, and I am much obliged to him, and to you; but although I am a minister, I

learned a good while ago, that it is better to stop when people want you to go on, than to go on when they want you to stop.

I will take a very little of that time to add one word more: I have said that nationalism is a world movement; it is not peculiar to the United States; and it is also a great industrial movement, not peculiar to the United States. Gentlemen, democracy means that government exists for the benefit of the people. We all believe in that. Gentlemen, democracy means that education is to be conducted for the benefit of the people, and I venture to say we all believe in that. I don't know whether you all believe the next sentence: the great organized industries of the nation must be carried on for the benefit of the people, not of one special class. If those who now have control of those industries, whether in America or in Europe, whether in England, Canada or the United States, fail to recognize this principle, that the great organized industries of the nation must be carried on for the benefit of the people, then they may look to see the socialistic spirit more and more ominous; if on the other hand, the men in whose hands is the wealth, and the control of the industries of the nation, realize that the train is run for the passengers and not for the engineer, you will achieve what the Socialists dream, but what the Socialists never will accomplish.

(*January 16*)

The British Elections.

By Mr. John R. Bone.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on "The Significance of the British Elections," Mr. John R. Bone said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—After I had been a few days in London I was interested one morning to find in *The Times* a special article from its correspondent in Toronto, telling of the feeling in Canada with regard to the British elections. Imagine my sinking heart when I came to a statement something like this: "The special cables being sent to Canadian papers are useless, as they reflect only the partisan gossip of the Liberal clubs." Needless to say, I was worried until I discovered from the date line that the attack couldn't refer to me, but to allay any feelings of mistrust you may have, let me say that during my stay in Britain I was only once inside a Liberal club. And I have no objection to telling precisely what happended to me there. In company with three elderly gentlemen, one of whom was a former acquaintance, I sat at a round table, and our sole occupation during the hour I remained was drinking tea and playing dominoes.

To get a proper understanding of the tariff reform movement there are two or three things that must be remembered. First, that protection is no new thing in England. For many, many years the policy of England was protection, and when after a long and bitter fight the present policy of free trade first came into full force in 1852, there remained still a large minority, who were staunch protectionists. Under the influence of strong leaders, such as Disraeli, who said that "protection was not only dead, but damned," and of Lord Salisbury, a free trader, that protectionist minority may have been quiescent and dormant, but it did not die. When the leadership of the Conservative party fell into more vacillating hands, it became possible for a strong democratic lieutenant, not to invent a protective policy for England, but to crystallize and

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give leadership to the latent protectionist sentiment of the old minority, modernize it by the addition of protection for manufacturers as it is known in Germany and America, throw round it the glamor of imperialism, and, aided by his own strong personality and by the unsettled condition of affairs following the South African war, he was able to superimpose the result on the Conservative party, which then for the first time became fully identified with the policy of protection.

Second, it must be remembered,—and this is the point I wish specially to emphasize,—that protection, as it has been advanced in England, does not mean primarily protection for manufacturing industry. It means first and foremost protection for the land. That was the protection of the old days. The corn laws meant protection for agriculture. And quite naturally the basis of the revival of protection, which we know as tariff reform, was the old idea of protection for agriculture. But the shrewd men who were formulating this new policy recognized that food taxes would be quite as unpopular in 1903 as they had been in 1846; they would constitute a pill which the nation would not accept, unless it might be induced to do so if surrounded with a generous coating of sugar. And they therefore proceeded to produce the necessary sugar.

This took the form of two important modifications of the program for food taxes. First, there was the colonial preference. It was argued that if colonial wheat was admitted at a lesser duty than the regular duty, or, as the proposal has latterally become, if colonial wheat was admitted duty free, the cost of bread to the British consumer would not be increased. I will not discuss how it was proposed that the one policy could at once protect the English agriculturist, not increase the cost of food, and at the same time increase the price of wheat to the colonial farmer, but what I wish to make clear is that the colonial preference, instead of being, as Canadians may have been disposed to believe, the keystone of the tariff reform structure, is better described as an afterthought to meet the higher cost of bread argument, and at the same time to throw around the figure the halo of Imperialism.

I should interject that the tariff reform leaders in England do not now say that the preference would result in increased prices to the colonial farmer. I heard Austen Chamberlain during the campaign, and what he was careful to argue was that the preference would result in such a vast expansion of colonial wheat-growing that the price of wheat in England would be kept down.

And now we come to the second modification of the old food tax proposals. This is protection of certain manufacturing industries. Here the arguments are familiar. The protectionist points to shop windows filled with German and American goods. He can point to the large warehouses of German and American factories that dot London, and plead that properly adjusted tariffs would clear the "Made-in-Germany" and "Made-in-America" labels from the shop windows, and replace the warehouse by British factories employing British workmen. Undoubtedly, that argument is based on fact. But at what dislocation of trade and industry already existing, trade and industry built up on a policy of free imports, I am not prepared to say, even if no question of food taxes entered in.

Because even on this phase of the question, the protection of manufacturers, the situation is vastly different from anything we know in this country. The manufacturers are by no means a unit for tariffs. Quite the reverse. It is not a case of manufacturer versus farmer, but of manufacturer against manufacturer. Broadly speaking, the industries centred around Birmingham desire protection; those about Manchester, free trade. And as the cotton industry centred in Manchester is the largest individual manufacturing industry in Britain, and as Manchester, including Salford, is a city of almost a million people, as compared with Birmingham's 600,000, it looks as though at least one-half of the manufacturers of Britain, if not more, adhere to the banner of free trade.

I would therefore present, as an analysis of the tariff reform policy of the past seven years, that it consists primarily of food taxes, the colonial preference proposals and the manufacturing protection desired by only a fraction of the manufacturers being distinctly subsidiary.

Well, when I went to England I fear I was still under the influence of the enthusiasm of some of the ardent tariff reformers who have, during the past few years, addressed this club. At all events I was quite prepared to find tariff reform on the verge of accomplishment. It seemed that the next Unionist victory could not be long delayed, and that with it would come, automatically, the policy of tariff reform. But on this question I quickly encountered a series of surprises. My first investigation was in Scotland. There I found that in spite of an active campaign, the tariff reformers had made practically no impression. Conservatives told me frankly that as long as tariff reform was an issue, the Tory party could hope for no progress in Scotland.

Then I visited the North of England, and came down to Yorkshire and Lancashire. Here I was not only surprised, but astonished, not only at the lack of progress tariff reform was making, but at the enthusiasm of the free traders. One expects to find zeal in the advocates of a new cause, indeed, no new cause can be successful without it, but here it was the party on the defensive that had the crusader's fervor.

Then I came to London. And here again there was no evidence of any advance in the cause of protection. Land owners and special manufacturers, the two classes which protection is designed particularly to help, compose only a small portion of London. London, with its vast population of eight million souls, is a city of trade, a city of barter. Manufacturing industry is the exception. The whole world comes to buy and sell. And the supremacy of London among the cities of the world seems to have its basis on free trade. As in Lancashire, there were plenty of Tories, but mighty few protectionists.

Now, I recognized that there were many important centres I had not visited, but if you look up the census figures, as I did, to get the relative importance of the districts I have mentioned, you will find that Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and London, include upwards of one-half of the total population of all Great Britain and Ireland.

How, I asked, could any party carrying tariff reform hope to win an election? I had just about decided that the Conservative party in England should be credited with one of the most striking illustrations the world has seen of sacrificing mere political success to conviction and principle, when the leader of the Conservative party made his famous Albert Hall speech. The relief, the jubilation, the rejoicing, with which Mr. Balfour's announcement was greeted by great sections of the party, including the press, could not be mistaken, and occasioned me no surprise, in view of my own observations. The Albert Hall meeting itself acted as if a millstone had just been taken from its neck. To say that tariff reform was put upon the shelf by Mr. Balfour's speech is not accurately to describe what happened. Rather was Mr. Balfour's speech, but the breadth of wind which revealed the weakness of the whole structure, and brought the house of cards tumbling down.

Perhaps I do not need to explain further why tariff reform has failed. It failed because it is opposed by powerful manufacturing and commercial interests, and chiefly because ingrained deep down in the souls of Englishmen is the belief

that under protection, particularly when it includes food taxes, his living would cost him more. Where there are vast masses of the population to whom a difference of sixpence a week means the difference between existence and starvation, one can understand that proposals which may mean, however remotely, a possibility of increased cost of living will be examined very warily.

Whether protection of manufacturers alone will eventually carry England is pure speculation. But to get rid of the food tax proposals, the protectionist party apparently must first do what the whole nation is trying to do, get rid of the domination of the peers and landowners.

And now we come to the question which was admittedly the issue on which the election was fought—the veto of the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith has been criticized for having this election at all. As to why he insisted upon it there are two explanations, one unofficial and therefore plausible, the other official and therefore perhaps to be doubted. The official explanation is that the election a year ago was fought on the budget, and there might have been some doubt as to whether it gave the government a mandate on the Lords. The unofficial explanation is that Mr. Asquith, encouraged by the result of the by-election in Walthamstow, encouraged also by his new chief whip, the Master of Elibank, who found his organization ready and strong and was eager to try it out—thereby furnishing an argument for advocates of peace that strong armaments do not always assure peace, but sometimes make for aggression and war—the unofficial explanation is that Mr. Asquith thought he saw a chance of increasing his majority sufficiently to free him of the domination of the Irish party. An increase of but twenty in the Liberal representation would have done this.

But from whatever cause, the election was called, and the people asked to vote on the abstract question of whether they wanted to abolish the veto power of the Peers. They were asked to decide the issue under circumstances unusually free from passion and complicating issues.

The budget of a year ago, the least remote cause of the trouble, had been accepted by everybody and had as an issue sunk out of sight. The bills killed and mutilated by the Lords during the years from 1906 to 1909, while important, were not such as to appeal to the popular imagination. Home Rule complicated the issue to some extent, but its influence was undoubtedly on the side of the Lords. During the past year no new legislation had been advanced by the Commons, and

so there was nothing for the Lords to kill. There was a clear field for the decision of an abstract issue as to the veto of the Lords.

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in his salad days once said that the only thing he could find that the Peers had ever done for England was to get the Magna Charta from King John, and, he added, that was a long way back to go for a character. And I suppose there are some Canadians who believe that the right of veto held in the abstract and exercised repeatedly in the concrete by a band of hereditary rulers, many of them owing their wealth and position originally to plunder of public property, constitutes a condition that is absolutely intolerable. And they no doubt wondered how there could be any doubt as to the issue and how any other result would be possible than that the government should sweep the country. Let me try to explain some of the reasons why the result was not more sweeping; some of the handicaps under which the policy of abolition of the veto entered the race.

First,—There was the natural reaction against the government, a reaction which is a well-known phenomenon of English politics. As far back as two years ago this reaction had already attained such magnitude against the present government that it was at that time the general opinion that nothing could save it on the very first appeal to the country. This reaction was on the present occasion aggravated by the fact that there have been three elections, with consequent disturbance of business, in a little more than four years, and some feeling that if these people could not get along without all this fuss, they had better make way for some one who could.

Second,—There was a stale register. This meant that in many constituencies the voters who had moved away amounted to thirty or forty per cent., mostly Liberal, according to Liberals. There was plural voting and the spread-out elections. This grievance had been aggravated in recent years by the introduction of the motor car, which makes it possible to get around the country easily. There are instances of one man polling in as many as six constituencies in one day, and of men casting as many as twenty votes during the election. It is estimated by Liberals that without plural voting all county ridings giving Unionists majorities under three hundred would return Liberals.

Fourth,—The apparent imminence of Home Rule for Ireland, the moment the veto of the Lords is abolished, undoubtedly lost the Liberals many seats in England.

Fifth,—The advocacy of the referendum by the Unionists, no matter if the proposal was only half baked, and perhaps to a certain extent insincere, no doubt made some impression upon the radical workingman.

Sixth,—The influence of the Church of England, traditionally Conservative, and recently irritated by the controversies of the Education Act, and by possible developments in Wales, was practically solid against the Government.

Seventh,—We have the brewery interest, described to me as the most powerful individual interest in all England, eminently respectable, with ramifications forming a network through every class in the community. The liquor trade, remembering recent aggression on the part of the Liberals, fearing also threats for the future, and remembering the exceedingly beneficent legislation of Mr. Balfour, were solid for the Peers.

Eighth,—We have the landowners, whose interests are common with the land-owning Peers, smarting under Lloyd-George's land taxes, and hoping that Unionist victory might mean tariff reform, with its consequent increased prices and increased rents.

Ninth,—The direct influence of the Peers themselves is no small matter. Not only are their dependents and retainers strong numerically, but outside that, there is much friendly feeling towards them. Besides, if you go into community after community throughout Britain, you will find that the people depend upon the local hereditary magnate for all sorts of public service. They expect him to take part in the local government, and in daily administration of justice, and of the different governing bodies of the district. And in a great number of cases he does so, often with credit to himself and advantage to the community.

Tenth,—In addition to the individual classes I have mentioned, it is true that the moneyed classes generally, excepting where through free trade they are kept in the ranks of Liberalism, show a tendency to move over to the Conservative party. This is the thing that first strikes the casual visitor to England during an election. At the hotel at which I was staying in London during the election I saw only one Liberal. He was a Manchester free trader, who remained but one night. At the music halls where the election results were announced, the boos and hisses that greeted every Liberal victory were overpowering. It was only from the very topmost gallery that one ever heard the faintest suspicion of a Liberal cheer. The influence of these classes is of course enormous. As an illus-

tration, a lady canvasser on the Liberal side told me that on the street that had been allotted to her, consisting of shopkeepers, though half of them were naturally Liberal sympathizers, there was not a single one who dared hang a Liberal poster in his window. This tendency of wealth to drift toward the Conservative side I heard seriously deplored by a Conservative, who predicted that the ship of State would encounter fair weather only when the wealth of the nation was divided between the parties. Yet it is perhaps not to be wondered at. Men of wealth fear what they call the spectre of Socialism; and the ladies, and men too, see social advancement only on the side of the Peers.

And as the eleventh and final handicap in the list, I would mention the Press. In London the preponderance of Conservatism in the newspapers is very marked, and the same is true in other centres. Perhaps the most striking illustration is in Scotland, where in the great cities there is but a single Liberal newspaper; and it is owned, was, indeed established, by Lord Northcliffe's company. Yet, while the Scottish press is overwhelmingly Conservative, Scotland votes overwhelmingly Liberal.

It has been the fashion in some quarters, in view of the remarkable result of the polling, by which the parties retain almost the identical numerical relation to each other that they did in the previous Parliament, to say it was a futile election. Futile in the sense that it was unnecessary it may have been, but that the result has no significance I cannot believe. On the contrary, I regard it as full of the greatest significance.

The stubborn adherence to the position of a year ago, in view of the heavy odds against the policy of abolition of the veto, which I have just endeavored to outline, means that the democracy of England has a definite purpose, and has a tenacity and a determination in the pursuit of that purpose not paralleled since the days of previous political revolutions. It is determined to get a real grip on the reins of government. It is determined first to get rid of the absolute despotism of the little group of men who speak for the House of Lords, and who in matters of general legislation exercise a power and control that could scarcely be exceeded under any system of absolute monarchy, a system which Britons long ago abolished. That will be one step. But it is unlikely that the movement will stop there. I do not mean to predict that there is any immediate danger of single chamber government, nor do I propose to discuss the merits of that issue, though there are prominent members of the Liberal party in England who

point out with force that already England has in respect of nearly all the fundamental matters of State a single chamber system. The issues of war, of peace, of treaties, of police, of finance, are decided without interference by the House of Lords, and it is pointed out that it is only in domestic legislation affecting the ordinary daily lives of Englishmen that the interference of the Upper Chamber comes in. But at present the question of single chamber government is not an issue. I would judge that there is about as much chance of Mr. Asquith proposing to abolish the Second Chamber as there is of our seeing an announcement to-morrow that Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposes to nationalize the railways of Canada.

But before abolishing the Second Chamber, I am not sure that the House of Commons is as democratic as the masses desire. The ever present and ever dominating system of caste seems to have reared its head even in that democratic institution. In Canada we are disposed to grumble about government by caucus; that the members of the government party are rarely, if ever, consulted; that even what is known as the Radical wing, which meets occasionally, is hoodwinked by a sham Radical, Sir Charles Dilke; that a little clique of, say, twenty-five members in the House of Commons keep within their little circle all power; that, in other words, what is known as real responsible government is non-existent. If this is so there is work for a militant democracy before it reaches its Second Chamber.

The democracy of England proposes to get control of its Second Chamber, to get, if necessary, real control of its First Chamber. It proposes to attack privilege and class rule and despotism anywhere and everywhere it shows its head.

And now, what of the immediate future? I am not going to prophesy in specific terms. But I will express a belief in general terms that Mr. Asquith will be safest if he adopts a strong course straight ahead. If he accepts the verdict of the people as an instruction to abolish the veto, to give a measure of Home Rule to Ireland, to go ahead with temperance reform, social reform, electoral reform, educational reform, perhaps Church reform, and further, land reform, he will not, I think, be exceeding his mandate, and what is perhaps more important from a tactical standpoint, he will hold together, I believe, his coalition following. Of course, trouble may be met in uncharted waters at any time. Home Rule particularly always has submarine mines lying around. In reference to Home Rule I have been asked many times about the alarmist

reports of preparations in Ulster to fight. I have not been to Ulster, but I would simply make this observation for what it is worth: first, that the bogey of Home Rule has helped to preserve the veto of the House of Lords for the last twenty-five years; and, second, this prediction, that if and when the veto of the House of Lords is once abolished beyond recall, we will hear little more of civil war in Ireland.

But if Mr. Asquith vacillates or temporizes he will, I predict, invite trouble. At the opening of Parliament last February, Mr. Asquith, in his inaugural speech, in a very lackadaisical tone proceeded to outline a very lackadaisical policy. That speech brought Redmond, and Barnes, the Labor leader, and Dalziel and Wedgewood, the Radicals, and Keir Hardie to their feet in white anger. But more significant than anything that happened inside the House was the revolt in the country. The coalition struck, not merely Irish and Laborites and Radicals, but more or less moderate Liberals as well. They melted away like the outgoing tide and left their leader marooned. In a week Mr. Asquith yielded and announced a more aggressive program.

The conference later in the year was tolerated because of the death of King Edward; but now any weakening will, I feel sure, court a revolt, even more surely than it did last February. The aggressive coalitionists if they become convinced that Mr. Asquith is not true to their cause will strip his power from him and will be content to wait for a new Moses to arise to lead them into the promised land. Who that will be is impossible to say, but the man who seems to be practising the role of the babe in the bulrushes is our friend Winston Churchill. However, if Mr. Asquith stands firm, he will probably carry with him the confidence of practically four hundred out of six hundred and seventy in the House of Commons, and the Second Chamber will hardly dare show fight.

What is the lesson for Canada? To my mind it was indicated in the scholarly and interesting address heard by this club two weeks ago from Mr. R. L. Borden. Speaking of the distribution of wealth, he parenthetically used, in effect, these words: "When William the Conqueror came over and conquered England he parcelled out the land among his barons and established a system from which England is not yet quite free."

Eight hundred years ago, and England is not yet free from political tyranny of huge wealth and hereditary power.

And our democratic neighbors to the south have developed vested interests and a Second Chamber which is already a greater incumbus than even a hereditary House of Lords. To-day, with unimportant exceptions, Canada, with all her faults, is, politically, the freest nation on earth; nowhere else is there as near an approach to free and responsible government. And at this halcyon epoch in our career let us beware, let us beware of our William the Conqueror and their noble barons.

(*January 23*)

Some Western Canada Topics.

By Hon. A. L. Sifton.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on "Some Western Canada Topics," Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta, said:

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Canadian Club of Toronto,—When your President invited me the other day to make some remarks upon Western topics before the Canadian Club of Toronto, not on account of any failure on his part, but possibly because I left Ontario when very young, he stated to me that I would meet a few of the business men of Toronto, but that did not convey to me the impression of the tremendous growth in population in the past thirty or forty years. I thought there would be a few men sitting down to a luncheon together. Imagine by astonishment, when I entered this hall, to find such a large gathering. We are not in the habit in the western country of having a large hall crowded, though we have grown to some extent.

When I left Ontario thirty-five years ago to settle on the western plains, there was a population in that whole western country—a population, it is no exaggeration to say, of, at the outside, fifty thousand—scattered over the thousand miles from the Red River to the Rocky Mountains, and these inhabitants were in scattered settlements, outside of the city of Winnipeg, which had about twenty-five hundred people. During these years I have lived in different parts of the three Provinces, and though not claiming to speak with authority for the people of these Provinces, yet living there as a person of ordinary intelligence, I have absorbed a certain amount of knowledge of conditions in the West, which are different from those in

* The Premier of Alberta, Hon. A. L. Sifton, is a member of the family that had previously given conspicuous contributions to Canadian public life. His father, Hon. Charles Sifton, was a member of the Government of the old Northwest Territories, and his brother, Hon. Clifford Sifton, was for ten years Minister of the Interior in the Laurier Cabinet. Hon. A. L. Sifton served the Province of Alberta with great satisfaction and distinction as a member of its Supreme Court for several years before he was called to the Premiership last year, on the resignation of the Rutherford Cabinet. Mr. Sifton's record so far justifies high expectations of his rule of the new Province.

the rest of Canada, not only in legislative standards, but in other conditions of the country as well.

I am pleased to have the opportunity of speaking to the citizens of the great city of Toronto, which exercises great influence in the affairs of the Dominion, and of bringing to your notice those differences and distinctions which arise unnecessarily between the eastern provinces and the western.

I am not going to say that our resources, composed of what may be called settleable land, are not controlled by the Dominion of Canada in a way different from that adopted in other provinces; because, so far as homestead land is concerned, it is under the Dominion Department of Immigration; it appears to be necessary and advisable that it should be so, that the departments of land and immigration should be jointly responsible for its settlement, that the government which brings in immigrants should also conduct the settling of the vacant land. But there are in that vast country resources of different kinds. We have throughout the length and breadth of the prairie provinces what might be called swamp lands, which need only to be drained to make them exceedingly valuable; and there are grazing lands, which need to have water put upon them to make them excellent farm land. And in the Rocky Mountains, every one of the passes yet investigated shows that those mountains are ribbed with seams of hard coal; while from the international boundary to the Yellowhead Pass, all through the prairie lands are underlying stretches of softer fuels, lignite and other kinds, which will prove of great importance as the country becomes more settled.

These resources need money for their development and for the constant looking after them. They are held to be the property of the Federal authorities; still there is a divided control; they get the money, and we spend the revenue.

Then there are the timber resources. It is not with us there as it was in Ontario, when the boys of this part of the country used to gather hickory nuts and walnuts, and no timber was supposed to be any good but second-growth hickory. There is nothing of those varieties of woods in the West, but all along the northern boundary of the three provinces and up to the Arctic Circle, for seven hundred miles, practically, along the eastern slope of the Rockies, there are, still undeveloped, magnificent resources of poplar and spruce, suitable for building and manufacturing material for years to come. And there are undeveloped water powers, sufficient not only to manufacture the pulp wood of the future for years to come, and all the manufactures that will be made from

these timbers, but also to grind the grain grown on the five hundred thousand acres of tillable land to feed the cities that will arise in that country.

I am not speaking of these things with the idea of advocating that people should invest in well-concocted schemes of speculators in town lots, for the purpose of holding them for a rise in value; but I am saying them for the purpose that those who may be interested in manufacturing may know that in the western provinces is a market which is practically unlimited, and also cheap material and cheap power, wherein you would be safe in putting in branches of almost any kind of manufacturing carried on in the Dominion of Canada.

I am saying these things for the purpose of telling you who are interested in the wholesale trade, that in the growing cities of the western provinces you may establish branch houses which will develop possibly faster than some in the cities of the older provinces in the years gone by, such for example as in the city of Toronto, for they will supply those millions that will people those provinces.

I am speaking of these things to men who are interested in large financial institutions of this country, the banks and loan companies, which are dependent upon that country. When there are a million people there you have a guarantee that that country has at least reached a stage of security where it is no longer a speculative investment to open a branch of a bank or a loan company. They should not do as they did in times gone by: When times were good, people did not need money, then the banks urged it upon them; but when times got poor, they withdrew it, because it was scarce in Europe and in New York. The time has come when the financial institutions of this country must look upon that as a settled country and a place where investment is secure. And it must be treated upon the same basis as that on which the other provinces are treated; not urging the people to invest, but keeping upon a steady conservative business basis as financial institutions should be carried on.

I am also bringing these matters to the attention of people of Ontario upon another ground: it is not a political ground, because both the great parties of this country in dealing with this question affecting these provinces made what is sometimes considered a blunder. I won't say now it was a blunder, but it may have been proper in the time of thin settlements, when taking chances, that those three prairie provinces should be treated differently from the other provinces of Canada, but the time has come when they will probably demand

to be placed upon the same footing as Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and Quebec and Ontario, and British Columbia. Confederation cannot stand upon an equal footing unless all the provinces are placed upon the same standing as regards their natural resources. And those natural resources which require a large amount of money must be under constant supervision by the local authorities, upon which the people of Canada largely depend; they must be under the control of the people, and their development is going to be placed in the hands of the people. There must be one solid plane for every province, so that they shall be firmly united together.

The prairie provinces have no quarrel with the eastern provinces; there is no jealousy over political power; but a desire to live with you in unity, upon an equal footing. The people of Alberta and Saskatchewan and Manitoba must be placed upon an equality, and they will join heart and hand with the people of the rest of the Dominion, so that this Canada of ours may be a country of which we may all be proud.

(*February 1*)

Canada and the West Indies.

By President R. A. Falconer.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The Relations of Canada and the West Indies," President R. A. Falconer, of the University of Toronto, said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—The report of the Royal Commission which was appointed by His Majesty the King some two years ago, to inquire into the relations between Canada and the West Indies, was issued last September, and those of you who have seen that report and have had the opportunity of studying it, will realize that it is one of the most valuable contributions which has been made to this question. The Commission itself was chosen with great care, and its personnel almost was a guarantee of good results. The Chairman was Lord Balfour of Burleigh, and other members were Sir John Dickson Poynder, now Lord Islington, the present Governor of New Zealand, and Sir Daniel Morris, long and intimately associated with the West Indies. The two Canadian Commissioners were Hon. Mr. Fielding and Hon. Mr. Paterson.

That Report goes fully into the relationship of the various Islands to one another, to Great Britain, to the United States, and to Canada. It has given great attention to the interest of Great Britain in the West Indies. No member of the British Empire, at least none of those interested in the history of the British Empire, can be insensible to the claims of the West Indies upon this Empire. Not only are the Islands of great natural beauty, but that beauty has been invested with romance by deeds of heroism, battles and other events of Imperial history which have been brought to a conclusion in these Islands and in the Caribbean Sea. There have also been worked out in these Islands social conditions: slavery came to an end early in the West Indies, and Britain adopted a

*Dr. R. A. Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, is one of several notable contributions by Nova Scotia to the educational leadership of the Provinces farther west. Early in life he resided for eight years in Trinidad, W.I. Subsequently he joined the faculty of the Presbyterian College, Halifax. From that he came to Toronto, where he is mastering the multitude of problems that flow from the rapid expansion of the great University of which he is head.

good way of handling it which shows in strong contrast to that followed on this continent by the United States. As a result of the treatment by Britain and those who have developed the West Indies, there has always been a very strong tie of loyalty between these Islands and the old land. At times the people of these Islands have become restive at what seemed to them the indifference of the mother country to their interests, but that restiveness never reached anything approaching an active outbreak. Britain's real interest was shown in a tangible way more than once. More than one million pounds sterling have been paid out of the Imperial exchequer to relieve distress in the Islands occasioned by trade conditions or physical disasters. That leaves out of account the large subsidy to the steamship company carrying mails between Great Britain and the Islands.

By tradition, then, and inheritance, if I may so say, the West Indies are very powerfully related to the mother country, but by geography and physical and economic conditions more to this country. If you will look for a moment at the geography of the Islands, you will see that their relation to the United States is somewhat closer than to Canada. From New York to Jamaica is a voyage of four or five days, and to St. Thomas perhaps six or seven days; then you work your way down among the Islands. From Canada it requires perhaps two days longer, and then you have the difference of travel from the ports to the interior. Therefore, in order that the West Indies may be brought into closer connection with Canada than with the United States, towards which I see a tendency to turn, it will be necessary for Canada to offer special advantage.

A new factor was introduced when the United States embarked upon a foreign policy. By taking over Porto Rico and the Philippines they changed the aspect of affairs, and the relations with Cuba added to the change. However, Canada took a forward step a few years ago. In 1898 the preference was extended to these Islands, and the sugar trade was directed to our shores.

Let me ask you for a few moments to consider the history of the sugar trade of the West Indies, because that is one of the largest elements in their trade and in their life. When slavery was abolished, the problem of labor faced the sugar planters. They could not command the labor once at their disposal. Ruin seemed to stare them in the face. Those Islands whose people sat down and would not adjust themselves to the new conditions suffered. Among the most seriously affected

was Jamaica. Fortunately there were some outstanding men in Trinidad and British Guiana, as, for example, at Trinidad the Hon. Charles Warner, and through their efforts there was instituted an immigration system, whereby every year a large number of coolies were brought from India. These were to work for a term of years, quarters were provided for them. The result was a supply of labor, and the sugar trade was developed immensely. British Guiana went through the same experience. In those days it was the muscovado sugar that was manufactured, for which there was a large demand, in England particularly. I can remember as a boy that that sugar would bring 27 shillings a hundred, black muscovado, in the years of 1877, '78 and '79.

The islands were prosperous so far as sugar went, and that was the main industry. Gradually, however, a change came about: Germany began to grow beet-root; the sugar trade failed, and as it failed, disaster fell upon Island after Island. Then arose a clamor against bounty-fed sugar. Some of the planters adjusted themselves to the new conditions, and adopted a new method of manufacture, using the vacuum-pan. These obtained better prices for their sugar, and had better returns. Some estates were brought together, and large establishments took the place of small divided ones, thus securing economy in expenditure and management, and on the whole they could make ends meet. However, some of the smaller Islands got worse and worse.

Instead, however, of relying entirely upon sugar, some of the Islands went into other products. Jamaica turned to fruit, I understand largely owing to American influence. Montserrat went into the growing of limes and produced them in great abundance. Some Islands grew cotton. St. Vincent took up the production of arrowroot. But the great industry, second to sugar, is that of cacao, from which cocoa is made. Grenada, for instance, is almost entirely devoted to cacao. In Trinidad it is of far greater importance than sugar. Rubber also has now been introduced into some places.

Now, having run over that, let me show how Canada stepped into the breach at the crucial period and rendered a great service not only to the West Indies, but to the Empire as well. In 1897, 11,000 tons of sugar were exported from the West Indies to Canada. Then came in 1898 the preference, which in 1900 was increased to 33 per cent. In 1903 there was held the Convention at Brussels for the removal of the sugar bounties that remained. About the same time there came the surtax on German goods coming to Canada,

and also the large development of the consumption of sugar in Canada owing to immigration. Canada thus opened a market to the West Indies, the like of which they never had before, with the consequence that the exportation of sugar to Canada jumped from 11,000 tons in 1897 to 133,000 tons of sugar in 1908. That is, out of 185,000 tons of sugar that we in this Dominion can consume, over 70 per cent. came from these West Indies. And this is a rapidly growing market, because our home consumption will increase as time goes on. That leads me to emphasize the fact that Canada, as she realizes the value of these Islands, is benefiting herself, and benefiting the Empire as well.

Let me turn now to ask you to consider the Islands themselves as being a part of the Empire with which we should cultivate more intimate relations, which are very much worth cultivating. Consider first their size. Jamaica has about 4,500 square miles, British Guiana about 90,000 square miles; all the British possessions about 100,000 square miles; about half the land area of Ontario, or the same area as New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba,—no insignificant territory itself. Part of this has been well developed, and part is not developed,—merely the fringe of British Guiana has been cultivated, and there are great stretches reaching back into the interior. In these Islands and on the mainland there is a population of about 2,000,000, most of them of course blacks, and most of the agricultural and laboring classes. There are perhaps 260,000 East Indians, Hindus chiefly, with a large number of whites in official positions, or leaders in commercial as well as public life. But I want to make this remark, Mr. Chairman, that the black population of the West Indies is not to be estimated in the terms of the colored population of the United States; they are a different class of people, they have been treated differently from the beginning, and they are economically, socially and educationally of a different class, and their prospects I believe are far better. They are people whose economic worth is increasing day by day, whose purchasing power is growing fast.

Let me ask you to bear in mind that the actual trade of these people to-day is no insignificant matter. Their export trade in 1898 was over £7,000,000 or $35,000,000, and their import trade £9,100,000, or about $46,000,000—no insignificant trade. It is, however, worth our while considering the proportion of that trade that comes to Canada. Of their exports, 42 per cent. went to Great Britain, 24 per cent. to Canada, almost entirely sugar, and 23 per cent to the United

States. Of their imports, 43 per cent. came from Great Britain, 34 per cent. from the United States, and 7 per cent. is put down as from Canada. But I believe that many of their imports came from Canada through the United States; so that the amount of trade originating in Canada was probably much greater than 7 per cent. But considering the amount of their total trade, the amount we get is lamentably small. I believe we can remedy this, because we want their goods, and we have the things that they need. Take fish, for instance, we ought to supply them; flour—it would be to their advantage that they should get it from us; lumber—where else can they get it?—boots and shoes—where else could they get them better made?—machinery, condensed milk, oats, and a few other things,—these are the very things we can provide them with, and they can give us what we require.

Secondly, you cannot estimate the value of the West Indies to Canada and the Empire by what they are to-day. They stand at the gateway of the greatest undeveloped country in the world, South America. From Trinidad you can see the mountains of South America. The current from the Orinoco always flows north through the gulf of Paria into the Caribbean, some nine miles from Port of Spain. British Guiana itself is in South America, with 90,000 square miles of almost virgin soil. It is said that diamonds have been discovered there, and we know that there is gold very possibly in deposits of great value. You have the mighty, broad Orinoco passing through Venezuela. I myself have seen, three hundred miles from the mouth, boats that came there from the heart of the Amazon country, one of the vastest stretches of country in the world opened up by a magnificent network of rivers. That trade has to be transhipped, and these Islands are the native ports for transhipment. You can't afford then to neglect places of such strategic importance. When you think of what the Americans are doing in cutting the Panama Canal, and of what it will mean when that is opened, the Islands assume great potential importance. They may be made the points for transhipment. Trade may bifurcate, some going north and some south. I am told that it is the intention of the British Admiralty to fortify Trinidad, partly as a naval base, and partly because petroleum has been discovered which can be used for fuel for their engines. The cutting of the Panama canal will put the Islands entirely in a different position from what they hold to-day.

If then I have made my point, both because of their past, their present value, and their future possibilities, these Islands

are worth retaining. The next thing to consider is, what should be our action in the premises? How can we reach out to help them? Canada must take the first step, has already taken it. But we must approach them not in the sense of bargaining, offering a preference to receive in turn some equivalent in dollars and cents. We must go to them with a large and generous attitude, willing to share what we have, not because we shall get so much back, but because as the strongest member of this Empire we may serve another important member of our Empire.

One of the essentials is the development of a satisfactory system of communication between Canada and these Islands. The people have known what good steamships are, for the Royal Mail line has for years sailed to them from Southampton. If Canada is to get the respect of the West Indies, she must be represented by a steamship line worthy of the Dominion. That line must be so developed as to serve the West Indies, as well as ourselves, in the best way possible. If you will read the report issued you will observe suggestions as to how this should be done. We have to subsidize that line. What next? The line should be used. I do not mean by this that the holds should be filled with cargoes, but that the cabins and state-rooms of those steamers should be filled by travellers. The strongest links of Empire, and of trade also I believe, though I am not a business man, are personal links. As you get to know one another, and study the conditions, you develop business relationships.

When a very large number of Canadians have seen these Islands for themselves, a much larger traffic between north and south will follow. The merchants and producers of this country must recognize that they have to study conditions, and not simply impose their trade upon the people of other places, as so often Canadians do. The Canadian in his superiority says: "Here are my goods, you may take them or leave them." The American, or the man from the United States—we must give him that name, I don't know what else to give him—sends an agent to study the conditions. The Canadian says: "This flour is what I have to offer." But the West Indian says: "I don't want that kind, I want this brand, this mixture." The Canadian replies: "I don't deal in that inferior kind, you may take this or none." But the American says: "Very well," and he sends to the Northwest and brings in the flour. Now that illustrates a great deal of the trade of Canada with the West Indies, and you don't need to ask why it is so small. We need to wake up. Our attention has all

been given to the West; that has been important, but within two thousand miles of our gates are these Islands and South America, and you can't afford to neglect them simply because the West looms so large.

There is one other way in which we should show our interest: socially and educationally. People are brought together not merely by trade; social interests are immensely important. One of the churches of this Dominion has for over a generation conducted a very large and important mission in Trinidad and British Guiana, and thousands of children are in the schools. That has been entirely a work of benevolence. Trinidad and Demerara are reaping the benefits. In addition, these Islands have their own school systems, which are good. In Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and British Guiana, boys can prepare to enter Oxford or Cambridge University almost on a level with those from any school in Britain itself. You will find in the Inns of London young lawyers from these Islands, colored, who can hold their own with any, and in London hospitals and those of Edinburgh are young men from the West Indies, who acquit themselves creditably. We in Canada can surely do something for these people. We should say to them: "We, as a member of the Empire, can help you educationally; we hope you will send some of your boys to us." That would be a good thing, and any interest we can show them will redound to the interest of Canada, of Ontario, and even of Toronto.

How can we help them politically? Here I come to very delicate ground. Is it possible, or how is it possible to bring them closer constitutionally and politically? Many people speak as if at Ottawa the Islands should have representation. I cannot think that is at all feasible, even in the distant future; it seems to me impossible to have a relationship of that kind. But let us look at the situation at present, and we may find some suggestion. At present the Islands are over-governed: each small Island has its Governor from Britain, several of these Governors being paid a salary of £5,000 sterling. Then there are officials in charge of the public works, the colonial secretary, and staff, all well and even highly paid. The civil list makes such a heavy demand on the revenue that it is almost impossible for them to reciprocate as Canada would expect in the way of lowering of duties. This is a serious economic problem: the very expense of carrying on government among the Islands debars further intercourse in trade.

And yet is there not a way out? Attempts have been made at confederation several times, but they have come to nothing.

However, a Department has been formed by the Imperial Government in Agriculture, and Sir Daniel Morris was placed at the head, in control of the agricultural interests of all the Islands. That was a splendid step. If it were possible to develop the idea and have a Minister of Public Works, that would lessen the expense. And if it were possible further to have a system not of full Governorships, but of Lieutenant-Governorships, with smaller salaries, under a Governor-in-Chief, there might be a further reduction in expense.

I am going to make a suggestion; there may be nothing in it—one is almost thinking aloud as one goes on; but it has occurred to me more than once, that if there were a system of Lieutenant-Governorships, and intercolonial offices, as now for example the Department of Agriculture, it might be brought under our Governor-General,—if we in Canada would allow our Governor-General to be also Governor-General of the West Indies, provided they also were willing. Our Governor-General might have associated with him at Ottawa a small Council of men acquainted with the West Indies. There would thus be a co-ordinating government of the Islands directed from Ottawa. This Council would be under the direction of our Governor-General, and not at all under the Canadian Parliament. Thereby, however, the relations of the West Indies to Canada would be emphasized as they are not to-day. That is a mere suggestion, however, and it may be taken for what is is worth.

But at least we should aim at throwing out threads towards these Islands, making them stronger and stronger, year after year, so that instead of being drawn away by strong ties as Jamaica is to the United States, they may be drawn with ties to this country. If this connection is maintained, and their interest in us cultivated, then in the future it will be discovered that they will be by no means an insignificant part in our Empire.

(February 6)

The Fuel Supply of Central Canada.

BY DR. EUGENE HAANEL.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The Fuel Supply of the Central Provinces of Canada, and its Economic Use," Dr. Eugene Haanel, Director of Mines, said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—On a former occasion I had the honor of addressing the members of this Club on the subject of electric smelting. I am happy to be able to state that the production of pig iron by the electric process has been solved both technically and commercially. When the projects now under way in Sweden are realized, it will mean the annual production of 250,000 tons of electrically produced pig iron—nearly one half of the whole output of Sweden at the present day.

I regard it as a special privilege to be permitted to again address you on a subject of importance to the business interests and the domestic happiness of the inhabitants of Canada.

In a country such as ours, where, in addition to the increasing amount of fuel required for industrial purposes, we are, during the long winters, dependent upon artificial heat in our homes, the item of cheap fuel and its economic use becomes one of the most important factors in the comfort and prosperity of the nation. I have, therefore, chosen as the subject of my address: "The Fuel Supply of the Central Provinces and its Economic Use."

I confine my remarks to the central Provinces, because these Provinces are almost wholly dependent upon outside sources for their fuel. The other Provinces are sufficiently near the immense coal deposits of the extreme east and west to render them available as sources of fuel, without increasing the price unduly by the cost of long haulage.

The fuel resources of the central Provinces are represented by:

1. The wood still standing.

***Dr. Eugene Haanel, Director of Mines, Ottawa, is one of Canada's leading mineralogists. His address to the Canadian Club bore directly on the subject of Conservation of Natural Resources, to which he has given special attention of late years. He has been an advocate for years of the development of the Canadian peat deposits for fuel purposes.**

2. Our oil deposits.
3. The oil contained in the oil shales of New Brunswick.
4. The lignite of Manitoba.
5. Water powers—the *houille blanche*—or white coal of the French.
6. And, lastly, the peat deposits of these Provinces.

With the exception of the lignite of Manitoba and the peat deposits and, to a continually decreasing extent, the wood of our forests, the other classes of fuel named, play an insignificant part as sources of fuel for domestic use and, with the exception of the utilization of our water-falls for the production of power, imported coal is the staple fuel for these Provinces.

For the year 1909 we imported coal to the amount of nearly 10,000,000 tons, valued at $26,831,859.

The current prices of coal and wood, as per "Labor Gazette," September, 1910, are:

—	Coal		Wood	
	Anthracite	Bituminous	Hard	Soft
	per ton	per ton	per cord	per cord
Toronto......	$6.75	$5.00	$7.50–$8.00	$5.00
Montreal	6.00	5.00	$8.00	6.00
Ottawa.......	7.50	5.50	6.50	3.50
Winnipeg....	10.50	9.00	6.00	5.00
Vancouver...	....	7.50	4.00	....

The increase in the cost of living and the price of our manufactures, consequent upon the high prices for this absolutely necessary material might be counterbalanced by increased energy, activity and business ability as long as we are assured of a constant supply. Conditions, however, as they exist to-day may not continue, but change, and change suddenly, and we may find ourselves deprived of fuel from the United States, without warning. For such an event we have made no provision, we have accumulated no extra store to meet such an emergency, but import only what is needed annually. A few years ago the strike in the coal mines of the United States demonstrated that such an event must be reckoned among the possibilities. I need not point out that other causes than strikes might deprive us for long periods of this outside source of fuel. It is, therefore, wise and statesmanlike to make provision for any emergency and seek within our own territory the means of supplying this all-important necessity.

Fortunately, nature has provided a substitute for coal and wood in the peat bogs scattered in abundance throughout the central Provinces. It has been estimated that the known peat bogs of Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick cover in the more settled portions of these provinces an area of 12,000 square miles, with an average depth of 6 feet. This is probably but a small fraction of the actual amount of this valuable fuel asset in existence in these provinces.

One square mile of peat bog with an average depth of 6 feet will produce 774,400 tons of peat fuel, containing 25 per cent. of moisture. The 12,000 square miles will, therefore, contain 9,292,800,000 tons of peat, having a fuel value equivalent to 5,306,074,000 tons of good coal. Such an amount of peat would supply fuel to 5,306,076 families for 100 years, assuming each family to consume an amount of fuel per annum equivalent in heating value to 10 tons of the best anthracite.

To ascertain more accurately our peat resources, the Mines Branch began three years ago an investigation of the more important peat deposits favorably situated as regards transportation. Since the quality of the peat contained differs greatly for different bogs, some being suitable for the manufacture of moss litter, while others contain peat sufficiently humified for the manufacture of peat fuel, instructions were given to ascertain not only the extent and depth of the peat bogs, but also the quantity and quality of the peat contained. So far, some 14 bogs have been investigated and mapped, and it is hoped that the information contained in our reports will prevent the exploitation of bogs for purposes for which the peat contained is unsuitable.

Many attempts have been made in Canada to utilize those peat resources for the manufacture of fuel, but up to within recent times unfortunately with little success, and with the waste of large capital. The reason for these failures is largely due to lack of knowledge of the nature of peat and the processes employed for the commercial manufacture of peat in the peat-using countries of Europe.

To furnish this necessary information to prospective manufacturers of peat fuel, the Department sent a member of the staff of the Mines Branch to Europe to investigate and report upon the manufacture of peat for fuel and other purposes in the peat producing countries of Europe. A few months after the appearance of this report, the Iron and Steel Institute of Sweden offered its writer the position of peat expert of the Institute, which he accepted.

To further encourage the peat industry of Canada, it was deemed essential to furnish actual demonstration of a successful commercial process of the manufacture of fuel from peat as practised in Europe, by the erection and operation of a plant in Canada. To carry out this idea the Department purchased 300 acres of peat bog with an average depth of 8 feet, near Alfred, Ontario, and erected a peat fuel plant, such as is used in Sweden and Russia for the manufacture of air-dried machine peat. There are 1,300 such plants in operation in Russia, which in 1902 produced 4,000,000 tons of peat fuel, with a yearly increase since then of nearly 200,000 tons. Many private plants exist in Russia in connection with cotton mills, producing annually 200,000 tons of peat fuel.

The process is an exceedingly simple one. The peat is dug by hand and transferred by an elevator into a pulping mill. The pulp resulting is conveyed by cable cars to the drying field, rolled out into a sheet of some 4 inches in thickness by a field press, which also divides the sheet into longitudinal strips, which are further divided transversely by means of 3-bladed roller knives, operated by a laborer. The pulp is thus divided into blocks, which are left to dry on the field. Turning and stacking for more complete drying is done by boys. The pulp mill, cable cars and field press are operated by a steam engine. The capacity of the plant is from 25 to 30 tons per 10-hour day. During last season, operating for 50 days, 1,600 tons of peat fuel were manufactured. The weather conditions of the season were very unfavorable, the men employed new to their work, and changes required in a new plant involved a number of stoppages. Under this severe test, the amount of fuel produced must be regarded as thoroughly satisfactory. The plant was visited by the members of the American Peat Society during their recent meeting in Ottawa in July last. Many other parties interested in peat have taken the opportunity to examine the plant and witness its operation.

In my address before the American Peat Society, which met at Ottawa last summer, I stated, that: allowing 140 days for a season's operation, the cost per ton of fuel, including interest on capital invested, amortization, oil and repairs, is as follows:

Cost of fuel on the field .... $1.40 per ton.
Cost of fuel stored in shed .... 1.65 per ton.

I have since then, however, come to the conclusion, that probably 110 working days will, considering our climatical

conditions, be a fairer estimate of the period during which peat can be manufactured. This shorter period of production will increase the cost of manufacture to about $1.50 per ton on the field with our plant.

Some 600 tons of this peat fuel were sold in Ottawa and the vicinity of Alfred and it has given great satisfaction. Constant application is made to the Department for additional supplies, and telegrams received from outlying towns asking for carloads of it. These demands could, unfortunately, not be met, as the remaining amount of peat fuel is required for our fuel testing plant at Ottawa.

The fuel manufactured is specially adapted for grates, cooking stoves and wood stoves. In fact, for the grate this fuel is far superior to cannel coal. Its advantages over cannel coal are:

1. It burns with a clear, luminous flame, without poking.

2. It does not eject into the room burning particles, and does not, therefore, require a wire netting to protect the floor.

3. It leaves no unburnt material. The ash left is a soft flocculent powder.

4. It does not soil the hands.

5. It does not, as cannel coal, cover the back of the grate with a thick layer of soot.

Its disadvantage is its greater bulk.

The Government peat plant at Alfred serves the purpose of demonstrating the manufacture of air-dried machine peat and is suitable to be operated on bogs near villages or by groups of farmers who own peat lands and who are desirous of making their own fuel, as a cheap and excellent substitute for the high priced coal which they are now obliged to purchase. This is successfully done in Europe. The cost of the plant amounts to $7,600, including duty and freight on engine, peat machine, cars and rails.

For the manufacture of peat fuel on a large scale, say 20,000 to 30,000 tons anuually, mechanical excavators, spreaders and cutters should replace the manual labor employed at our plant. On account of roots and stumps which are found in most bogs, the mechanical excavators brought on the market have not hitherto proven successful. It is only within the last two years that the problem of the construction of a successful excavator has been solved by Lieutenant Ekelund of Sweden. By the employment of his machinery the cost per ton on an annual output of 30,000 tons is reduced to 92 cents in the shed.* This figure includes interest and amortization of

* The cost of common labour in Sweden is from $1.08 to $1.22 per day of 10 hours.

the bog and machinery, transportation to shed, interest and amortization of the sheds, management, taxes, etc. Both Mr. Nyström, the peat expert of the Iron and Steel Institute of Sweden, and Mr. Wallgren, the peat expert of the Swedish Government, who each investigated the Ekelund plant for three weeks, have verified this astonishingly low figure of the cost of production of the peat fuel at 92 cents per ton. By the adoption of the Ekelund machinery the problem of economically producing air-dried machine peat may be regarded as solved and the successful inauguration of a peat fuel industry looked forward to with confidence.

Ekelund, however, starting from air-dried machine peat with 40 to 50 per cent. of moisture, carries his process further to obtain a product in the form of powder with 10 per cent. of moisture, the heating effect of which is stated to be equivalent, pound for pound, to the best English bituminous coal. This peat powder is admirably adapted for industrial purposes. Blown under a boiler, it burns with a long, hot, smokeless flame, leaving no unburnt particles. The flame is readily regulated, extinguished and relighted at pleasure. The firing is automatic. The powder is a magnificent fuel for steam raising. As it gasifies instantly and completely, it deposits no soot on the tubes or other surfaces and avoids the smoke nuisance consequent upon firing with soft coal. There are no clinkers; the ash is a soft, friable powder, which is conveniently removed by a suction fan. Professor Odelstierna reports that the powder is not liable to spontaneous combustion, is admirably adapted to metallurgical operations, the flame being easily changed from an oxidizing to a reducing flame and vice versa. The combustion of the powder produces the highest temperatures which the structural material of our furnaces can stand. Furnaces using peat powder are more cheaply constructed than furnaces using soft coal or generator gas. This fuel is specially adapted to the cement, glass and clay industry.

The Ekelund process has, moreover, the advantage of being independent of weather conditions, since the partially air-dried peat harvested during the summer months may be worked up into peat powder during the winter months.

The cost of manufacture of one ton of peat powder made from air-dried peat, including power, wages, interest, amortization, taxes, insurance, wear of bags, etc., is in Sweden $2.30 per ton. Cost of plant, including the necessary machinery, furnaces, buildings, all complete for the manufacture of 20,000 tons annually, is $86,000.

The interesting statement has come to hand, that as a result of instructions received by the Railroad Commission of Sweden from the King, to investigate the feasibility of using peat fuel in locomotives, the Commission recently recommended the construction of freight engines using peat fuel. Designs for two engines have been submitted by the Commission; one larger, requiring two firemen, to have the same traction power as the regular type E of the Government railways, the other smaller, requiring but one fireman.

Whatever fuel, however, we use, be it imported coal or peat fuel, it is in the interests both of economy and the conservation of our fuel resources, that for manufacturing purposes we employ methods which will convert the largest number of heat units stored in the fuel into useful work, or, to state this in another way, convert the heat energy of the fuel into useful work with the least possible loss.

The general practice pursued in our manufactories of converting the energy stored up in the fuel into useful work, by burning it under a boiler and utilizing the expansive power of the resulting steam in a steam engine is a wasteful and inefficient method. Using a coal of 12,500 B. T. U. per pound, at $4.00 per ton, an ordinary 250 H. P. steam plant requires a minimum of 5 pounds per B. H. P. H. This amounts to 15 tons, costing $60.00 per H. P. year of 6,000 hours. Contrast this with a H. P. year developed in a modern gas producer power plant, which consumes only 1½ pounds of coal per B. H. P. H., that is, 4½ tons for a H. P. year of 6,000 hours, costing $18.00. For peat containing 25 per cent. of moisture and 6,750 B. T. U. per pound burnt in a producer 2½ pounds are required for a B. H. P. H., assuming the power station to be erected on the bog and cost of manufacturing peat $1.00 by the Ekelund process, (Ekelund's figure is 92 cents) the figures are as follows: for a H. P. year of 6,000 hours, 7½ tons are required, costing $7.50.

Compare these figures:

Cost of coal for steam plant for one H. P. year of 6,000 hours	$ 60 00
Cost of coal for gas producer power plants......	18 00
Cost of peat, 25 per cent. moisture, for peat gas-producer power plant	7 50

These figures relate to plants of small capacity.

For larger plants, both steam and producer gas plants, the relative consumption of fuel will be proportionally less.

The great economy effected by a gas power plant over that

of a steam plant will be manifest when it is stated that the most perfect and skilfully operated steam plant probably in existence to-day, namely, the power plant of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York City, requires 2 pounds of coal per B. H. P. H., while an ordinary producer plant requires only 1½ pounds. The saving effected by a producer plant in cost of fuel, over that of the most perfect steam plant, calculating coal at $4.00 per ton, is $6.00 per H. P. year of 6,000 hours.

Suppose that 5,000,000 tons of the coal imported into Canada are employed for the production of power by ordinary steam plants, it is evident from our figures that for the production of the same power in a gas producer power plant only 1,500,000 tons need to be imported. This not alone cuts down our coal bill for power to less than one-third of what we are now spending and sending in cash out of the country, but we are saving also to some extent labor charges in handling at the plants two-thirds of the coal now used in steam power plants.

The economical results to be achieved by the introduction of peat gas power plants are so promising that the Mines Branch installed last year at our fuel testing station at Ottawa, for purposes of investigation and demonstration, a Körting peat gas-power plant, consisting of a producer, gas engine and dynamo, each of 60 H. P. capacity. Several tests have already been made, and the plant is now regularly used for running the machinery of our concentrating laboratory, requiring about 40 H. P. The amount of peat fuel consumption is about 2½ pounds of peat with 30 per cent. of moisture for one B. H. P. H.

At present we are installing a 100 H. P. producer for lignite and soft coal, which we confidently expect can be operated successfully with peat. When this peat gas producer investigation is complete and we are assured that the operation of these producers is uniform and will present no difficulty in practice, we will be prepared to recommend their installation at suitable peat bogs for the production of power, either for industrial purposes at the bog, or for conversion of the power into electricity to be transmitted to neighboring towns and villages for power and lighting purposes, exactly as in the case of water power.

If this is to be achieved, the present method of working peat bogs for only 10-hour days of the short season of 11 working days must be abandoned in favor of 20-hour days. With peat gas power plants erected on suitable bogs, suitable

as regards extent and depth of the bog and quality of the peat contained, the electricity generated at the power station may then be employed for operating the machinery and the transport of the manufactured peat to sheds, while electric lights will illuminate the field for the night shifts.

When this plan, which has been realized in Sweden, has also been put into practical operation in Canada, we will then have rendered ourselves independent to a large extent of outside sources for our fuel; we will have gained another cheap source of electrical energy, where water-power is not available but peat is in abundance, and we will then be prepared, at least to some extent, for any emergency that may threaten a fuel famine.

(*February 13*)

Governmental Problems of United States and Canada.

BY HON. E. R. O'MALLEY.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Governmental Problems confronting both Canada and the United States," Hon. E. R. O'Malley said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is a pleasure to visit the city of Toronto and meet so many of its distinguished citizens. Your city is conspicuously known for the civic pride of its citizenship, and for the high standard of local government existing here. Buffalo realizes that it has a keen and a most worthy competitor as its neighbor on the north. We rejoice in the splendid progress Toronto has made. We realize that at all times there is much we can learn from you on how to govern ourselves. The relations between Buffalo and Toronto and their citizens respectively have always been close and friendly. May those relations continue to improve and grow stronger as the years advance.

It is a distinct honor to speak before the Canadian Club of Toronto. Your club can justify its existence. Any organization whose primary purpose is to foster patriotism, to encourage the study of a country's institutions and resources and to unite its citizenship in a common purpose for the welfare and progress of the nation, is engaged in the noblest of work.

In casting about for a subject for a brief discussion before your club, it occurred to me that there are many questions confronting both governments that are similar in their nature. There is a great similarity in our political institutions and in our laws. We have a common language. The sentiments and the traditions of the two peoples are not unlike. Our hopes and aspirations are along the same lines. In the main the governmental problems which both countries have solved in the past have been much the same. No doubt the future will

*Hon. E. R. O'Malley, of Buffalo, Ex-Attorney-General of New York State, was formerly a member of Govenor Hughes' Executive. He conducted the prosecution of the American Ice Trust, and the alleged Milk Trust in New York city. He has made a careful study of the conditions surrounding the growth of mergers and is well versed in the matter of their legal status.

find both peoples confronted with questions similar in their nature. I, therefore, thought that it might not be inappropriate to say a few words upon the general subject of Governmental Problems Confronting both Canada and the United Statess.

We are two great nations lying side by side, separated by only an imaginary line extending through three thousand miles in length across the continent. By geographical proximity we are close neighbors. These neighborly relations draw us together. Our commercial relations must needs be close and extensive. Our social relations must also be similarly affected. Many governmental problems like others, are no longer national, they are international. When our Federal Government deals with some problem demanding national action, we find generally the Dominion Government dealing with the same question under one form or another. State and Provincial questions have the same similarity. The governmental activities of each country are known thoroughly by the other. The successful solution of a problem by Canada is frequently of great profit to the United States. I presume you, too, find something of value in the work done by our government.

Just now both governments are giving serious attention to a question of supreme importance to the peoples of both nations. I refer to the proposed reciprocity agreement. This proposed arrangement has been negotiated by the executive branches of the two governments. It has been submitted to the representatives of the people and is now receiving the thoughtful and earnest consideration of the Dominion Parliament and the United States Congress.

I do not propose to enter into a discussion of reciprocity here. Like every other question it has its advocates and its opponents in both countries. That was to be expected. No change in the commercial or fiscal laws of a people was ever proposed that did not cause serious discussion. It was therefore inevitable that any proposal looking for closer commercial relations between the two governments would of necessity meet with some opposition.

There is one phase of this question, however, which is a cause for mutual congratulation. The negotiations for reciprocity were carried on by both governments in the spirit of the utmost fairness. There was no attempt by either to get undue advantage of the other. Surely no harm can come from a discussion of our tariff and commercial relations when conducted upon such a broad and generous basis. Even if nothing comes of attempted reciprocity, it will have been a great

victory. It will mark a new era of good-will between these two countries. It will make a lasting impress of friendship between Canada and the United States.

No doubt there are those here who entertain views on either side of this subject. I know there is diversity of opinion on this subject in the United States. But with all due respect to those who oppose reciprocity, whether they be Americans or Canadians, I believe that the ill-effects of reciprocity, if any, would be imperceptible. It would be much like having a tooth drawn by a dentist. The worst part of the pain and discomfort comes from the state of one's mind before the tooth is drawn. The general verdict of the dentists' victims is, that it was not so much of an operation after all.

In spite of tariff regulations our nations will have extensive commercial relations. Economic and commercial laws demand that such be the case. The close proximity of these two countries makes it imperative not only that our commercial, but that our social relations be more extensive than between peoples far apart. The proposed agreement may not be all that it should be. That is neither here nor there. The great question for both governments to address themselves to is, Do any tariff laws work a positive injury to both nations?

Closely allied to the question of greater freedom in trade between Canada and the United States is the question of high prices. We have had an era of high prices in the States; you have had a similar era here. There has been a general advance in the prices of articles of common necessity the world over. The condition is not local. It is a general one. There are many causes that can be assigned for high prices. Economic writers and students of this subject have attributed the present reign of high prices to many causes.

In the States I think combinations in restraint of trade and of monopoly are looked upon as one of the chief contributing causes. Investigations by the Federal and various State governments have been instigated. In addition we have had numerous prosecutions by the Federal government. Among these are the Standard Oil Co., the American Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, and other combinations. Some of these prosecutions are under what is known as the Sherman Anti-monopoly law against alleged combinations in restraint of trade. The action against the Standard Oil Co. is a bill in equity to dissolve the Standard Oil Co., and to resolve it into its subsidiary companies. Some of the prosecutions are under what is known as the Elkins law. The latter have been chiefly against common carriers for granting rebates to shippers and

against shippers for receiving rebates. An example of the latter was the prosecution of the Standard Oil Co. before Judge Landis of Chicago, where a fine of $29,000,000 was imposed.

Some of the State governments have also undertaken similar prosecuions. The State of New York successfully prosecuted the American Ice Co. That company was a foreign corporation, organized under the laws of the State of New Jersey. This prosecution was under the State Anti-monopoly act. This act prohibited the making of a contract or combination whereby a monopoly in the manufacture, production or sale of any commodity of common use is created. It also prohibits the interference with competition in the supply or price of any article. The remedies are two:

First: A criminal prosecution against the corporation or officers.

Second: A civil action to restrain and prevent the carrying out of such a combination and to restrain and prevent the doing of any of the acts declared by the statute to be illegal. In a criminal action this company was convicted of violating the provisions of the act. A civil action was also brought to cancel its certificates or right to do business in the State and to restrain it from carrying out its many agreements. The testimony upon the trial showed that this company first got control of all the ice houses and fields in Maine and permitted them to fall into disuse. The company also bought up practically all the ice interests along he Hudson River. It also drove out of business the independent dealers in New York city and finally got practical control of that great market.

In 1909 and 1910, as Attorney-General of the State of New York, I conducted an investigation into an alleged combination or milk trust in the city of New York. All the great milk dealers in the city were subpœnaed for examination before the court. In addition about thirty-five milk producers, each from a large dairy county, were called to testify. In addition to investigating the question of whether a combination to raise the price of milk had been made, we also investigated the cost of production of milk, together with the cost of transportation to New York city and the distribution in New York City. This investigation showed:

First: That the price of milk paid to the producers was fixed by the dealers. The producer had no voice in making the price which he received. The big dealers gave notice as to what they would pay for milk for the future, the period

being from one to six months. This price the producer was obliged to accept.

Second: To a moral certainty it was shown that an agreement was made by the dealers in New York city to simultaneously raise the price of milk from 8 to 9 cents per quart. The dealers all advanced the price of milk to that extent on the same day.

Third: That enormous profits were made by the large dealers. One company had a capital stock of $25,000,000, of which $15,000,000 was for trade marks, patents and good will. During a period of ten years this company paid an anuual dividend of 6 per cent., and rolled up a surplus of upwards of $9,000,000 in addition thereto. Another company showed a capital stock of $500,000; $200,000 was paid in cash and the balance was for good will, etc. This company paid a 12 per cent. annual dividend. In 1909 it paid 22 per cent., and rolled up a surplus of about $1,000,000.

Fourth: That individual dealers were not making undue profits at 9 cents per quart.

Fifth: That the producer was receiving in the neighborhood of from 3½ to 4 cents per quart, and that it cost him about that to produce it.

These investigations show that the middle man reaped the profits, that the producer made a bare existence, and the consumer paid exorbitant prices. These conditions present a difficult question for solution. It was supposed that unlimited individual effort would prove the panacea of human ills. The conditions which I have described, however, are the abuses of individualism. Organization, combination and concentration are a simple matter to-day. The prices and the supply of any article of common necessity can be easily made and controlled. Milk and ice are necessaries of life. A condition which lessens the supply or raises the price of these articles or places them beyond the reach of the poor, creates an intolerable condition for which a remedy must be found. The so-called anti-monopoly laws have been enacted to remedy conditions of this kind. They were intended to restrain monopoly, and prevent interference with competition. To a great extent these statutes have not brought the relief hoped for. They are easily evaded. A so-called "gentlemens' arrangement" or "understanding" can be had by which prices will be advanced, but no formal agreement verbal or written can be proven. This can easily be done when a few individuals or corporations control a certain commodity.

It is a question whether such laws are wise. Effective organization or community of effort can produce or distribute any article of common consumption cheaper than individual or scattered effort. One company can produce and distribute the ice consumption to New York city cheaper than many companies or individuals. The same is true regarding the distribution of milk. Organization should, therefore, be a good thing for all, if the consumer and the producer were both permitted to share in the benefits. It is the abuse of organization that is the real wrong. When the supply and distribution of a necessary of life is under control, the temptation is great to raise the price to the consumer and lower it to the producer. Abraham Lincoln said if there were no selfishness, there would be no need for laws. But it is the selfishnesss of mankind that has to be controlled. The remedy, therefore, in my judgment, must be something more than the average anti-monopoly law. The law of supply and demand will not always regulate it. It has been suggested that the State might regulate the profits which such a combination might have, and if this proved unsuccessful, great municipalities like New York, should be permitted to distribute such articles as ice and milk to their own citizens. It is a troublesome question, but one that will have to be met in some way. It will not do for the United States government, or the Canadian government, or any other government to sit idly by and let someone get control of articles of common necessity, like coal, wheat, milk, meat, and ice so as to place them beyond the reach of the masses of the people, and make everybody in the community pay an unreasonable penalty. The old maxim "competition is the life of trade," is now regarded as untrue. In the business world competition is to-day considered the greatest curse of trade.

In such cases the honest men are made to suffer. The great majority of business men are honest, and don't want laws interfering with them. In New York city there is a very large Hebrew element in the population, and also a very large Italian element. Now, certain men make a business of selling tickets to their countrymen, and incidentally they let them know that they can send money for them to the home lands. These transactions are not always honest, and Jacob Schiff has said that the stealings from poor people reached $2,000,000 a year. To remedy this evil, the Private Bank Act was passed in 1910, which provides that before any person could take money for deposit he must file a $50,000 bond with the Controller of he City of New York, to answer in damages if he

fails to repay any money deposited. They had to except express companies, and other people who were doing a legitimate business: but the first thing we knew we had about 250 express companies organized in the city of New York. Then there came the question whether in such a case as that of Macy's great store with its deposit credit the law should apply to them. That was another illustration of where a good honest man has to suffer because his neighbor will violate the law: you have to reach both.

This is one of the questions confronting the world to-day. I believe a solution will be found. I have supreme confidence in the ability of the people of Canada and the United States to solve all questions confronting them. I believe they will all be successfully dealt with. I don't believe there are any more serious questions confronting us to-day than there ever were. There has been no time in the world's history when there were not great questions, nor will there be. The United States has had its share of them. We have had questions of all kinds up for solution. This day has been set apart to honor the memory of the greatest statesman our country ever produced. Abraham Lincoln was the chief Executive of the Republic during the most troublesome time of its existence. There was more of worry, more of care and sleepless nights crowded into his life in four short years than into all the lives of all the Presidents who have succeeded him. Yet he brought us successfully through that most trying ordeal.

The world realizes Canada's greatness. The progress you have already made, your possibilities of future growth have challenged the admiration and respect of all. You have capacity for government and will contribute your share to the solution of the questions of the future. You are entering upon your period of greatest power and strength. You have already made a great contribution to the United States. The sturdy men and women who have gone there from Canada have done their share towards the upbuilding and greatness of the Republic. Just now the pendulum of immigration is swinging towards you. I feel confident that your returning newcomers, consisting as they do of the rugged manhood of our great Middle and North West, will prove a valuable asset to your population, and will make an equal contribution towards Canadian greatness.

(*February 20*)

Some Facts About Quebec.

BY MR. F. D. MONK, M.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Some Facts about Quebec," Mr. F. D. Monk, M.P., said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I desire first of all to thank the Canadian Club most sincerely for this very kind invitation to meet you here to-day. I had for some time almost abandoned the prospect of ever receiving so extremely hospitable and courteous a welcome again in this city as you have given me. Since my entry into public life, I have often visited your hospitable city and I am bound to say that, though I have scoured our broad Dominion far and wide, from no place have I carried away such a deep feeling of cordial and hearty reception as from Toronto and its people.

I thought all this was at an end, I must say, when, about a year ago, I found it to be my duty, upon some public questions of grave import, to take a stand which, at once, in certain quarters, became the object of systematic misrepresentation. There was so very much misrepresentation, and I think, statements that were not correct as to the facts, that I was studying how to get to the West without touching this dangerous point of Toronto. I assure you that your kind invitation to address this Club caused me great satisfaction, as I found that Toronto was not yet quite forbidden ground to me.

I wish to say how pleased I am, as an old politician, to see the magnificent array I witness here to-day. There is nothing so hopeful as the foundation of these Canadian Clubs, which tend to diminish the strength of political passion and party spirit. And I am glad to see here in this Queen City of the West, this city of development, that the Canadian Club has taken so strong a hold.

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*Mr. F. D. Monk bore for many years the burden of leading the Quebec wing of the Dominion Conservative party, while that party was overshadowed by the success of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his native Province. For the past couple of years, Mr. Monk has been working in sympathy and cooperation with Mr. Henri Bourassa, leader of the Nationalists, who are coming to the front with increasing numbers and influence. Mr. Monk speaks both Frenh and English with extreme grace and facility, and personally is possessed of some of the best characteristics of the two races, to both of which he owes his ancestry.

Now I am a busy man, and I know you are busy men, and I know what a short time is allotted to me at such a function as this, where you rest on your oars for a few moments, where you stop for an instant, so to speak, on the dusty march of life, to think and speak of what interests our common country.

How to properly utilize a short after-luncheon speech under such circumstances, has been a problem, and taking all into consideration, fearing that I might think unduly of myself, yet frankly desirous of placing myself right with men whose good opinion I prize greatly, while I would have preferred to choose some subject of academic or general interest, yet the opportunity being afforded me of talking upon some things that are very dear to me, it has occurred to me that a kind of profession of principles—a statement of the political creed or credo, a frank confession—they say that confession is good for the soul—as to the questions which have been so widely discussed of late in my native province, would place myself and my friends of Quebec frankly in your hands, claiming in return in your kind hospitality only that judgment which is allotted to a man who is frank and sincere.

I must say, at the outset, that I belong to a school which is not confined to Quebec, but is disseminated in the various provinces, which not only desires the maintenance of British connection, and the continuance in our country of the authority of the Crown, but looks to an expansion and development of the Empire such as has been but faintly foreshadowed in the past, but without any abridgment whatever of the local autonomy and full measure of self-government which British statesmen adopted as the guiding rule of their colonial policy during the nineteenth century. We do not believe in the new Imperialism as it is enunciated in the doctrines associated with the name of that eminent statesman, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, a policy which inclines to the restriction of trade in the British possessions. What saved us here in Canada from the consequences of that theory of the European nations was the policy adopted by the great public men during the Victorian era, that of expansion for the colonies, giving the utmost autonomous powers possible.

I believe in the natural evolution of our country, with full and entire freedom of every kind. I view with alarm, whatever may be the grandeur of the plan of the Imperialism of to-day—to differentiate it from the old principle of Imperial connection—anything in its plan that would necessarily place restrictions on our trade. With the enormous resources at our disposal and the opportunity of developing them, we must

pursue the policy of the great statesmen of the Victorian period, that of carrying on trade, as much as possible, with the nations of the world. The conception of still closer union in the Empire is one that is sincere, with no ulterior motive, and is not aiming to unduly develop the manufacturing interest. To my mind, it appears to be evident not only that we have here all the resources required for a manufacturing people, and untold forces here for the manufacturing of the material, but that we have a great agricultural country, and it is our duty as good Canadians to develop these resources.

We—many of us in Quebec, I mean—condemn unreservedly certain shibboleths. One of these is that system of trade which would be confined to the limits of the Empire itself. We believe that we should be able to trade freely with every country with which we can trade safely and profitably, and that by that extension and expansion of this vast inheritance we shall be serving in an indirect way the cause of the Empire itself. It would be a policy full of mistakes to keep the colonies from trading freely.

We condemn too the plans of naval and military concentration which have been lately formulated. The moment we adopt that plan as formulated, that moment we enter into the constitution of the British fleet as part and parcel of it. The moment we adopt the plan of military organization settled upon at the Imperial Defence Conference of 1909 we become necessarily and inevitably responsible for the entire foreign policy of Great Britain, we assume solidarity for that foreign policy, we become responsible and a part and parcel of the foreign diplomacy of the British Government, for those pacts and alliances and treaties of that Government, for its world-wide policy, in a word, in far closer relations than we have ever held before.

Now, under the system of government which prevails in England and throughout the British Empire, it is not the Crown, the sovereign, that regulates these matters, but the British Government. It is a well-admitted maxim, that the King reigns, but does not govern. And that can be said of these important matters. If we went into that system as laid before us, we should assume all these vast responsibilities without having any voice whatever in the control of that foreign development and policy, and thereby be placed in a condition of inferiority to the voter, the elector, of the British Islands himself, who is the one who virtually settles these matters and confers the mandate upon those men who are responsible for these matters. Therefore, we should become

nominally and absolutely responsible for the Empire's policy of foreign affairs, treaties, war and peace, and interchange of relations, and be in a position of inferiority with regard to other British subjects, as we should have no voice in control.

At the Imperial Defence Conference Lord Tweedmouth said: "If you are prepared to assume a portion of the responsibility, we enter into the plan only upon the distinct understanding that you will have a voice in our foreign policy. You will be placed upon the same footing as our own electorate. It would be contrary to all the tenets and principles of the British constitution to ask a man to assume such responsibility without conferring similar rights with the electors upon him. That point was left obscure, and is obscure to-day, but it seems to me that a British subject in these dependencies might be called upon suddenly to assume these responsibilities. You can't read the record of the Imperial Defence Conference and what occurred in that connection without seeing that a radical and sweeping change is suggested, which would at once alter our position, and make us jointly and severally responsible.

A necessary consequence of this, if that change took place, if that new system were adopted, and we assumed that solidarity in Britain's foreign policy, is that it must lead to an Imperial Council. How will you exercise control, or posssess that influence, or have that voice here, unless it be through an Imperial Council. And are you prepared to say that is possible of execution?

For my own part, I have studied it out in every shape and form, and read comments written or spoken upon the question, but I am not prepared to say that a satisfactory solution has been arrived at or pointed out. If you have an Imperial Council or what is tantamount to a Parliament, what basis are you going to have, and will there be an apportionment of representation? There has been an embryo scheme mooted in Great Britain, but our representation in that controlling Council would be of an insignificant character. Do you think, with such a representation as that, two or three in over two hundred, this country would be satisfied? Until some such satisfactory scheme is presented and submitted, I fail to see how a Parliament of that kind could receive the confidence of a country such as this, on account of our having enjoyed autonomy and control of our own affairs.

In the matter of defence, those of Quebec, for whom I speak, cling to the traditional policy of Great Britain. In the early eighties the British Government, impressed with the necessity of improving the defence of the Empire,

confided the study of this question to a committee of the Privy Council. On one occasion the Duke of Devonshire, at sittings in London of the Imperial Navy League, and on another occasion, the Duke of Devonshire, when answering a question put by Lord Minto, said that the policy of the Committee of the Privy Council on Naval Defence, which had come to a final conclusion, was that we should provide for the defence of our coasts, and the naval defence of our country; with regard to the supremacy of the seas, and care of the trade routes, the ground was taken by that high and responsible body, that these were the concern of the mother country; but we were not only to provide for the defence of our coasts, but were to provide refuges, harbors, coaling stations, where the vessels of the British naval fleet could obtain refuge. The whole scheme was detailed, and there is, so far as I am aware, no objection to it in this country. We have never refused to carry out the proposal of the British Government by which we were to provide, within the measure of our own resources, for the defence of our own country. When that plan was fully carried out, the British troops were withdrawn. Great Britain had granted a very large and liberal measure of self-government, and in consequence of that we were to provide for our own defence. That was the result of the study of this question by the Imperial Government itself, and by a committee of Ministers chosen in the Cabinet, expert advisers.

I am glad to have this opportunity of giving you an accurate statement of our true position, because we have been so misrepresented, and traduced, and falsely accused, throughout the length and breadth of my native province, because we hold to that position to-day. On account of the absence of voice and representation, and under the peculiar circumstances of this country, it is the old and traditional policy we should adhere to, of providing for our own defence on sea and land. Not that in opposing this scheme we bore any ill-feeling to the mother country, or were desirous of not doing our share, nor that we opposed it from a political or other motive, but we thought that in carrying out these demands the British Government was going far enough.

Viewed in its details, the naval scheme as it is before us to-day has not met with our approval. We do not approve of the cruisers. We do not find a fleet of cruisers used for defence: everybody knows that they are destined to scout the seas, to carry messengers, to harass the enemy, to transport troops, and that is not, in our estimation, what we need first and foremost in this country.

We believe, in our Province, in holding to the principle that the best service we can render to the Empire is to give to this great dependency all the expansion possible, all that is further ordained by Providence for the people of this country. We believe that there is a great deal to do in this country at the present time, a work of development which must tax our resources for a great time to come. We have to expend vast sums in the development of this country. Just at present we have before us immense sacrifices to make if we shall solve, as we should solve, the great problem of transportation. A few years ago, the Government instituted a Commission, which went carefully into the whole question. One of the members of that Commission was a citizen of your city, Mr. Bertram, whom I knew well. That Commission presented a magnificent report, and that report has never been controverted: its conclusions are admitted as correct. It imposed upon us certain works of transportation, if the needs of the country were to be met. It said we would have to expend five hundred million dollars or more on our ports; we must develop our ports and the work must be done at once. And are we not to equip them and make them Canadian national ports? That will cost us at least one hundred million dollars. If we take the ports mentioned by the Commission, and develop them as national ports, we must work out the navigation works suggested, and that means one hundred million dollars. Then we must expend two hundred millions before we finish the present transcontinental road, and when that road and its full equipment, including Quebec bridge, is finished properly, we shall have expended another two hundred millions.

Outside of that which calls for large expenditures, if we are going to bind and unite the different parts of this country together properly to insure what seems very essential, that trade should go east and west instead of north and south, we must be united. I have been many years in politics, and have travelled over this country far and wide, but I have yet to find an instance of any better unifying force than this Club, the first which has set itself to the noble task of creating a union among our people, making us true Canadians. Some think that our Canadian enthusiasm is not fiery enough or strong enough throughout the country. We must provide means of arousing this enthusiasm. We must safeguard our political institutions, and cherish them, we must know them and know how they come; we must cultivate a strong Canadian feeling, and provide for means of education.

This is another tenet of our creed, that we should improve education, not only primary and secondary, but above all things our technical education, so as to enable us, without having recourse to strangers and foreigners, to get the utmost development of our resources. We believe—since my confession must be full—that it is necessary to provide the child with moral and religious teaching. We would imitate the example of England, where in spite of every controversy, they nobly maintain the principle that you can't upbuild the children without giving them these principles without which no nation can be great. We believe in the natural right of a parent to upbring his child as he sees fit.

Then we believe that we should respect our constitution as the Ark of the Covenant, observing all rights guaranteed under it to all classes of the people. I would say, as Sir John A. Macdonald said, "Whatever our own individual views, we have to come together, to found, from session to session, the great Confederation under the British flag. We have arrived at a constitution, which we must respect, with regard to the minorities as well as the majorities."

I desire to leave Toronto as I have always sought to come to it, having put my views and those of my friends before you in such a way as to win me your respect at any rate. You have read in some newspapers, some in Montreal, and I would say also some in Toronto, an account of the views we have professed during fifty odd meetings held in my native province during the past summer. Is there anything in these views that loyal British subjects can't hold? Do we not live under a free constitution? Has there ever been uttered a word of discontent or complaint? One would suppose, on reading these accounts, that there was an uprising in Quebec, that a lot of the people of Quebec had not entire reason to be satisfied and contented, but under the authority of this free intelligence, under the shadow of that flag, under the protection of the freedom we enjoy, is it not legitimate not only for Quebec but for the different parts of the Dominion to fairly discuss these questions? If some radical change is proposed in the conditions of the great Empire, is it not fit and proper that the questions should be fully and fairly discussed by British subjects the world over? By what right is any school to dogmatize, and stigmatize as disloyal those who do not at once subscribe to its political dogmas?

I want to make two statements, as to the profession which we in my province sincerely make: we are loyal to the British Crown, are happy to live under that Crown, and desire no

change; and we desire that this question of the British Navy be referred to the people, and after full consideration has been given to it, both in and out of Parliament, we know our duty and are prepared to abide by the decision of the majority of the Canadian electorate. Has that any features which friends from other parts of the Dominion find not legitimate and fair? It is possible that in the fire of discussion, in a political election, words may have been uttered that have gone slightly beyond these limits, but of what importance are these matters in the face of authentic, serious declarations by those who have authority to speak for the people at large?

I perceive, gentlemen, that my fears were absolutely ill-founded, and you have been very kind to me. With you, we in Quebec have laid the foundation of the Canadian Confederation; the two old provinces started this scheme, and have carried it out, and it will always be with absolute confidence that we, after all the differences of the past, shall feel free to come to you with sincere utterance of our real thoughts and feelings.

(*February 27*)

Glimpses of South Africa.

By Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, M.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "Glimpses of South Africa—A Few Political Problems," Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Postmaster-General of Canada, said:

Mr. Chairman, and fellow-countrymen of the Canadian Club,—I come to Toronto, not to establish a reciprocity of trade (A voice:—"Hear, hear!" and laughter), but to promote in my humble way the reciprocity of good feelings between Quebec and Ontario. ("Hear, hear!" and cheers.) I am specially pleased, Mr. Chairman, because of two outstanding figures and personalities at this centre board. You will permit me, Mr. Chairman, to refer to my dear old chief and predecessor in office, Sir William Mulock, who is responsible in a large degree for the present good administration and efficiency of the postal service from the Yukon Territory to Halifax. I am also pleased and honored to have beside me the Speaker of the Canadian Senate, Mr. Kerr, an old friend, and that old staunch and unbending Tory, Mr. Brock. Mr. Brock and myself entered the House of Commons on the same day; he was one of the most prominent figures on the Conservative side, and I quite remember that on the first occasion when I rose in the House to address the members in the language best understood by the majority of the members, one of the listeners was my dear friend Mr. Brock, who crossed the floor of the House after my speech and who encouraged me to continue to speak the English language. You may be surprised, but I owe it to his encouragement if after that first effort in the House of Commons I followed his advice, and have not been the worse for it. So you see, a Lib-

*Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux is one of the silver-tongued young statesmen of the Province of Quebec. Only a few years ago he was a working journalist in Montreal. He entered politics, was elected to the House of Commons, and when Sir William Mulock retired he became Postmaster-General. The brilliant record of his predecessor has been maintained, and Mr. Lemieux has become known far and wide as a public speaker. His mission to Japan for the Canadian Government, resulting by peaceful and dignified means in the restriction of Japanese immigration to this country, was one of the diplomatic triumphs of recent years. During 1910 Mr. Lemieux represented Canada at the opening of the new Parliament of United South Africa.

eral can learn something sometimes from a good Conservative, and above all from a good Canadian like Mr. Brock.

You have referred, Mr. Chairman, to the anniversary we are celebrating. This is Paardeberg Day, and before I offer a few remarks on a few glimpses on the political phases of South Africa, let me tell you that after the ceremonies of the inauguration at Cape Town in the month of November last, I felt that I was a little free, I took the first opportunity to go north in the veldt, and there to lay a wreath on the graves of the brave who fell on that fateful day, the 27th of February, 1900, which was the first official recognition of Canada on the very ground where the battle took place that offered freedom, right and justice in South Africa by a man who came from the vast provinces of the Dominion of Canada. Sir, let me tell the fathers and mothers whose sons have died gloriously at Paardeberg that their memory is kept green, and their graves are the best maintained by the loyal ladies of South Africa.

Sir, I would not attempt, on a business day like this, to give you all my impressions of South Africa. This would take a long day. I shall only attempt to give you a few glimpses of that political life. I will endeavor in a few short sentences to explain to you the miracle that British diplomacy has accomplished, ten years after the veldt had been soaked with blood. Sir, one of the ablest men in South Africa is General Smuts. After the constitution of the Union had been framed and accepted by the various colonies he said that more remarkable even than the instrument they had elaborated together, at Durban first, then at Cape Town, and then at Pretoria, were the signatures appended to it. No greater truth has been uttered in this century. And if the old man Paul Kruger rose from his grave to-day at Pretoria to read the names on that document, I believe he would first of all see embodied in that constitution every principle for which the Britishers fought in South Africa, and, stranger than that, he would see the names of his fellow-Generals on the veldt who fought on the Boer side, and he would see the names of many who formed that Volkenraad Committee at Johannesburg, which was sentenced to death by him. Indeed, the Union of South Africa, that one phase of it, was the natural outcome of her history. Have not the various colonies which are in the proud possession of the British Crown, of which we happen to be one, been similar? Out of war, harmony had to come. If racialism is not altogether stamped out—and I will explain in a few minutes the reason why—rest assured, in a very few years you will not hear of racialism in South Africa.

But first, what led to that Union, so brief a period after the war of 1900? For the Union is due to the arbitrament of the sword. There were in South Africa before the war two conflicting ideals. You had on the one side the British ideal, which makes for the highest standards of civilization, which makes in every country, in every altitude for freedom and justice and liberty. On the other hand you had in the veldt the old Boer, the old Paul Kruger, a genius in a way, but who believed in the ideals of the seventeenth century republic. One of the two ideals had to prevail over the other, and the arbitrament of the sword decided which would prevail ultimately. But, sir, after the war the colonies organized under the British rule and no one would have suspected that in so short a time there would be a Union of South Africa under a central government of South Africa dealing with both Dutch and English questions. Now, we must not forget for one moment that in politics there are surface questions. You must go to the root of the matter itself. What were the immediate causes which, after the war, led to the present state in South Africa?

There were economic rivalries, heretofore overshadowed by racial conflicts. These economic rivalries were two-fold: first, the question of the customs union,—in Cape Town they had an income tax, in the other colonies they raised revenue by indirect taxation; then there were railroad rates,—the question of railway rates in South Africa, bear in mind, was the big question, although on this side of the ocean we were thinking of the other questions, the racial and bi-lingual. Then there was the racial question. It was quite natural to the coast cities, like Durban, with its magnificent harbor, Cape Town, with its great past, and Port Elizabeth, for these all to be conspiring, so to speak, against the hinterland. Natal and the Orange Free States were rather in favor of a free trade policy. Durban and Cape Town expected and hoped, with an industrial development to follow in South Africa, they would reap magnificent results; therefore they were against the interests of the hinterland, and the hinterland was against the interests of the coast towns.

Now, there is another question intermingled with this one, The natural outlets of South Africa are Cape Town at the southwest, and Durban at the southeast, both on British territory, but with this difficulty beclouding the horizon, you find, even after the war, a disposition in the Transvaal and the Orange State, to look to Delagoa Bay as the natural outlet, but as for Delagoa Bay,—might I venture to predict that the day is not far distant when Great Britain, which is the holder of

Delagoa Bay so far as trade is concerned, might acquire for good Delagoa Bay.

Going back to the railway rates—as you are aware, South Africa, a debonair people, has accepted as a principle State ownership, and the earnings of the railway system are a big item in the national revenue. Cape Colony owning one branch of the system, and Natal the other, they were quite disposed to go through the hinterland to where the business interests centred most, around Johannesburg. The hinterland may well be compared to the hub of a wheel, from which radiate all the lines of railway to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley, and the country surrounding. The trade of the surrounding country goes mainly along three great branches to Delagoa Bay, the Indian Ocean, and Durban and Cape Town. Therefore the question of how to route the trade, with the divergent fiscal interests of the four colonies, was the cause of an insistent trouble, and even after the war, even after the establishment of the British Government in South Africa, one might have had to fear for the future if some sort of compromise had not been reached.

Lord Milner, in 1905, foresaw that that trouble might embitter the relations between the Dutch in the interior and the British or Afrikanders on the coast. So you see, in shaping the ultimate destinies of South Africa you have to take into consideration, as factors for a union government, not only the settlement of racial questions, not only the settlement of the tax question, not only the burial of past memories, but also the economic difficulties then existing. Lord Milner's advice in 1905 to South Africa was that South Africa should have a policy which would mean the pooling of all interests into one pocket. He meant by that, that the railway systems should be one, that the customs union should be one, and by rearranging the customs duties and fixing the railway rates, much of the division would be spared, and ultimate political union might be reached between the four colonies.

Besides, looming large on the horizon and darker overhead was the native question. In 1905 the Government of the Transvaal gave notice that they would abrogate the customs union. This—in order to make a long story as short as possible—led to the Convention of 1908. This Convention was called to settle these two economic questions, but the delegates had not met two days before admitting plainly that no possible arrangement could be arrived at unless the larger question were settled at once. They soon resolved themselves into a National Convention, and that became the National Convention of 1908. One speaker, General Smuts, said: "We have,

for one million and a little over of white people in South Africa, four Governments, four Executives, four Exchequers, four systems of laws, and four different native policies, all that for one million people facing eight or nine millions of black people." They all realized the necessity of pooling their material resources, at the same time pooling their patriotism, and that is what they did.

The delegates met in 1908, and, as I said a moment ago, soon resolved themselves into a National Convention. We speak of that without trembling, and with hardly any emotion, while when one reads history, one sees what an importance it really had. When the representatives had come together, they found what injustice existed, and they immediately resolved themselves into a National Convention, and talked over a new constitution. We speak of that without emotion, of the Convention in South Africa in 1908, but, friends, try to think of one million white people as against twenty-five or thirty million blacks, and questions as big, as great, as any country ever had where a revolution occurred. The South African constitution was framed and settled in secret, that is, the sessions were not public, and—a most remarkable thing in modern history—the people of South Africa, the people, British as well as Dutch, trusted implicitly their delegates, and accepted without any recriminations the final decision of the National Convention. This happened ten years only after the war in South Africa. Sir, Mr. Balfour, commenting on that event in the House of Commons a year or so ago, said that this event was without parallel, not only in modern history, but in the history of all time.

Then a compromise. Now, sir, I am very often taunted in my own province that I am a compromise man—in an honorable, honest way, of course. If there are no compromises, you are sure to have disaster. Compromise is of the essence of politics, and in saying so I am only repeating the truism which many years ago was made public for the first time by such a statesman as Lord Beaconsfield. We need compromise in private life, compromises are essential in political life, and especially in bi-lingual countries.

Now, how was that Convention composed? You know the history of the American Revolution, how many of the men who took part were foremost statesmen. In Canada, I think, the Fathers of Confederation represented as able, as distinguished a body of men, as any nation could give. The founders of the Commonwealth in Australia were nearly all jurists. I don't say it is a compliment to Australia that they

need so many jurists. Judges, statesmen and lawyers have had quite as prominent a part. But in South Africa it was a good omen, that there were only ten lawyers out of thirty-three delegates, and I don't know whether you will agree with me at this point, but the Convention was one-third composed of the best element in the country, the rugged farmers from the veldt. The Chairman was Baron De Villiers, of Huguenot descent. As a Canadian of French descent I always take some pride in the achievements of the French. The Baron is now Chief Justice of Cape Colony. Then there were General Botha, President Stein, of the Orange Free State, and General Smuts, the youngest of them all, and old General J. H. Delarey, who captured General Methuen, and became a fast friend of his. On the British side, there were Dr. Jameson—in South Africa there is no Sir Leander, he is always "Dr. Jim,"—Mr. Lionel Phillips, and Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, probably the ablest writer of South Africa on historical questions and on the folk lore of the country. In South Africa there is no literature, only writers, in fact there are only two writers, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, and Miss Olive Schreiner, sister of the former Premier of Cape Colony. Of Afrikanders there were Mr. Adrian Hofmeyr, who died last year, Hon. J. X. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, and Mr. Schreiner, the ablest jurist of South Africa. There were thirty-three delegates, the same number as we had in 1866 before Confederation, but the two men who carried the day and made Union possible, who were most imbued with the necessity of making the Union, were General Botha and Dr. Jameson.

I may tell you that in South Africa—and this may be an eye-opener to many of you and to the press generally—in South Africa there are no two men who are more friendly the one to the other and have more confidence the one in the other, than Dr. Jameson and General Botha. They are neighbors, first of all, and you know how good neighbors know how to open the gates. (Applause and laughter.) I see that I am in the ambient air; I realize it at present, but there was no allusion to it, you may be sure, and I will leave that to the journalists and statesmen, and quite enough to the scare lines in the papers. We shall not refer to it at the Canadian Club. But I shall make this point: let it be understood that there are no two men who think more of each other than these two. Botha by the irony of fortune occupies to-day the proud position of Prime Minister of South Africa, and he resides at Grooteschur, the fine residence of Cecil Rhodes, who stated in his will that for all time to come he deeded this residence

for the Prime Minister of South Africa and by the irony of fortune the first Prime Minister of United South Africa is General Botha.

Now, you would like perhaps to know something of the personalities I have mentioned. Let us take first General Botha. You would expect him to be an old statesman, that each time he speaks in public—which he never does—coins historical phrases. General Botha, who is about forty-seven, knows little of books beyond his Bible, which he knew by heart as a good Boer, but he is dogged in his tenets, firm, and is to-day unquestionably the chosen leader of South Africa. On the battle-field he proved himself to be a gallant, resourceful and courageous general, and after the Treaty of Vereeniging, made it possible good feelings should exist between Kitchener and Botha. It is easy to perceive, when one sees him, the very embodiment of that slow tenacity so peculiar to the Boers. He is not strikingly original or brilliant, but Sir William Mulock knows that in public life the strikingly original and brilliant men are sometimes dangerous, but men who have sound judgment in the back of their heads are the real leaders. General Botha possesses extreme tact, and practically childish simplicity—in the best sense. To the British his only attitude is, in two words, staunch loyalty,—he is so staunch he could not understand disloyalty in others, not regarding what has been in South Africa. He is genuine, an able fighter, not only a man for South Africa, but for South Africa in the British Empire.

Very characteristic was his message to the King: "I want the King and the people of England to feel we are worthy the trust reposed in us by the King as a responsible government, and that they should wish well to the young South African nation which will spring up."

What about Jameson? I can speak specially about Dr. Jameson. No more prejudiced man existed than I as regards the man of the raiders' fame. I met him on several occasions with people who were friends of General Botha, young people, and many were discussing political questions. I was captured, captivated; he is magnificent in the Raad. As a doctor, well, you should know he is a most brilliant man, but taken away from his practice by that great Imperialist, Cecil Rhodes. At the Convention his tact removed many great difficulties. In a quite impressive atmosphere he was eternally impassive, and with the dogged energy of John Bull, and at the same time some of the vivacity of the Frenchman. He may be impassive; I found him very witty. I assure you that both Jameson and

Botha will steer for South Africa the only course which we expect South Africa will take.

Now there is another personality, J. X. Merriman, the most picturesque and unquestionably the greatest Parliamentarian; of a literary frame of mind, and, *en passant,* let me tell you that for thirty-five years he was an assiduous correspondent of the late Goldwin Smith, whom he had never met. He delights in political contests, and hates compromises. Although the greatest, ablest, most original politician in South Africa,—and Botha approved of Merriman at the time of the Union,—he lacks discretion, delights in racy criticism, and home truths. In South Africa they say if something bitter and biting must be said to the public, they can knock at Merriman's door and always find him in,—he will shout the home truth and the racy criticism. He is a *literatteur,* a historian, a great economist and a sound financier.

Schreiner is compared by some to Rosebery, plowing his own lonely furrow. He is a remarkable man, quite a literary writer; he is the great jurist, the lawyer of South Africa, a noble friend, bracing and faithful. He belonged to the Bond party, and when the raid took place, to show you what kind of a man he was, although he was loathing the raid, he wrote to Rhodes: "Whatever you suffer, and whatever you seem to have lost, don't let them induce you to do anything small. You must go on living your life on big lines."

General Smuts is a young man, a scholar of wonderful ability, a Cambridge man, but as a matter of fact a Boer farmer, a well-to-do farmer. Whenever South African farmers of this class have any children that show ability, they send them to Edinburgh to study medicine, or to Cambridge to study literature or law, so that there are many young men in South Africa who are graduates of those Universities of Great Britain. There are South African clubs composed mainly of young Boers who are such graduates.

General Smuts is probably the cleverest and ablest South African politician to-day amongst the young men. The Constitution in conception was more his than any other's. In carrying it out, Botha and Jameson were the principal leaders, but the framing of the Constitution was his work, so that he has been in that respect the Hamilton of the South African Constitution. He has had an extraordinary effect on public affairs, and made a profound impression at the last Imperial Conference.

I don't know whether a brief survey of the South African Constitution might be of interest. Let me point out a few

features. It is not a federal union, it partakes more of a legislative union: the Parliament in South Africa and under the Constitution is supreme. There are Provincial Councils, as we have Provincial Legislatures. The Councils can pass any ordinance so long and so far as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament. The Union Parliament can always annul any one that is. There is a requirement of a two-thirds majority in certain particular cases. Now we know that in Canada, as well as the United States and Australia, the fathers of Confederation, in each of these countries, had special reasons why they should elaborate the federal plan, and you might ask why South Africa chose a legislative union and a unitary constitution; it is because of very serious and difficult problems facing them in the immediate future. I spoke of the racial question; I will speak further of it in a moment. There were social and economic questions: then there was the fact that they had to eliminate all animal diseases, which are so prevalent in South Africa,—all these, not to speak of the native problem, which is the chief and foremost, required uniform treatment and firm handling from a central authority; this body could direct taxation, could legislate on agriculture, but agriculture was one power contained in Parliament; the Councils were restricted to local affairs generally; in education the Union Parliament deals with the University or higher education,—I wish I could speak on education.

As to difficulties, it was natural to expect such difficulties from the beginning, but it is just as well the difficulties should spring up now at the beginning, so that the Parliament, which is supreme, might be in a position within five years to deal with such obnoxious questions. One difficulty was the choice of a capital. Some wanted Cape Town, but that was not central, so Pretoria was suggested, to include Kimberley and Johannesburg, for the executive capital. But Parliament sits at Cape Town, and the judges of the Supreme Court sit at Bloemfontein. In this way all are satisfied. As a matter of fact, you know how the Judges can ignore the law. There is an old saying in French, for which the English is "Necessity knows no law." We have a Judge in Montreal called Judge Necessity,—although constitutionally the Judges sit at Bloemfontein, when there are cases at Bloemfontein, when there are no cases there they sit at Cape Town.

Now what about the party system? When you hear about Progressives, and all the old, changed appellation involves, you must include under that term the British party; and when you hear of the Bond, or the *Orangia Unie*, that includes the

Dutch element. These are not closely defined or distinct, because as a matter of fact there is no party to-day in South Africa. It is in process of evolution. There is lingering the question of town versus country, and you hear of Nationalists represented by Botha and his friends, and Unionists, composed of Dr. Jameson's friends. But this does not give a true inside inspection of the party system in South Africa. The first years of the Constitution must of necessity be critical, and during the first general election it was quite natural to hear of Dutch party as against British party, as in the time of the union of the two Canadas we heard of the French party and the Brown or British party. We hear occasionally the shout of French and English, but is there not enough mutual respect to ignore such party distinctions? The same system should be applied to South Africa. There will naturally spring up a splendid party system, and a strong government that is needed.

There are in the British system two traditional parties, the Liberal and the Conservative. For the stranger who travels in South Africa it is quite easy to describe, while it may not be so for one who resides in South Africa, when many among the Dutch supposed to be Liberals are poor Conservatives, and many supposed to be Conservatives are poor Reformers and poor Liberals. There is no religious cleavage or issue to present, and the education question is not complicated as in Canada with the religious question. As regards language, I believe in the survival of the fittest; the language generally spoken is English. It is true they speak on the farms in Dutch, but a Dutchman from Europe would hardly understand a Boer: the Taal is not a language, but a patois. It is quite different in Canada, where the French that is spoken is classical, just as the English is classical; and by the way, let me compliment the University of Toronto on promoting as much as possible the learning of the French language,—I speak particularly of speaking that French found in Canada; if you travel abroad where they can't speak English, you can always speak French and be understood.

I say racialism will ultimately disappear as the people mingle, because you must remember both British and Boers came from the same stock, the Saxon, not a bad stock at all. But what will remain, will be the native question and the Asiatic question. In Cape Colony the blacks have the franchise; in Natal they have the franchise, but it is hedged with so many "ifs" and "buts" as to be very much restricted; in the Transvaal they have no franchise; Dutch history is against

granting any such franchise to the blacks. South Africa is to have that problem to-morrow. The English people control the labor market and England is doing in the deepest recesses of Africa a great work, taking the black and teaching him the highest standards of civilization. Your missionaries in South Africa are accomplishing wonders, much more than in Japan and China.

The black has a natural reverence for divinity. I have met several missionaries, who assist in the work of catechizing the blacks, and they tell me that when they take a resolution, for instance, abandoning polygamy, or leaving off liquor, or refusing to bear arms, they generally stick to the resolution they take. Sir, they are intelligent people; more than that, I said a moment ago that the doors of the labor market not only unskilled, but gradually of the skilled, are being opened to them. In the mines are thousands of blacks, and there is no strike with them, and they accept low wages, so the native question is complicated with another question: Will there be any white immigration in South Africa? I doubt it, for two reasons. I said a moment ago that the mine workers employ forty to fifty or sixty thousand blacks in the bowels of the earth, because they can depend on them working and going on no strike. There are no Crown lands left, so they can't induce whites to go there. Only, there will be ultimately the annexation of Rhodesia to the Union. A chartered company is making a selection of the pick of the emigrants of Europe, and no immigrant can go without evidence or £200 or £300 in his pocket. But for the present, and perhaps for many years to come, there is the native problem. What will you do with that? If ever they find the right leader, as did the Basutos, they will be a serious problem. They probably stand in the proportion of eight or nine to one. Therefore, these two problems will ultimately weld the best elements among the Dutch and the British.

As to the Asiatic immigrants, in Natal 125,000 Asiatics—Hindus—were brought over from the sugar plantations, with 100,000 whites and 800,000 blacks; therefore Natal is not so secure after all. The Hindus are not only on the plantations, they have taken the small trades and monopolized them—as a matter of fact they are draining the British of South Africa, to speak the honest truth.

These problems are looming large, with which the Union Parliament will have to deal. Here are some problems of the immediate future, and which make me believe the best elements will unite and make of South Africa what our fore-

fathers have made of Canada. We have here two races, shall I say two different ideals? I believe not. The Englishmen conquered a thousand years ago. Our ideals are the same: you are Normans, and I am Norman. In South Africa, as in Canada, the British Government, the best institution in the world for the government of men since the Roman Empire. The British Government has trusted the colonies; the British Government has trusted Canada, English and French; the British Government has trusted South Africa, British and Dutch. They there, as we here, enjoy the system of responsible government; they know what is the price of liberty, they are under the aegis of freedom and liberty, and living under such, I can freely predict to you gentlemen that the Dutch of South Africa, united with the English of South Africa, will be one in the galaxy of the great nations which form the British Empire.

(*March 9*)

A Canadian in Paris.

BY PRINCIPAL MAURICE HUTTON.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "A Canadian in Paris," Principal Maurice Hutton, of University College, said:

Mr. Chairman,—I am going to try to put before you briefly in half an hour the half dozen things which seem to me to strike a Canadian or an Englishman most strongly when he spends half a year in Paris.

And first, I think, comes the deep divisions of French thought and French society: French logic is very deep and very inexorable, and, like all logic, sometimes very narrow. It divides with a hatchet those problems and those "causes" which seem to the hazy but wider instincts of the Englishman to melt into one another and to be indivisible, and to be incapable therefore of solution except by those compromises which the genius of England loves. And first and foremost a Frenchman seems to be of necessity a "clerical" or an "anti-clerical." I am speaking to a body of Canadians, but I don't suppose in this whole body there is an anti-clerical present to-day, and I don't suppose there is a clerical: is not this battle of the Latin races, of France and Italy and of Spain and Portugal unmeaning to us? Nor is it all the fault of the Roman Catholic Church: for the Church exists, but there is only the semblance of the division, in Ireland; and besides, this division is not only in religion or in church matters—it may be said to begin there for convenience: it does not end there.

Be that as it may, in Paris the fight is for the present irreconcilable. The clericals of some years ago by great efforts erected a gorgeous church on the heights of Montmartre, the Church of the Sacré Cœur which dominates Paris and stands out conspicuous for miles,—you see it from the

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*Principal Hutton of University College, Toronto, has long been esteemed as a thoughtful and entertaining "after-dinner" speaker. Though as thoroughly steeped in the academic side of life as anyone, he is in touch with the world, and lights up any company he chooses to enter. Prior to addressing the Canadian Club, he has just returned from a year's leave of absence, a considerable part of which he spent in France, where he made a study of French political and social problems.

Port de Solferino even. The anti-clericals resented its building profoundly, and promptly the municipality, which is anti-clerical, retaliated: within fifty yards of the door of the new church the municipality erected a rival structure, a monument to the last martyr of free thought, the Chevalier Labatre, I think, burnt by the Church about one hundred years before: you fancy in your simplicity as you approach that he is a Christian martyr; no, he is a martyr of free thought, placed there to give the lie eternally by his presence to the Christianity of the Church before which he stands. Religious bitterness must be very bitter, the odium theologicum, and the perhaps greater odium atheologicum, must be very odious when such things are done, or else the spirit of controversy is very childish and very crude. But however it be, it is all very French.

Or, again, within a few hundred yards of Notre Dame stands another hero and martyr of free thought, Étienne Dolet. In the floods of last winter, attributed by the clerical and royalist organs to the present Government and to the incapacity of some Jewish engineers, the water mounted to St. Étienne's feet and threatened to swamp him. The papers became full of appropriate squibs. "*Cet homme,*" said one wit, "*n'avait aucune verve: brulé dans la chair par l'église, noyé dans la pierre par les libres penseurs.*"—"This man had no joy in life: burned in the flesh by the Church, and drowned in stone by the freethinkers." And in that jest lies a real dilemma for the thinkers of France.

A professor at the university said to a friend of mine that even a professor must take sides: he must either burn his intellectual fingers still by siding with the church and roasting heretics (albeit in a modern and diluted fashion) or he must submerge himself in the shallow and muddy waters of atheism. For instance, there was the question of poor Joan of Arc before the public when I was there, and the question of her visions: she was a saint on the high road to canonization for the clerical; she was just a lunatic to the anti-clerical and intellectual; and saints much greater than poor simple Joan are just lunatics to the narrow logic of the French "intellectual." To the lazy, hazy English mind, as in English proverbs, genius and hallucination may naturally meet: the sublime and the ridiculous are but a foot apart. The Frenchman abhors so slovenly, so mystical a habit of thought.

I turn to French politics. The Republic, said Theiss, divides us least: it still does; but how deep nevertheless, even under a Republic, are the divisions. Everything and every-

where is politics. "There is no newspaper here," said one of my students to me in Paris. There was not: there were only political pamphlets going daily down to the rock bottom of philosophy and politics, discussing daily the philosophy of monarchy, the philosophy of republicanism; most able, most philosophical, most bitter, and most admirable reading,—infinitely better reading than *The Globe* and *The Mail,* even less tame than *The News,* but not newspapers, only political pamphlets.

Politics everywhere! The Steinheil trial was on when I was there. At the bottom of it, as you know, was politics. The play of *"Chanticler"* came on, and even there was politics: the Royalist papers roundly denounced it; it took me some time to find out why, but I gradually learned that the same man wrote some years ago a Bonapartist play, *"L'Aiglon:"* that damned him! or again, a still more recondite explanation, —the Jews who were guilty, as the Royalists said, of this flood in Paris, were trying to distract public attention from their misdoings by enchanting the populace with a witty, delightful play, not written by a Jew, not suggestive therefore even indirectly of Jewish iniquities, and the Royalist papers, having discovered this Jewish plot, jumped heavily on the play; for the Frenchman, like the Athenian of old, is too clever by half: no suspicion is too wild to be harbored in his ingenious imagination.

We British have no imagination and no logic in our politics; they are just luke-warm,—tame compromise. "These wretched islanders," said the elder Mirabeau, "do not know and will never know till their miserable system had brought them to utter ruin, whether they are living under a monarchy or a republic, a democracy or an oligarchy." I believe the case is even worse with us than that: we not only do not know, we do not even care, so long as things are fairly quiet and statesmen will patch up some decent compromise; our distrust is for the fanatics, the extremists, the logicians.

The flood again flowed full of politics. The "Camelots du Roi," the Royalist democratic organization of the people, organized relief for the sufferers; but the relief became a Royalist propaganda, and not unnaturally it was resented, and often resisted by the Republican magistrates; even in works of charity the voice of faction was never silent.

It was an open question whether the flood would not have upset the Republic if it lasted; possibly it is hard for a stranger to judge how firmly the present system is seated. It was said by the Royalists to be very insecure; it was said that even

before the flood, about Christmas time, all the autos entering Paris one night were searched for the Duc d'Orléans, Philippe VIII, as they called him. It was probably a newspaper scare, even as the flood itself flowed much more on newspaper than in Paris, and in imagination than in reality.

But the French are continually in extremes. The present Premier—no, you will see that this paper was written some little time ago—the last Premier, the Premier of yesterday, was a Socialist three years ago, breaking policemen's heads, —yesterday he was calling out the police and saying things to make the Socialists jump; three years ago he was shedding policemen's blood, yesterday he was shedding Socialist ministers. Always extremes.

The bitterness of labor and capital seems to me greater than elsewhere. The anti-capitalist paper, "*La Guerre Sociale,*" exults frankly in every policeman injured, in every "*sabotage,*" in every chance of damaging the present Government of France in foreign war. France's wars are French workmen's opportunities.

The bitterness of the police and the magistracy on the one side meets the bitterness of the private citizen and of the Socialist on the other side. Sometimes I have supposed all the citizens in Paris were university students, they seemed so hostile to the police. There is the other side, the extreme officiousness of the police. The case of Liabœuf occurred while I was there,—you heard of it even here. I read it carefully. I believe I am right in saying it was a difficult case, a mixed case. The young fellow was not originally an Apache, he was originally rather deeply sinned against by an unscrupulous police, but he was just an Apache to the friends of order, just a victim and a martyr to "*La Guerre Sociale.*" There is a charming novel of Monsieur France, "*L'Affaire de Crainguevīlle,*" written on the officiousness of the police, and the tendency of the magistrates to believe the police against the word of anyone else.

I take another theme: the scientific zeal of the French, the keen intelligence, the scholarship, the love of books, the spirit which is materialized in Paris in bricks and mortar in the Pasteur Institute, in the endless free lectures of the Sorbonne and the College of France, lectures attended every day by hosts of people, so that police protection was necessary at first when poor little Abbé Loisy began his lectures on the Higher Criticism,—interest and excitement ran so high. This particular excitement had cooled by my time; only forty quiet persons like myself listened to the quiet lectures as he ex-

pounded the diversities of the ancient view of sacrifice. There is the *Institut* again, and the forty Immortals, who meet and read papers to one another and shed tears together over the exquisite pathos and eloquence of the papers.

Pasteur himself illustrates this, the noblest side of French life: when Germany defeated France he was deeply dejected and he talked continually of revenge: by revenge he meant to set French science on a higher pinnacle than any other science, to restore to France at least her intellectual throne; and he set himself to work with redoubled French patience and French genius, and had his noble revenge: he set French medical science above any other; it was a thoroughly French revenge.

The French Chamber of Deputies illustrates the same side of the French mind. One of my former students took me there to hear Monsieur Jaures, the Socialist leader, on the question of elementary education. From a long speech of over an hour I appreciated greatly a very acute and sensible appreciation of the Greek historian Herodotus, as a man of discursive intelligence, a many-sided intellect; but I thought when M. Jaures sat down that I could name a modern intelligence not less discursive and irrelevant than that of Herodotus, but I could not imagine myself on such an intellectual peregrination in the matter-of-fact atmosphere of the British House of Commons.

I come to a third and different feature of the Latin mind: its naturalism. The French is an absolutely natural mind. With all the intellect and keenness of the French there is also the spirit of the child, or, as Plato preferred to say, of the natural man, the democratic man, everything by starts and nothing long, mankind's epitome, the spoilt child, the "*enfant terrible*" of Europe, or the vain beauty, tormenting with her whims her masculine admirers in London or St. Petersburg,—"How am I looking to-day? Is this style of government becoming to me?" "Work out the man," says our sober national poet, "and let the ape and tiger die." But the Parisian has no idea of losing the picturesqueness of life by losing the ape and the tiger. The ape and the tiger are always there in the Parisian, said Voltaire, who evidently, as we can see from his works, knew something of the inner life of these picturesque and interesting creatures, who was himself a susceptible Frenchman, alert to all the passions that still disturb with echoes from distant ages the unstable equilibrium of our double nature.

This reference to the naturalism of the French suggests the often talked-of "gaiety" of Paris, a fourth theme. The

gaiety of Paris is in part an undeserved reproach, due to the visitors to Paris from the United States and from Great Britain. Every visitor finds the Paris he deserves, as every nation is said to have the Jews whom it deserves, and these gentry find Paris in a few notorious music halls, mere shambles and slop pails of sodden sensuality, which are not run for Frenchmen, but for those visitors from England and the United States. A Frenchman does not take his pleasures sadly; he is much too much a child and light-hearted; but I doubt if he takes them there.

A more serous charge against Paris is that its real theatres are so seldom open to our young women, to our women generally; and that is strange, for the Frenchman is a domestic creature and enjoys domestic life; you see him happy with his wife and children in the parks or at the cafés, as much or more than you see the same thing here or in London; but I suppose that the Frenchman, while he practises the domestic virtues, finds them very dull in theory, very poor material for literature, and he thinks so much of theory and of literature. Now, an Englishman of course is the exact opposite: his practical instinct and his political insight and his moral aspiration, what the Frenchman calls his hypocrisy, all combine to make him exalt in theory the domestic virtues; they do not lead him to practise them quite in the same degree. However it be, the French find these virtues too tame and obvious for literary treatment; the opposite vices, conversely, are racy, entertaining, diverting; therefore from his theatres he demands, and even his wife demands with him, the themes which shock the political or prudish Puritan of Great Britain,—the theme of *le mari qui trompe sa femme* and *la femme qui trompe son mari,*—and on this theme, a theme rather threadbare anyhow in a wicked world, they dwell with a most damnable iteration. During all the weeks I passed in Paris, I saw but one play perfectly innocent and perfectly charming, full of humor and of pathos, and acted with all the perfection of French acting, the play called *"Sire,"* which ran for several weeks at the Comédie Francaise, and was a joy to see and to remember.

The French practise the domestic virtues, but they will not sacrifice their scoffing spirit for them, nor even will they make more serious sacrifices on their behalf. It was observed during the Reign of Terror, it was observed again during the later Reign of Terror in 1870, when the bloody-minded Versaillese overturned the poor blood-guilty Commune, that few sacrifices of life or liberty were made for the domestic virtues.

Not a son (it was said) rose to avenge his father, not a hus-
and this in a country where swords would once have leaped
from their scabbards for the sake of a mistress or an epigram.
band rose to defend his wife, not a father to rescue his child,

If there be any truth in the picture, I suppose the reason is that this same dullness of these essential but prosiac virtues paralyses the arm and chills the bloods of Frenchmen. They find them so prosaic, prudish, Protestant, and Puritanical. So British, these domestic virtues.

I think there is a deep significance in that scorn of British prudery: for prudery, like British compromise and common sense, is instinctive, not reasoned, not logical; and the French demand reason, and logic; they are not satisfied with instinct, and they hate the slovenly thinking which belongs to races who are not concerned to think carefully, who are content to be governed by instinct in place of logic, and to be very full of shame and prudery because they are primary instincts.

To return to Parisian gaiety—Paris may be gay in a sense; gaiety has its turn at least; I do not think it is happy. I think it is less happy by far than London, which is a fifth milestone in my survey of Paris. "When the soul is orphaned," says Plato, "then the flatterer's voice is loud." Paris is orphaned in soul; and the flatterer—in Plato's parable—is the body and its passions; and these do not make a people or an individual happy, but they make them or they make him gay with a fitful gaiety. And so Paris has a certain fitful gaiety, but is not happy, for Paris is orphaned in soul for it has not found possible religious creed, only two equally impossible, a theism on the one side, and a mediaeval Catholicism on the other. Paris is orphaned in soul, for it has not yet found a satisfactory political system: for the present system has this immense evil that there is no figure, however simple and humdrum, however commonplace and unheroic, which can be idealized and admired as the incarnation of the glory of France, no figure which can stand apart from politics and just be France. In England, even in Italy, thousands of simple people, women and children, not to say men also, surround the reigning monarch with the romance which comes of a simple and faithful heart; however obscure, humdrum or commonplace, they are proud of him or her, to the good always of the romancer, to the good no doubt often of the object of romance.

But in Paris, where the President has been but a party leader, the accursed party system and the bitterness of parties, and the irreverence of Frenchmen, make such innocent respect, make the wholesome illusions of constitutional monarchy—if

they be illusions—impossible. The British visitors were shocked at the scoffs thrown in Paris at Britain's cherished names during the Boer war. They need not have minded; the scoffs were no worse, not more irreverent, not one whit more indecent or coarse than the jibes flung daily over their own Presidents. There is no shelter for a President under the Republican system in France, no reverence for his place. If anyone doubts the wisdom of constitutional monarchy, if anyone believes in an elective monarch or President, let him go to Paris and learn better.

Paris is orphaned, and it is unhappy also, I think, and it is partly because it is conscious of poverty; not of the intense grinding poverty of some parts of London, but of an all-pervading poverty; it is conscious that there is no great mass of comfort and of comfortable people, such as are found in Canada, in Great Britain, and in the United States. It was rather pathetic to hear the people talk of it. "We are not rich here," they seemed to say, "we can not do much, we are just scholars, workers, students, and we are proud of that, we have not indeed anything else, we can only be intellectual and natural, but we try to be those things: neither dull nor hypocritical."

I think it is this poverty which makes Paris seem less democratic than London. It is not less democratic, it is more so. The logic of the people insists on liberty, fraternity, equality, as our people never have and perhaps never will; but the French Parliament will never go the lengths of our Parliament in social betterment. They will not vote old age pensions, for instance, except on a contributory system: their French thrift resists the extravagance of the British Parliamentary system, which is prepared to undermine thrift; their memories of '48 resist the idea, for France tried then some of the extreme fancies which Great Britain is only approaching now; I think their poverty also makes them resist this experience. They don't protect labor, as it is protected in Great Britain; for example, the hard night work of the bakers was just being noticed and canvassed when I was in Paris; and people were surprised, in the fierce divisions of French society, that the Archbishop of Paris should lend his help in the agitation against it, or that the agitation should seem to gain ground, for people are accustomed to work hard, to slave, in Paris. It has not occurred to them to so pity the workers, as the mass of comfortable, well-off people in the United States and Great Britain often pity them, and therefore agitate for social betterment.

Paris is not a happy city; it is distracted and poor, the people haven't time or heart to be happy or helpful or sociable like the average Canadian or American or Britisher: life is too hard for people to be as obliging as they are here. You do not meet smiling faces in the street cars, you do not meet obliging people there. If you are a young girl and pretty, of course it makes a difference, but otherwise there is a perpetual wrangle in the cars for one's rights and a perpetual wrangle for the seats. And there are a thousand and one rules which the Frenchman in his logical spirit has drawn up to settle these wrangles; and this makes them seem a fussy people. For instance, I gave up trying to rent the apartment I preferred, for I saw it would take six weeks to get the lease drawn up; so I rented instead from an American, who took four minutes and a half to write one. The lessor had a keen sense of business, and was not a whit more inclined to give away an apartment than a Frenchman, but being an American did the business in an American way, expeditiously and naturally and without red tape.

I gave up sending packages of mail to this country,—it was not worth the trouble: it took a whole morning to get a package through: first of all I had the wrong sort of string, secondly the wrong variety of paper, thirdly insufficient duplicate and triplicate invoices, fourthly an inadequate number of seals; the officials were wrapt up in the mint, anise and cummin of the Post Office Department, and it took an age to unwrap them. Life became too short for this, so naturally I ceased to send these things, or employed instead that supernumerary and extraordinary tradesman, who exists only in France, I should think, and who is constructed for these very emergencies,—the *emballeur* or packer, who has studied all the thirty-nine articles of the Post Office creed, and is the hierophant of its labyrinthine mysteries.

A final cause for Parisian unhappiness I think, and a final feature in the life of Paris, a seventh candle in my candlestick, is the sense among the people that the non-Parisian elements and the non-French elements even are so prominent now in Paris. There is an endless tirade in the opposition papers, with which I feel myself in sympathy, about the four estates which run France: the Jews, the Protestants, the Free Masons, and the Strangers,—none of them typically French; none redolent of the soil; interlopers more or less; rich cosmopolitans, not French at heart; citizens of the world, living in Paris for its galleries and gaieties, its theatres and politics; not of France, so flaunting their foreign gold and foreign

comfort, that even the satisfaction of sharing these things with them becomes but a bitter coating to the pill and cannot make it very palatable. "It might be better to be poorer and more French," they seem to say; I thought that myself. I would like the city better, had it been even poorer—and God knows it is poor and sordid and squalid enough already in great patches—if only therewith it had more local color, if it were more French and less American and cosmopolitan; if only one could escape, for example, that vile and hateful Rue de l'Opéra,—to quote my friend Mr. Waldron — where villainous pimps and panders, the "putrescent scum" of all creation, pounce upon the Anglo-Saxon visitor, for whom alone they exist, and thrust upon him their indecent postcards and pornographic photographs; where almost every man is an American or an Englishman. Long since, indeed, the Hudson and the Thames have emptied into the Seine,—"*Jampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*"—and though you may still see the proud river beneath its prouder bridges, flowing in the clear air of autumn, with the Louvre on the right bank, flooded with afternoon sunlight, with the noble towers of Notre Dame in the centre, and with the *Institut* on the left bank, and all the picturesquely narrow streets thereto adjoining—Rue de Seine, Rue de Mazarin, Rue Bonaparte, Rue Delphine, Rue de l'Ancienne Comédie,—though the river be at its best, though delicious hot chestnuts are sold at the street corners and cheap wine in every café, though second-hand book stalls are open by the score along the river side, and the tone and air and even the smells of a literary and learned and book-loving people are all about you—with now and then an awful whiff of garlic—in such an autumn and in such an hour and mood one wishes one had been born some sixty years before,—one wishes one could have seen Paris when it was still Paris, and when it was still more truly French.

(*March 20*)

A Canadian in Australia.

BY MR. H. B. AMES, M.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "A Canadian in Australia, Mr. H. B. Ames, M.P., Montreal, said:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Canadian Club,—I have very pleasant recollections of having met the Canadian Club of Toronto before, although I find time slips by so quickly that it is seven or eight years since I was here; but your President—an old friend of mine personally—sent me an invitation for to-day, so I accepted the privilege and pleasure of coming again.

It seems rather a presumptuous task to speak here of a continent in thirty-five minutes, to speak of a people in many ways one of the most interesting of the many countries in the world.

First of all, a word as to the circumstances in which I went to Australia a year and a half ago. There is, as you know, an organization called the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, a body which meets every third year. The delegates come from all parts of the British Empire, delegated from various bodies, and meet to discuss trade relationships, to consider the various annoyances and barriers, and how their various dealings with each other can be made more extensive and profitable; also how the great British Empire can, along commercial lines, be drawn closer.

That organization, which met in 1906 in London, met in 1910 in Sydney, New South Wales. Among those present were Mr. Gage, of Toronto; Mr. Cockshutt, of Brantford, and a dozen Canadians of various bodies, who went as delegates. We were very hospitably entertained by our Aus-

*Another Canadian who brings home political knowledge gained abroad is Mr. Herbert B. Ames, M.P., of Montreal, one of Mr. R. L. Borden's Quebec lieutenants. He was a delegate from the Montreal Board of Trade to the Chambers of Commerce Congress of the Empire, which met in Australia, and while there he made special study of the new Australian constitution. Mr. Ames is an organizer of supreme capacity, and since entering the House of Commons has been before the public for his work in the Parliamentary Committees. A year or two ago he journeyed over much of Canada on a tour of minute inspection of public works, in order the better to understand the work before him in Parliament.

tralian friends, not only commercial, but political, bodies also vying with one another to make our stay pleasant, giving us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the resources and the people of the country. I spent ten weeks as pleasantly as I ever spent that length of time in my life, with the delegates from all parts of the British Empire gathered in that congress to discuss these questions.

I will attempt to give you to-day a series of impressions made upon me in that journey through the Australian states. The first impression was that of the immense and unexpected size of the country. This strikes the Britisher particularly; we Canadians are accustomed to big things on this continent, and don't think so much of it. Yet, when you come to think of it, the area is greater than that of the United States; the seaboard is as long as the Pacific and Atlantic seaboard of the United States. We landed at Brisbane, went through New South Wales and Victoria, visited Tasmania, and then went through South and West Australia. Our trip would be equivalent to a journey in this country from St. John, N.B.—if we followed the coast—to Galveston, Tex. No feature struck me so favorably and forcefully as the magnificent cities. Of course, Australia has a number of seaboard communities, and these have developed independently of the rest of the country. So much of the capital of these cities depends on the large tributary area behind them. There are two classes of people—those who lived in the country and made money there and those who came to cities to swell the enormous aggregation of urban population. Sydney and Melbourne have a large, wealthy population. About 40 per cent. of the population live in some half-dozen cities, and nearly 35 per cent. in four or five cities on the seaboard. From these railways stretch into the interior, like radiating bars of a fan, in different directions. The shipping and financial interests are large, and there are great opportunities for culture also at Sydney. Their cities dominate the country very much more than our cities in Canada.

Their resources, though great and valuable, are not so diversified nor so promising as we have in Canada. We have a larger outlook and larger opportunities than they.

There are three main sources of wealth, and I shall speak of them historically, in the order of their development—sheep ranching, gold digging, and wheat raising. The early settlers, who went there a hundred years ago, found the uplands a little distance from the seaboard admirably adapted to sheep, and for years they could produce little else than wool, tallow,

and mutton. By the middle of last century there was a large number of sheep in the country, estimated at one hundred million, and it was not an unusual thing to see fifty, sixty, or seventy-five thousand in a single flock. We had several delightful opportunities of going into the interior and seeing the various operations of shearing and clipping by machinery and other processes. Life on those great sheep farms is very much like a home in an English gentleman's country residence, because some of these men are very wealthy. The sheep clip last year, as to value of the product, was $150,000,000.

The next great source of wealth is gold. It was discovered first in 1857 in the alluvial soil at Ballarat and Bendigo. At first the miners were able to make fortunes in digging nuggets. Between 1851 and 1861 the population trebled, and there was a very large annual output, nearly all due to the miner with pick and shovel, amounting to $50,000,000 a year. So, you see, a very large sum of money was made available for local investment and development. The output of gold has amounted to $2,500,000,000 worth. W can hardly realize what it means to a country to have such an enormous sum of money for investment. The old method of digging gave place to the new method of placer mining, but no small placer miner is now to be found anywhere. It was interesting to see the traces of his old washings. To-day it is all gold digging, mining, getting from reefs and rocks, and is carried on by immense corporations. One man alone—a Mr. Morgan—got $75,000,000 of gold ore.

The third means of wealth is raising of wheat. Australia is getting immigrants, and as many as possible are being put on farms, each being given two acres, one sheep, and twenty-five bushels of wheat. Thus they are getting them to raise wheat. With more than 25,000,000 acres of wheat land scattered over the different States, though they can produce only ten or twelve bushels to the acre, not more than half or two-thirds as much as we can, and have quarter as much land, yet their possibility of wheat production is very great.

From these three sources Australia has got wealth, and is still getting it. Some years she has had to import wheat, as in 1903, when there was a drought. Last year the yield was the largest on record—nearly 100,000,000 bushels. They have to count on one year in every six or seven as a bad year. Fortunately they have had a series of good years now, and are very prosperous.

As to the system of government, one is able to find much of interest in it. We have the impression here that we gave

them the model and they followed it, but that is not accurate. These Australian States federated as soon as 1901. What the Canadian is struck with first is the lack of cohesion. There is not much Australian sentiment as such—a man is a New South Wales man, or of whatever State he is, and then an Australian. There is not that sense as yet of unification which we have. Their constitution differs from ours in one very important principle—when the federation was made, it was arranged that the residuum of power should rest with the Provinces, not the federal authorities; with us it is the opposite. The tendency there is, therefore, to magnify State rights and minify the central power. They also have an elective Senate, each State being allowed so many Senators. The Senate sits for six years; it takes a vote of the whole State, the first eight receiving the nomination.

They also have woman suffrage now practically universally. And the ladies use their privilege almost as well as the men, at the last election 53 per cent of the male vote being polled and 47 per cent. of the female. Usually the ladies persuade their husbands to vote about the way they do, so there is not any very great difference in the returns since the ladies have been admitted to the franchise. I think the personal magnetism of the candidate has a good deal to do with the way they vote, and occasionally on a moral issue the woman vote will break away and make itself felt. They generally persuade their husbands and brothers to vote with them, so it is about a doubling of the vote. I think the labor element is gone, for practically every wife and daughter of the laboring man votes on the other side.

One very highly developed system they have is that of state ownership and operation of public utilities. Now, if the Government was to operate a road, the prices charged must be commensurate with the cost, so the average first-class fare there is 3¾ cents a mile and the second-class 2½ cents. The average rate on a bushel of wheat carried three hundred miles is 14 cents; in Victoria it is lower—8 cents. If Australia had her wheat field in the centre of the continent, instead of on the edges, the question of marketing would be serious. But the centre is barren, and the only growth is within three or four hundred miles of the seaboard. In our country the average freight rate on grain is two or three times as heavy.

The telegraph system is lower in charge under government ownership, and so is the post-office. While not a financial success, for a deficit has to be made up annually, yet they give excellent service. Sixpence will carry a telegram in the

metropolitan area; ninepence will take it anywhere within the state, while one shilling will carry an ordinary message anywhere in Australia. A sixteen-word message goes anywhere for 25 cents, a smaller rate than we are accustomed to. The telephone rate in the smaller towns is $15 and in larger towns $20 a year. But it is a very poor service. I think I would need about two Australian telephones to give as much service as one in Toronto.

We had the opportunity of meeting the Premiers not only of the several States, but also the Prime Minister of the Federation. Premiers have very short lives in Australia. I found the people there had the utmost admiration for Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I said we all have in Canada. But one reason that seemed to be the chief one with many of them was that he could remain Premier for fifteen years they never had a man in Australia stay in more than three years. In the last ten years they have had no less than ten different ministries; so every politician has a chance in Australia.

There are three parties in Australia. After the States became federated the people naturally fell into two parties. Victoria was protectionist, while New South Wales was for free trade, thus giving the nucleus of two parties; but after they were amalgamated they effected a compromise on low tariff. Then there entered as a wedge the Labor party, which was stronger in the cities, but had considerable following in the country sections as well. Thus there were three parties, none of which was strong enough in itself, so there followed a series of coalitions—Liberal and Labor, Conservative and Labor, and Liberal and Conservative against Labor. This accounts for the turbulence of their politics. Free traders and protectionists were at one time held together by their common dislike of Laborites, but as soon as they went to the country the people elected a Labor man. So now Mr. Andrew Fisher is the Prime Minister of Australia; and, as he is a labor man and most of the Provincial legislators are Labor men, it is probable that for the next series of years labor legislation will be rather prominent. He is a big, fine Scotchman. You would not take him for a radical. I was told that he does not speak often, but when he takes the floor very few men can stand up against him in debate.

Mr. Fisher and some of his colleagues were present at a little private luncheon, and we had an opportunity of asking them what they would do when they came into power. They did get in a few months after, and I have noticed that what he told us is what he is doing. One thing, they are all pro-

tectionists; they believe in protecting the product and the laborer, but they start from the bottom upwards, instead of from the top downwards. I will tell you what I mean. They say in Australia that every man is entitled to a wage that will enable him to adopt the standard of living that man ought to maintain in a civilized country; they say that their conditions of labor and the wages paid should be sufficient for this. So they appoint wage boards, and fix the wages by law. I suppose 80 per cent. of the wageworkers come under the wage boards. When the workers in any industry want a change in their conditions they make a petition to the Government, and the Government passes legislation enabling it to act, and appoints a commission, composed partly of workers, partly of manufacturers, with generally a judge for chairman, the board being composed of seven, nine, or eleven. These go carefully into the conditions of that line of business, from the bottom up, and they decide that the wages, the hours, and the conditions of labor should be such and such, and any manufacturer who works his employees for longer hours or gives them less than the board allows is penalized. The manufacturers tell the Government, "In order to have such conditions we must have such protection," so the Government gives them protection to that percentage. There is the basis of their protective policy.

A great many radical proposals are put into force—some seem to us almost anarchistic. I consider that heredity and environment produce this by a series of short steps, aiming to make the conditions of life better. The greatest good to the greatest number is a motto they seem always to keep in mind. They took one of the laws out by the roots and put into operation advanced trade union laws—eight hours a day and standard wages, for instance. You will say this was very radical, but the trades agencies in perhaps a dozen different lines opposed its repeal. Each one proceeded to a careful enquiry, so you will see they have arrived by only slow and short steps to a position which would seem radical, scarcely though legislation, but by natural evolution. Anyone who would say that these laws, as the Australians have them, were taken and transplanted from Canada makes a great mistake; they are the distinct outcome of hereditary environment and special conditions. We can follow, step by step, along the line of improvement, and see how each step is the result of careful investigation.

Mr. Fisher told me his party stood for centralization. The second plank in their platform is a progressive land tax. Very

large areas are held by the sheep ranchers, which the Government think should be turned into agricultural land occupied by small farmers. So they are introducing progressive land taxes, making a large holding an expensive luxury, and in that way taxing it out of existence.

In order to cause closer settlement of the land they will deliberately say, "We want a part of your land." They will pay a reasonable price for it, and the man will have to take that or submit the matter to a board of arbitrators. They claim that a man is entitled to hold only as much land as he can make the maximum use of. So a man that holds fifty thousand acres for a sheep run is thought to be dealing unfairly, since he has land that would support a large number of small farmers. In that way they are taking large areas and cutting them up into little farms, draining the land, building roads and bridges, and thus making a settlement of small farmers. The farmer pays principal and interest in thirty-six years.

The fourth plank is with reference to nationalization. The railroads, telegraphs, and telephones are all nationalized. They have state banks and state life insurance companies. The idea is to nationalize all natural monopolies, the forces of transportation and distribution, and even of production itself. Eventually they will have, of necessity, to land their community in state control of production.

Finally, most important of all their planks, they stand, first and last and all the time, for a "white" Australia. In the mining districts Chinese were entering in considerable numbers. For a number of years exclusion legislation has been enacted, and now no Chinese or Japanese can come in except under almost prohibitive conditions. The incoming yellow races are not allowed the rights of citizenship. A Chinese or a Japanese may hold property, but is not allowed to vote, and he cannot become naturalized. It may be difficult to maintain this condition. The whites occupy one-tenth of the area of the continent, and one-half of the continent is unexplored. If a country is under the tropics, it is not a white man's country, because, while the white man may hold it, he cannot occupy it. The north end of Australia is only a week's steaming from the south of Japan, and there would be difficulty in repelling any influx of the yellow races if they took the notion to bring their ships along the Australian coast.

A government, like an individual, may be considered entitled to hold only such land as it can make the maximum use of. So we find more militarism by far than in Canada. In the first

place, they have standardized their forces, as we are doing in Canada. They have a university cadet system, a free and compulsory system, for all go to school. Lads from 14 to 18 must all belong to cadet corps; many also belong to rifle corps. There is compulsory service for sixteen days in camp per annum for all men between 18 and 26 for practically every man who is in reach of any population centre.

The entire cost of the full unit of the naval force is great. The capital expenditure for the navy in annual contribution for maintenance is $20,000,000. There are two great military wharves, for they have a great desire that the navy shall be able to transport troops rapidly.

In defence of a "white" Australia she is prepared to make great sacrifices. I think they realize very keenly what it means to be an outpost of empire, and they are prepared to do their part.

Three months ago there was some talking about reciprocal trade with Australia. Just now the pact or treaty with the United States has nearly knocked us out of that. We were to send them lumber, fish, and fruit; but now, since we cannot differentiate ours from the products of our neighbors to the south—but that is a long story; I will leave it for some other time.

I can assure you it was a particular pleasure to us Canadians to go to this meeting or congress, and there to meet with persons who came from all parts of the British Empire, and whom you find in a great city many thousands of miles from home, and the discussion of questions related to mutual experience is very inspiring and stimulating. For there were gathered people from South Africa, India, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean, from Egypt, and from the old land herself; and I confess that feature appealed very strongly to me, that they put methodical labor not only on the great question pertaining to mutual defence, but treated small questions with the same impartial care, and a great number of subjects could be taken up with due consideration.

After we had been entertained with innumerable banquets and dinners we passed through Ceylon, then went to Northern India, westward into Egypt, and so on home. I confess that the greatest impression of all that came to me was the impression of what British institutions mean in the world at large. Here it was possible for a man to start from Montreal, cross Canada, cross the Pacific Ocean, touching the Fiji Islands and Australia, traverse the Australian continent in all parts, sail to India, pass Aden, come to Egypt, pass by Gibraltar, and so

come on home; and everywhere he went he would be either on a vessel flying the British flag or in a British land where British institutions are known and respected. And, if the opportunity comes to any of you to have a similar trip, I cannot imagine a better, more healthful, or easeful experience. The feeling comes over one that the contribution of the British Empire to the world, where she alone can be, is of the greatest magnitude, and it makes us mindful of the proud fact that we, too, are in the working army.

(*March 27*)

The West's Hinterland.

By Mr. J. K. Cornwall, M.P.P.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club on the subject, "The West's Hinterland," Mr. J. K. Cornwall, M.P.P. for the Peace River District, said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I will assure you that it is a very great pleasure for me to be here to-day. I am a little bit unnerved, after listening to the introduction of your President, Mr. MacKay. I did not think I was quite so distinguished a character until I heard him say it. However, I will try to live up to his estimation of my character in future. I might say that I have had some considerable assistance, from the fact that I was born in Ontario, which ought to make me good, and I have known some of Canada's greatest citizens, some of whom are here to-day. I have several times been under the guidance of Bishop Reeve, who spent years on the Canadian rivers of the North; and I have a neighbor in Archdeacon Robbins, whom I know very well, and who will endorse my character for as long as he has known me, and I think I will be looked after by Bishop Sweeny, who is here nearby.

I know you are all business men, and I am very glad for it, as it is an interesting story I have to tell—not that I tell it very well, but it is a very important story of the last part of Canada—the last free land left to the Anglo-Saxon race in North America. I desire to take you on an imaginary trip from Edmonton—the gateway of the West—over to the Mackenzie watershed and beyond. All this is known as the West, but the country of which I am speaking is here (indicating on a map), north from Edmonton to the Arctic, 3,000 miles. The Mackenzie watershed contains 3,500 miles of navigable waters, on which steamers are plying to-day in the fur trade. These rivers are going to be of tremendous advantage to that country in its development, in furnishing transportation for at

*Mr. J. K. Cornwall, M.P.P., for the Peace River District, in the Alberta Legislature, is an old Ontario boy who settled in the Peace River country years ago. He knows that vast territory from Edmonton to the Arctic Ocean, having personally traversed it many times. He is interested in transportation in the far north, and has done much to attract public attention to the wealth of that region.

least six months in the year—four months in the northern part and six months in the southern part. It will have to be tapped by railroads.

I will tell you of its physical resources, and give you some idea of what you have in store, after you have got through exploiting the present West, bearing in mind always that it is the Last West. Bishop Reeve spent thirty-eight years on the Mackenzie River, and he will tell you that the limit of fertile or agricultural development is probably 60 degrees latitude, which is the most northerly point of Alberta. That is about the most northerly point on which you can figure on growing very well for any commercial purpose. It has been grown farther north than that, but only in favorable places.

The lakes in that country are of tremendous extent, inland seas teeming with fish of the highest commercial value, that will be brought in when the waterways are supplemented by railroads. At the mouth of the Mackenzie River, where it enters the Arctic Ocean, the whalers of San Francisco have taken in twenty years $17,000,000 in the whale industry. Not one dollar of that has ever been of any benefit to Canada. We did not exploit that. The whalers go around through the Bering Strait. By developing this North Land you can put in whaling stations at the mouth of the Mackenzie, and, on account of the strategic advantage of having your stations on your own soil and of being able to get at them by waterways, you can get all that trade. You can take a steamer from Victoria, B.C., up around through the Arctic Ocean, and bring it to Fort Smith; and you can draw seven feet of water.

In the North country there is water-power variously estimated at between 750,000 and 1,000,000 horse-power. There are immense areas—millions and millions of acres—of pulpwood in that country. So you see what a tremendous reservoir of natural resources we have.

Some of the natural resources—I will just go briefly over them—are gold, iron ore, copper, galena, coal, oil—geologists claim that there is the greatest oil prospect in the known world. They have not found oil, but they are boring for it; it is in its infancy, but when they do find it it will be the greatest oil field in the known world. There are also deposits of salt and asphaltum in that country.

In the earlier days the rangers got the idea of range and agricultural country from following the natural habits of the buffalo. I have been from the Rio Grande to Fort Smith. I have seen the only band of wild buffaloes that we have in Canada. I have seen the only band of wild buffaloes that they

have at the Flathead reservation, that we are now buying. The great Mexican halfbreed, Pablo, is rounding them up, and we will eventually have the only buffaloes in the world. You can tell the character of a country by following the buffalo. If you find the buffalo ranging, when the snow goes off the ground you will find that the ground is fertile. The largest buffalo was killed by a Fort Smith man. It weighed 2,400 pounds, and was killed twenty miles east of Fort Smith, and that is where the last band of buffaloes in North America is ranging. They are larger in size there than the buffaloes in any other part of America. The hay is luxuriant, long, and thick, and it is a fine prairie country. Just beyond that the country changes in character. It is about the most northern point where the latitude and climatic conditions and daylight have sufficient influence to grow No. 1 hard. They are 35 minutes north of the fifty-eighth degree. Fort Vermillion is 35 miles north of the fifty-eighth degree. It is a little less than 700 miles north of the American boundary. They get on an average three crops out of five. They had frost even in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Manitoba. There is frost sometimes in the country I speak of. As the soil is cultivated the climatic conditions change. In that country they have nineteen hours of sunlight in summer. It has the greatest length of sunlight experienced in any grain-growing country under the British flag. Grain matures more rapidly there, and the further north you grow wheat the harder it is. The Alberta Red that we hear so much about is Kansas Red. They grow it up there so long as it is safe to grow grain of that kind under certain conditions. We got our wheat from Kansas, and we made hard wheat of it. They now come from Kansas to get seed from Alberta.

Speaking about wheat, the first man to plant anything in this country was named Peter Pond. He went into that country in 1776—the year of the Battle of Bunker Hill. He planted wheat near Fort Chippewan, among other things. One hundred years afterwards, when they were celebrating their independence by a great centennial at Philadelphia, the wheat that took the first prize was raised at Fort Chippewan.

Now as to the climatic conditions. Since we were afflicted with the poem, "Our Lady of the Snows," by Rudyard Kipling, we have had to defend our climate. Prior to that it was supposed to be all right. You have defended it successfully. I have got here two very fine specimens of how you thrive in that country. Bishop Reeve lived for thirty-eight years up there, and if there is a finer looking man physically I would

like to see him. The climate is a very, very fine one. It is cold in winter. We did have a cold winter this year, but we thrived under it; and the farther north you live the better and hardier man you are physically.

Between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan there are six transcontinental railways. Betwen the Saskatchewan and the Athabaska there is one under course of construction. This district (Peace River), on account of the great natural resources, between the Athabaska and Peace River, will sustain two transcontinental roads just as easy—in fact, easier—and will pay quicker than the original C. P. R. paid, because we have a better country.

There has recently died in England a very distinguished soldier and traveller—Sir William Butler—a man whom, I think, was very distinguished for three reasons. He made a trip through that North country in 1870, and when he came back he gave it as his opinion that the country north of the Saskatchewan River would sustain a greater population than the country south of it. See what importance there is to the fact, outside of the fact that I agree with it! He was the first man to call our attention and the attention of the Mother Country to the fact that they should settle the Alaska boundary at once, in 1870. He was a pretty smart man to see it at that time. They did not do it, consequently we were "Alverstoned." You remember that, don't you? Sir William Butler was in charge of the troops in South Africa when the war broke out. He gave it as his opinion that the British Government would need 250,000 men to settle the war. They paid no attention to his remarks, further than to recall him. But he was right. These remarks are just to evidence that his opinion should be taken for something, and he said that the country north of the Saskatchewan would support a greater population than the country south of it.

That country is commencing to receive a certain amount of notice from settlers. There are no great railroads there yet, so you see what we have in store for you in the development of that country. They have proved that wheat can successfully be grown in the country south of 60 degrees. This winter saw the most spectacular trek ever experienced in any country. From the day when Esau, in Biblical times, started out to "hit the trail," in search of a home, down to the present time, there has been no more spectacular trek. There was witnessed there hundreds and hundreds of families leaving Edmonton, with houses on sleighs, wives

and families, and going off into the country five, six, or seven hundred miles beyond the railroad. What kind of people are these? I am sure the Archdeacon will be glad to know. These people organized themselves into little bands, and decided they would settle in the same locality. I was very busy all winter; I was on tap all the time. I was giving these people advice, and trying to tell them where to go.

If I answered it once I answered it a thousand times the question as to school districts. A very remarkable thing, these people would go down to the Government office and get all the documents in order to properly organize a school district. They would be told how to do it—found out where to sign their name, got all that right, and got it in their pockets—before they saw the country or picked out their homestead. The people have gone out there with the stuff they require in order to have a school district; that is the character of the people going into that country. Before these people had built their homes, and during the time they were in the bush for timber to build their houses, each man cut five or six logs towards the erecting of school-houses, before he builds himself a home to cover the heads of his wives—no Mormons out there—before he cuts the logs to cover the heads of his loved ones—I am bound to stick to that, and I am afraid you gentlemen will get suspicious of me; there is nothing in it—I am only married once. However, I think I have gone over it very roughly—a fairly rough synopsis and outline of what the country is.

There are 100,000,000 acres of land north of the Saskatchewan River capable of the same development and productiveness as all that land west of the Red River, between the Red River and the foothills—a hundred million acres, that I have told you about. And it means a great deal to you people here, because you have got another West to exploit; but bear in mind it is last, and it is the best, if I do say it myself. My opinion has been borne out by every man that ever visited it. And be not without hope. You may have your little trouble about reciprocity, but look at the millions and millions of acres of fertile land awaiting to be developed.

A Member—How about the rainfall?

Mr. Cornwall—We have sufficient rainfall there, coupled with two feet of snow, that makes it capable of growing advantageously. There is less dry weather there than in southern Alberta and Dakota.

Now, if there is any other question anybody would like to ask?

A Member—What is the average yield of grain?

Mr. Cornwall—Twenty-five bushels No. 1 hard wheat.

A Member—What weight to the bushel?

Mr. Cornwall — Sixty-six, sixty-seven, or sixty-eight pounds.

A Member—Would it be a grazing country?

Mr. Cornwall—A great mixed farming country.

A Member—Any people up there?

Mr. Cornwall—Two thousand.

A Member—What denomination?

Mr. Cornwall—All kinds, principally English Church.

A Member—Any coal?

Mr. Cornwall—Lots of it.

A Member—What kind?

Mr. Cornwall—Lignite; some bituminous.

A Member—What kind of fish?

Mr. Cornwall—Whitefish and trout.

The Great Prairie country is about one hundred miles square, rolling and undulating, and the lakes and rivers are very beautiful. And, here on the north side of the Peace River, is a grand prairie country, which is all capable and fit for cultivation. The Peace River is navigable for 500 miles, and will play a very important part in the transportation. There are three very great water-powers—one is at Vermillion Chutes and another at Smith's Falls. Copper is found over in the Great Bear Lake country; also iron ore. Galena is found along the Buffalo River. All these lakes are teeming with fish of the highest commercial value. The rivers are open for navigation from four to five months in the year. The great need of the country is men, money, and transportation—that's why I am here. We need railroads, and in a small way you may be an instrument in getting the railroad we need. We want it, and if you can help us to get a railroad you will be doing yourselves and the country a great service—a service that every man ought to be proud to be able to render.

At the present time there is no railroad much north of Edmonton. The Canadian Northern contemplate building a road, and the Grand Trunk Pacific and the C. P. R. all have plans to build into this country. The C. P. R. intend to build a high-level bridge at Edmonton. There are about sixty miles of grading, and there will be steel at Athabaska Landing next fall.

Navigation on the rivers is not continuous; and, while there are 3,500 miles of navigable water, they are broken by falls and rapids in three notable places.

To show you a comparison, I will quote you figures from a blue book. I know you are more or less in this country "from Missouri"—that is the way we figure—but here are some figures concerning a country in the same latitude as the Peace River country:

Tobolsk, in Siberia, is a smaller province in the same latitude. It has a population of 1,656,700, and raised in 1907 12,000,000 bushels of wheat, 4,000,000 bushels of rye, besides large quantities of barley and oats. There were in 1901 3,104,800 head of live stock—all this in a country which is really one hundred miles north of Edmonton. It exported from one district 19,711,446 pounds of butter to England in 1902. That is from Asiatic Russia. The Overseas Club ought to make a note of it. These figures are obtained from a blue book of the Board of Trade, and absolutely authentic.

That is what they have been able to do in Asiatic Russia, where they have somewhat the same soil and the same climatic conditions; and, before I close, may I ask: What are you going to do about it?

(*March 31*)

A Message From Winnipeg,

BY MRS. SANFORD EVANS*

AND

Conservation of Public Health,

BY MISS ETHEL HURLBATT.†

AT a joint meeting of the Canadian Club and the Women's Canadian Club of Toronto the speakers were Miss Ethel Hurlbatt, upon the subject of "Conservation of Public Health," and Mrs. Sanford Evans, upon "A Message from Winnipeg."

MRS. EVANS said:

Mr. President, Madam President, Men and Women of the Canadian Clubs of Toronto,—I am indeed honored by an invitation to address this magnificent audience of Canadian clubs; and I am deeply moved, for not a little does this Winnipeg woman still hold in the heart of her remembrance of the youth of the Toronto girl. As I look into the past I recall the vision of twenty years ago as to what might be expressed and achieved for a united Canadianism by a chain of national Canadian clubs, eventually to stretch from ocean to ocean. I think we little dreamed then that so soon the organization would be a completed chain of so many sturdy links. And, surely, never before in our history has the same sentiment and power of these Canadian clubs been more stimulating and valuable nor more necessary.

To-night I would revise the usual phraseology, and replace "this West of ours" by "this West of yours." How do you

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*Mrs. Sanford Evans, since going to Winnipeg from her girl-hood home in Toronto, has been conspicuous in the social and musical life of the western city. Her husband, Mr. Sanford Evans, is Mayor of Winnipeg and was prominent in the formation of the Canadian Club movement in Hamilton and Toronto. Mrs. Evans is President of the Winnipeg Canadian Club and a speaker of charm and thoughtfulness.

†Miss Hurlbatt is Principal of the Royal Victoria College for Women, McGill University, Montreal, and as such, since coming to Canada from England, has taken a deep interest in the economic problems affecting women in Canada, especially that of health.

feel about it? What do we hold in common, you of the East and we of the West, in our Canadianism? I wonder how large a proportion of the population east of the Great Lakes has ever journeyed to the Pacific Coast. Great good is being done by such excursions as those when the manufacturers "excurted" to the coast, and their wives and mothers shared the trip with them. Last year I was very glad to find in Winnipeg that boys and girls also were having given them an opportunity for that excursion.

When the globe-trotters of the world—men of such quality as the British Association of Scientists—stand amazed at the revelation of that New Land, and Alpine visitors become absorbed by the wonders of our Rockies, is it not reasonable that we should desire for the youth of our land the inspiration of such an experience? For my part I would have such migration brought to a minimum of cost; and, where at all possible, give every boy and girl such opportunity before the age of 21. Why should our school prizes not be travel cards, and educational departments co-operate by excursions for the older and more mature pupils?

And we of the Prairies have no more right to deny our children a vision of the glories of hill and dale, valleys and lakes, fruit-laden orchards and rushing river and cataract, with all of Quebec's historic charm, than have you to let your future citizens miss the sweep of that great land-sea—the wheat-covered prairie, with its fields reaching the horizon, its clear, strong air and soaking sunshine, and beyond the everlasting hills crowned by snow and clothed in living green, while still farther awaits the vision of that garden land of fruit and flowers, backed by the wonderland of forests. Surely it is only in the complete realization of our birthright that a Canadian East or West may become fully nationally self-conscious.

And what about Winnipeg? Well, we are the centre of things geographically, but we are still about one hundred dollars from everywhere. But, you say, how about your outlet of five hundred miles to St. Paul or Minneapolis, on the south? There you find the triumph of national sympathies over distance; for, despite the increase of American immigration and the stretch of our at present unproductive hyphen of land from east to west, the Winnipegger's sense of neighborhood prevails, and Toronto, not St. Paul or Minneapolis, is our sister city. And so it seems to me we of the Canadian clubs may do much through our attitude to overcome this hyphen from east to west by the spirit of Canadian brother-

hood, binding to the one united nationality. For, as Kipling says,

"The strength of the pack is the wolf,
And the strength of the wolf is the pack."

The sense of change and of rapid movement in every department of life in the West is a stimulus to imagination and to effort. No worthy effort is lost. But its effect is to build for a greater endeavor and result. And here, as an ex-Torontonian, who still holds many of her dearest ties among you, may I speak a word of the quality of the women, as well as the men, of Winnipeg? They are great in heart and purpose, and give unstintedly of time, energy, and wealth to build for a generation that shall know them only by their deeds.

This year has been one of great activities in the public service. In about thirty days the Y. M. C. A. raised $360,000. Later the Y .W. C. A. raised $35,000, the Sick Childlren's Hospital $12,000, and the General Hospital Fund $225,000—in all some $630,000, contributed within four weeks.

As you know, the great problem of Winnipeg and the West is the assimilation of immigration. This overwhelming rush of immigration calls for and develops a paternal sense of citizenship, and the man or woman who has not felt this in overwhelming force in Winnipeg, the receiving and distributing centre for the West, has missed one of the most inspiring birthrights of that region.

Among the many agencies that are doing effective work I would mention three that seem to be especially worthy of your attention. The Development and Industrial Bureau, of Winnipeg, though now only four years old, has a membership of 6,700, of whom 425 are business firms contributing to its financial requirements. The city's grant for five years is indicative of the growth of this institution: In 1906, $1,500; 1907, $3,000; 1908, $6,000; 1909, $10,000; 1910, $25,000.

Mr. Charles F. Rowland, Commissioner of the Industrial Bureau, has been called a statistical and literary wizard, who last year wrote 28,915 letters, sent out 1,575,000 pamphlets, 76,200 lines of press news matter, and a weekly news service of 482,000 lines, and this is a small part of his activity. He seems absolutely tireless in his enthusiasm, and is a genius for effective and systematic handling of the immense business of which he is the important centre. I could wish that you, in the movement which I see has been inaugurated recently, shall have such a man as a wireless centre for you. Entertaining at the Gateway City is a great stimulus to the civic spirit. On

one day's notice the Industrial Bureau members sent 106 motors to convey the manufacturers' excursion on a drive about the city. The business men's excursion, organized by the Industrial Bureau, took 72 heads of firms on a special train to see their customers—a purely business trip, yet the tone of higher citizenship held by that body returns to their city a leavening power.

The most recent and unique undertaking of this bureau is the formation of the Committee of Assisted Immigration, now in operation some five months. It was found that many good mechanics were sending money to England to support their families, keeping themselves, and trying to save toward bringing their wives and families out. Some 66 public-spirited members of the bureau went on a bond for $250 each, making a collateral of some $16,000. The applicants for funds gave a bond for what they are unable to pay on passage money, agreeing to pay so much a month from wages. In four months 81 were investigated and 56 approved and passed. In addition 27 families were booked for March, April, and May sailings, the total number brought to Winnipeg being 222 persons. The only proviso is that the applicant must be the father of the home, must have a job, and be contented. There is no financial profit save to the beneficiary. In four months' time no payment has been missed, and the undertaking has cost virtually nothing.

The work of our Associated Charities has upon its first report these words of St. Thomas Aquinas: "Charity, chief of the virtues, ceases to be even a virtue when wise order is missing from it," and wise has been the order evolved under Mr. J. Howard T. Falk, as earnest, well-equipped, and intelligent a head as such an organization could desire. The movement undertaken, first by six men from the Board of Trade and six from the Grain Exchange, as a board for the endorsation of charities, is likely to secure Mr. Falk's co-operation; and thus the standardization and co-ordination of various charities and philanthropies will form a substantial background for the work of the Associated Charities.

I now come to the third agency I would submit for your consideration—that of the Dominion Immigration Bureau, represented most ably in Winnipeg by Mr. Bruce Walker, another genius for detail. Before an immigrant passes over the Manitoba border he is met by a uniformed officer, who finds conditions of those travelling, as to nourishment, water, etc., and the condition of health. Other officers meet parties at the station, having with them interpreters—a necessary

adjunct when one realizes that our Bible is distributed for use in Winnipeg in 47 different dialects. Arrived at the Immigration Hall—an old, but clean, well-kept sort of barracks—those who remain for a time are given bedrooms (either single or in families), use of kitchen, fuel, utensils, lights, and milk for children, without any charge. Men may apply to the Labor Bureau, where the demand is ever over the supply, and receive full data as to various situations, wages, etc. If a man wishes to go beyond Winnipeg, cheap tickets at 1 cent per mile are procurable. Within 30 days they may have the balance of through steamship rate from Winnipeg to any point west. For example, I believe it is £10 10s. from Liverpool to Calgary; let it be £10 to Winnipeg; he may have the additional 10s. for his rate to Calgary within 30 days. Maps showing available homesteads in every province and territory in Western Canada are available. These squares, each showing 36 square miles, are figured to show available homesteds. These maps are issued annually, but a filing system is posted weekly, showing changes as reported. Should an immigrant desire to go on to investigate, the immigration authorities retain his luggage and keep his family while he inspects.

From the 1st of March to the 1st of October, 1910, 65,000 British immigrants detrained at Winnipeg, at the rate of 1,500 a day, including Sundays and holidays.

The terse, brief records of our North-West Mounted Police show little of the wonderful heroism and marvellous endurance of that body. Mr. Bruce Walker calls them "the eyes of the Immigration Department." As I sat talking over these matters with Mr. Walker he handed me a pile of correspondence from the North-West Mounted Police, showing individual cases reported and relieved during one month. An overwhelming mass it looked, too. One case, of which I am given permission to use the name, was that of Mrs. Mary Houghton, of Humboldt, Sask., whose husband came out a year ago. Going into town, her husband met with convivial companions, became drowsy on his return trip, fell off the sleigh, and was later found dead, leaving a wife and nine children, the youngest a new-born child. Through the Immigration Department's supervision neighbors plowed and seeded 60 acres for her, and, at the intervention of the immigration agent, the Massey-Harris and International Harvester Companies remitted indebtedness on farm machinery. To-day that family is self-supporting. Another case I came across was that of John Zocher, reported by the North-West Mounted Police. He came to Canada from Russia a year ago. Two

small children, a wife, three oxen and a cow represented his belongings. This family was practically starving—in fact, were it not for another Russian in fairly good circumstances, named Miller, I believe they would have starved, he having given them a little quantity of flour and a little potatoes recently. One ox has died of starvation and the rest of the stock is starving for want of food. Zocher has no money. I turned, then, to the report of aid for the following week and read: "Zocher, being 80 miles from the railroad, has received from the Government cache called 'Writing-on-the-Stone-Post,' Grassy Lake District (the department and little store where they keep their supplies), 150 pounds of flour, 50 pounds of bacon, 20 pounds of beans, 20 pounds of sugar, and 5 pounds of coffee."

Another report from Arthabaska, north of Edmonton: "A man, wife, and seven children burned out; 40 degrees below zero; all hurried to a neighbor, who has a wife and seven children and a shack 6x12. He took them all in. Next day they took down the cow stable and placed it over the hole in the ground, put up the stove, and, as the children had run over in their night clothes, divided the second family's clothes among the fourteen. The only request sent in was: 'Please ask that when the Government sends supplies my children may have their clothes back.' "

One report from Notre Dame d'Auvergne: "Trails are three and four feet deep with snow; fuel has given out. For God's sake, rush fuel!" With great zest Mr. Walker told me how he had purchased 15 tons at Swift Current at $11.50 a ton, to which was added $20 a ton to haul it, cost, $31.50 a ton; but, as he said, "It was coal—not gold—they wanted." Ours has been called the most paternal government on God's earth. Said Mr. Walker: "I told Mr. Whyte, of the Canadian Pacific, the other day, that if we came to the danger line between life and death, and fuel was needed, I would think nothing of taking an empty freight train and breaking it up." "I believe you," replied Mr. Whyte, laughingly; "or anything else if you needed it—even an engine."

When a man with a thousand dollars has built a house, dug a well, built a fence, bought a team of oxen, a plow and harrows and a binder, he usually sees the end of that money, and the Government will then advance him seed, and charge it upon the homestead. If diphtheria breaks out, doctor, nurse, supplies, and quarantine, also antitoxine, are provided. Dead are buried and helpless ones are supported. As I sat over these records a man who was very deaf walked in, pre-

sented to Mr. Walker for deportation by one of the Associated Charities workers. By loud shouting he was made to hear, and the order was finally given. I said to Mr. Walker: "He is a fine, intelligent-looking man, and $20 or so spent on some autophone appliance would probably make him hear, and make him a valuable citizen." "Ah, yes, undoubtedly," said Mr. Walker, "but I could only give him a wooden leg or a glass eye, which are supplied by the department; and, as he has neither of those defects, I don't think either a glass eye or a wooden leg would be much use in his case. Autophones are not included in my relief."

A report was given of one family which received $149 worth of antitoxine. I rather hesitated over that, and asked Mr. Walker whether that was not rather heavy pabulum to bring east. He said: "It does rather look as though they lived on it, doesn't it?"

And now, I have only briefly outlined or indicated those conditions that create at once the lure, the vision of our Western life, and are at the same time our grave responsibility. We are young, we are ardent with a great prospect; but, with our city's development, we must ever carry immense and increasing responsibilities for those Strangers Within Our Gates, for whom such needs as hospital accommodation and various philanthropic efforts for relief must be considered. Let us consider with wisdom and move with order, unitedly, for

"The strength of the pack is the wolf,
And the strength of the wolf is the pack."

MISS HURLBATT said:

Mr. President, Madam President, and Members of the Canadian Clubs of Toronto,—In accepting your invitation tonight my anticipations of pleasure were immensely increased when I heard that I was to share the honor of being the guest with another speaker; and when I heard that my responsibility as representing a sister club was to be shared by one who would spare you tedium, give you joy and entertainment, and occupy half the time. To be associated with Mrs. Sanford Evans I feel a great pleasure and a great honor. The representatives of the Women's Canadian Clubs of Winnipeg and Montreal meet in the halfway house of Toronto; and, under these conditions, the Canadian Clubs become not only meeting places where fellow-citizens may hear and speak on all matters touching Canadian welfare, where the speech may be honest and frank, from all points of view, the speakers being

free from obligation to respect party or sectional interests; but, under these circumstances of hospitality, they become the warm inns where guests from afar and friends at home may pause on their journeys and taste the beginnings of new friendships and new understandings. And, though it may not be for long that we may linger here together, yet hosts and guests must part stronger in the belief in, and the hope for, national unity for Canada, because of that fearless confidence upon the things which each believes to be of moment to its welfare.

These Canadian clubs are a unique possession. In some respects they are more to Canada than its press. We people read more often the paper of our political persuasion. And is it not a danger of the modern press and modern literature that, instead of depicting the truth in the acid of plain English, they may reflect a timorous public opinion? And a timorous public opinion is more effective in its power of suppression than the most suspicious despot. For these Canadian clubs may, and will be, a great force only in proportion as they reflect fully and fearlessly the hopes and the perils of our national life in all its aspects, its rural, urban, civic, and national opportunities, wants and dangers. They may, and should, hold up to us a mirror of our times. In that mirror we may see to-day the picture of Canada, with the glow of light upon her, in the prosperous Maytime of her national life.

When all men's lives and all things made by men may be the symbols of joyful work; when labor and struggle are hopeful, and sufficient to stimulate to healthy exertion, not heavy enough to crush and overbear with weariness and despair; is that national health? If so, what concern has Canada with fears as to her national health in the future?

I realize that it would be a daring man or woman who would attempt, in the presence of this audience, to handle any one subject of national importance, for you have experts within your gates (I know that some of them are in this room) who would put a stranger to shame. And have not visitors from far and near given to your clubs in the course of this and other seasons expert addresses, the echoes of which linger in your memories.

But we at Montreal are at the end of our season, and at the end of the season it is natural to take stock, and to consider how far our club is fulfilling the part it should play. And the question I ask myself is this: Is it the fate of all countries, like all men, to grow old; and, if they grow old, must they, too, come to a decadence after youth's generous struggles and

manhood's disciplining pain? Or is it possible for a nation to pass from a dauntless youth to a confident prime and a serene and glorious age, "when purposes and spirit shall survive and form the cement of empire yet enduring"? No one can look into the mirror of to-day and refrain from wondering which is to be the fate of Canada.

After four years of residence in Canada; after traversing this continent to the Pacific and the Yukon and to the Atlantic, earning, perhaps, some little title to feel myself a Canadian; after seeing something of the material possibilities of Canada's future; and after hearing, during these four years, the forecasts made by its sanest and most eminent citizens, as an Englishwoman with some experience and knowledge of the condition of England, I cannot refrain from reflections which force one back upon the search for the compass, the rudder, and the chart with which to bring our good ship of hope for Canada safely into port. And the little I have to say to-night is mainly an effort to emphasize what are some of the means by which Canada may be kept in the safe path for national health and prosperity. "If youth had but the knowledge; if age had but the power," is a lament that fits a nation's, as well as an individual's experience. Canada has the power, and she may for the asking have the knowledge. That is her great heritage—the heritage of all the ages, and, in a special sense, the heritage of the experience of the Anglo-Saxon race.

When I think of the condition of England I do not do so as a pessimist. On the contrary, I am confident that there is to-day more awakening, more idealism, more purpose to realize ideals, than perhaps at any other period of her history.

It has recently been averred that the belief in the possibility of social reform by conscious effort is the most dominant current in European minds to-day; that it has superseded the old belief in liberty as the one panacea for evils. Its currency in the present is as pregnant as the belief in the rights of man at the period of the French Revolution. The coming age will be occupied in attempts to translate its ideals into the phrases of practical politics.

England has her full measure of that spirit; and, with the will to serve, which has been for so long the great tradition of her people, there has dawned this new purpose, of the conscious, constructive effort to redeem England from the effects of unrestricted *laissez faire*.

But when I think of England I do picture the late hastening of a people to correct the evils that have happened upon them, for which they have been unprepared, and of which they

were not at first even conscious. I say that no one born and bred in England, and with some knowledge of its present conditions and problems, can look forward to the coming growth of Canada without thinking what Titanic force she may have to exert to bear future burdens, unless she puts out all her thought and will now to avert dangers ahead.

The great change which made modern England was the change from the old conditions of things when half of its six and a half million people lived south of the Trent, Avon, and Severn, and population was thickest from Yarmouth to Exeter, to the condition of to-day, when outside of the great London are a population which is thickest in the district from Birmingham north through Lancashire and the west riding of Yorkshire. The change was from rural to industrial England.

Now, one of the most distinguished of your Toronto citizens, Sir Edmund Walker, has said that it is no silly boast to say that somewhere in the future we may be—Canada may be—one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world. How is Canada going to meet her change? How is she going to avoid the mistakes and evils which lie before all rapidly-growing communities? No country ever had a better chance than Canada of learning by the experience of others. She is one of the great highways of the world, and there pass to and fro across her whole continent those from other lands from whom she may learn so much. She has the great community to the south, with its plentiful presentation of problems, and also its splendid spectacle of conscious effort directed to the solution of these problems. So near is all this to her that she may learn just for the asking.

When we think of our neighbors to the south, caught in the toils of industrial entanglements and social difficulties, do we remember how suddenly their growth, and with it their perplexities, have come upon them, and do we think we should have done better, and are we planning that we shall do better?

The national health of a country, as I understand it, lies in the physical welfare of its people, the life and habits of its people, the mind of its people. And there are two methods of promoting that health—one is to diagnose your case and display the disease, prescribe the remedy, and apply it; the other is to builld up healthy, normal conditions of existence, and so increase power of resistance to evil. One is cure; the other prevention. In Canada to-day both methods are needed.

That some measure of cure is already required you do not need me to tell you. It is not necessary for me to remind you that Canada must remove from herself the stigma of a high rate of infant mortality, which threatens us with a double

deficit, in the quality no less than in the number of the population. In the cities, at least, there is room for great improvement. I do not know how it may be in Toronto, but I believe in Montreal we compare about equally with Spain and Italy, both far below the standard of England, where the aim is to reduce the loss of infant lives to a maximum of 80 per 1,000. Nor need I press the argument that for every infant life that can be saved (each in itself a national asset), the level of health of the many others that survive will be materially improved.

The measures for combatting this and all physical deficiency are better known to many of you than they are to me. Ante-natal conditions, post-natal conditions, environment, feeding, housing—all have to be considered and reckoned with. We have learnt that protective legislation for woman is not a sufficient safeguard for her children; that the restriction of her labor in certain industries will not of itself meet the necessity of insuring the health of mother and child. Nor need I remind you how painful experience is setting old and young countries into vigorous activity in promoting better conditions by means of schools for mothers, the provision of pure milk supply, the feeding of women, the feeding of children, and the teaching of laws of health to their school children.

And, while I am on this matter, need I remind you that ignorance of the laws of life is no longer considered an essential condition of an innocent society, but a knowledge of these an essential condition for national morality and national health. Lately President Eliot, of Harvard, the greatest educational authority on this continent, has come out openly in favor of the teaching of sex hygiene in the schools. "The policy of silence," he says, "has failed." If anyone protests that this educational process will abolish innocence, let him consider that virtue, and not innocence, is manifestly God's object and end for humanity.

Or, again, after a visit of Mr. Henry Vivian to Toronto, is it necessary for anyone to refer to the problems created by urban conditions of life, inadequate accommodation, poor building, jerry building, sunless courts, gardenless homes; how children become stunted and devitalized, subject to tuberculosis and other affections, for lack of sufficient fresh air in home and playground; how the unattractiveness, the narrow limits, and the necessarily trying conditions of the tenement dwelling, weakens the home and throws the family out upon the street or place of public entertainment?

Nor can we forget the grosser hazards that beset the nation's working men and working women—sickness, accident,

unemployment, and a penurious old age, and the necessity of assisting the industrial classes to a higher degree of economic stability.

For back of all—health, stability, virtue—lies the great problem of the power of the individual to provide for himself, in health or in sickness, in youth or in age. And we are brought face to face with the problem of the economic basis of our national health. The health of a nation cannot be left to the physician and the medical health officer alone, great as is and ever must be their contribution to it. For, whether men support themselves or become a charge upon the community depends largely upon their keeping well; or, if ill, then upon their promptly getting well.

The medical profession can and does preserve and increase national efficiency, and, by preventive and curative medicine, effects an enormous national economy in the saving of human life from destruction by disease and, what is economically as important, the saving of life from degeneration. But public health and economic conditions are inseparably interwoven. A healthy society must be based upon happy homes, contented homes; and where you have contented and happy homes there you will find the best guarantees for national prosperity.

Mr. Chesterton, whose paradoxes delight and enlighten us so much to-day, says that the evolutionary, optimistic, the ordinary modern, progressive position, is that ours is a bad universe, but that it will certainly get better; while he (Mr. Chesterton) says on the contrary, it is a good universe, even if it gets worse, and that we are far more certain that this life of ours is an amazing enterprise than we are that it will succeed.

Now happily, like Mr. Chesterton, we may say that our Canadian world is a good one. Happily there is more to preserve than to correct in Canada to-day. That is why everyone can be hopeful in Canada to-day, and we must take stock of our present health and happiness, and preserve and build upon that. The conscious effort to avoid or to remove dangers must be fortified by the positive constructive effort to build up and strengthen the things that make for healthy national life.

And what is it that Canada ahead possesses? Boundless natural resources—boundless opportunities. But she will preserve them only if she recognizes that she holds them in trust. It is the fate of some nations to make great sacrifices for the future. Not so with Canada; she needs only to give thought for the future. She has more than enough for present and for future use.

One of the most beautiful of the old Buddha rebirth stories is that which tells of our duty to the next generation. A great forest tree is to be felled, to become the great central pillar of some beautiful temple. The giant of the forest pleads that he may be hewn limb by limb until at last the great trunk may fall with less danger of destruction to the young forest life around it, so greatly might he crush that in his fall. So touched was the god that the great tree was spared—even in use, for the highest purposes every thought was to be taken for the life of the future.

Is that not the need of to-day? In fulfilment of his destiny man labors and conjures nature for his use. But for this generation only. This story of the forest tree carries us to the thought of the great source of Canadian wealth and health—her natural resources. What would Canada be without her forests? Her water springs and her waterways would dry up and her industry and commerce perish. Is it not true what has been said by one of your most eminent of Toronto citizens: "If we destroy the beautiful balance that Nature has given us in our natural resources the entire order of things (our future national prospect) may fall to pieces"? It is not simply that our water-power will decline in value, but our agriculture will not be so valuable; nothing will be so valuable. But if we alter that balance, not only will material prosperity fall to pieces, but we shall lose in character much of the peculiar power and force which, as a people, we must bring to a solution of our national problems.

Whether the Canadian is to possess the "calm strength in repose"—the indifference to little things, the strenuous view of great things—will depend largely upon whether the Canadian retains the great spaces for quiet and liberty, for converse with nature, the power to withdraw, and the habit of withdrawing to the loneliness of the mountain, the forest, the sea, and the prairie, and with that habit of physical withdrawal the habit of looking inwards for his own thoughts and judgments. For is not this a nation's greatest asset—health and independence of mind? National health is a thing never to be lost, for its restoration is costly, is long of accomplishment, is terribly difficult.

Success in any line does not happen, whether in business, in art, in home-making, or in nation-building. No man ever succeeded in the real who was not successful in the ideal. If we would preserve and make our national health we must have for Canada an ideal—a dream of a world grown young again; a dream of a robust age in which men and women work together, taking the sort of interest in their lives that an artist

takes in his work; where neither commodities nor the labor that produces them is degraded; where our Tyres and our Sidons bring their gifts to the national altar; where there shall be design in art, design in craft, design in social life; where each man may seek new highways for his heart's content, new lovely lines, new sounds, new scents. But to do this we must make use of the experience of the Past; and the Past must be for us the leaping-off place for the Utopias.

Mayor SANFORD EVANS, of Winnipeg, one of the originators of the Canadian Club movement and President of the Association of Canadian Clubs, on being introduced said:

Mr. President, Madam President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—This invitation and opportunity is absolutely unexpected. I don't know whether I should thank you for the opportunity of having the last word to-night or not. I feel, sir, that I am hardly in a position to-night to express fully on your behalf your sentiments with regard to these addresses to which we have listened, but I would like, sir, in my capacity this year of President of the Association of Canadian Clubs, to congratulate the Canadian Clubs of Toronto upon the event at which we have been present to-night, where you have met together and have had the privilege of listening to an address which has breathed the noblest of the ideal and the best of purpose which it is the object of the Canadian clubs to promote among the Canadian citizens. I have listened with profound interest and pleasure to the address which has just closed, and we may congratulate ourselves that in our adopted fellow-citizen we have one who is thinking and feeling along this line of nobler citizenship. I shall not, sir, attempt to say more to-night. It has been a great pleasure for me last night to attend the nineteenth anniversary of the institution which Mr. McCullough, who is here to-night, first conceived, and which some half-dozen boys of us talked over together eighteen years ago. It is a great pleasure to me to attend a meeting where the Toronto Canadian Club is gathered together, for I was present at all the meetings which were held at the inauguration of the movement here. And, as President of the Association of Canadian Clubs, I take especial pleasure in being with you. In that Association there are forty clubs affiliated, stretching from ocean to ocean, and of that forty ten are women's Canadian clubs. I thank you, sir, for this opportunity of expressing the pleasure which I have experienced in being here to-night and in bringing you greetings from the great association which I have the honor to represent.

(*April 10*)

Imperial Co-operation.

By Sir Joseph Ward.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club upon the subject, "Imperial Co-operation," Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I desire to express to the President my warmest appreciation for the kindly way in which he has been good enough to introduce the stranger to you, but not in a foreign land. Those of you who have had the opportunity of crossing the Pacific and visiting those important islands in the Southern Seas will realize, as I do, that wherever one goes throughout the great Dominion of Canada he meets the typical representatives of the British race, and consequently he feels very much at home. In that distant country, which I have the honor to represent, it may not be a surprise to you to hear that we are in the truest sense of the term very, very British. Ninety-eight and a half per cent. of our population is British. We are endeavoring in that distant country to preserve for the generations that are to come a class of people that will at least be free from as many disabilities of the older world as it is possible for the legislators and people of to-day to preserve for them, and to build up a portion of the British dominion that will be at least not discreditable to it, and we are trying to avoid as far as possible the mistakes that have occurred in older lands. We are trying, as you in your Dominion of Canada, to profit by the mistakes of our elders.

I know enough of public life, Mr. President and gentlemen, to avoid the mistake of alluding, either directly or indirectly, to the great public matters of what I may term an internal character in the Dominion of Canada; and I have enough experience of troubles in my own official position in

*Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand, has been prominent as an Imperial statesman for several years. He attends the Imperial Conferences in London and is sincerely desirous of bringing the various parts of the Empire closer together. His other great interest as a public man is in the progressive legislation of his Island Dominion, which for its care for the poor, its conservation of health and its adjustment of labor troubles, in many ways leads the world. Sir Joseph Ward is in the prime of life, a fine type of the rugged Englishman who faces problems with high dignity and singular courage.

my own country to see that it would be a great mistake to even allude to any of these problems which are exercising the keen and ripe intellects of the public and business and social life of this country.

But there is a matter with which you are all concerned—you want to create a more lasting bond between the various portions of the British Empire; we want to do the same. And we have already commenced in a practical way, following in that the steps of the Dominion of Canada, by extending to your great Dominion preferential trade, and receiving at your hands preferential trade. And we are doing that to various portions of the British Empire, with the idea of buildling up within our own territory as far as it is possible for us to do—a trade with British people, in preference to trading with people outside. Under the preferential tariff of New Zealand, British countries, including the Dominion of Canada, receive concessions. We are conceding 12.56 per cent. of the tariff or revenue upon nearly one-half the items of Customs tariff of the Dominion of New Zealand. And that would, in your terms, amount to $2,500,000 per annum by way of concession to those who are trading with New Zealand from British territory beyond our own shores. Thus in this part of the territory where we are now, if you were to go through the length and breadth of New Zealand, you will find Toronto almost as plainly before your eyes as if you were in the immediate territory of Toronto itself, showing practically that it is quite evident that this Dominion is trading considerably with New Zealand. And I hope that as the years go on it will increase. Its utility is so important I hope it will go on developing to your satisfaction and to ours.

The other day we landed in Vancouver. Passengers who left Auckland on the 16th of March arrived at Vancouver on the 2nd of April. We could have, if we so desired, passed on to the great City of London, and been there, from New Zealand, in the comparatively short period of twenty-five days. I ask you to remember the fact that your statesman in this portion of the Gritish Empire—your leading statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier—is urging, as we are doing from our country, the establshment of what we refer to as the All-Red Route; and I believe, before many years, it will be possible for a person to cross the Atlantic, to travel across Canada, and then to sail over the Pacific to the Southern Islands, on British highways. As a rule we say trade follows the flag. That may be so, but in practice trade follows the steamer. You have recently established two lines of steamers trading to the

Southern Seas, Australia, and New Zealand—one by the Atlantic, the other by the Pacific—and by these you hope to bring about a closer connection in the matter of trade.

And I will add this far more important result: You will help to weld the links of Empire, to tie the knots of kinship more closely, and enable the people of England—I mean of the British Isles—and those of Canada and in the countries away across the Pacific—I speak for New Zealand—to arrive at a better understanding in connection with the importance of having a system of defence, external particularly—because we can all look after our internal defence without interference from anybody—which must go for the greater solidarity of the Empire, which we are all so much concerned at seeing welded into a great and imperial empire in the truest sense of the term.

A conference is to take place in the Old Country next month which is undeniably very important. At that conference representative men from different portions of the Empire will discuss questions freely and fully, without any fear of giving offence, either to the representatives or the people of the countries; freely and independently, in some cases in committee possibly, so far as the weaknesses of the position are concerned.

Going into the important question of the defence of the Empire as a whole, I have no hesitation in saying there is no matter to-day of such importance to you people in Canada, to those of us who are in distant New Zealand, to those in Australia, in South Africa, and in India, and, above all, to the people of the British Isles, as having a free interchange of ideas on all affairs and conditions, bringing out these ideas with a view to arriving at and using some system of building ships to prevent great nations outside of the British Empire from causing trouble. We in all parts of it may be able, as a result of taking time by the forelock, by the exercise of those traits of the British race wherever it exists, and having the system established—we shall be enabled, you in Canada and we in New Zealand, to co-operate on a practical basis in the event of trouble rising, and to ensure the deferring of that trouble. And that ought to impress on other countries the determination of a people who have a duty to perform, separated by seas as the majority of us are, and happily so, for it is a good thing that the Supreme Being kept these countries well separated, though it has disadvantages. It is a good thing from the fact that you are building up an independent race, an independent people in Canada, as we are in New Zealand.

and South Africa, and Australia, and India, as associations; for in different forms it makes for the whole defence of the British Empire, side by side with that rapidity of development which is going on in outside countries and is visible for any thinking person.

This calls for co-operation, or at least for an effort being made to have unity of action; and, above all, it means, in my opinion, that if the statesmen of this portion of the Empire are able to agree and show to the outside world that they are ready to be one in action and one in preparedness, with a view to action should it be found to be necessary, it means preserving the peace of the world for many years. And it is the peace of the world those of us who are anxious to see built up a great system of defence upon the seas—it is the peace of the world we are working for. Not with the idea of creating the impression that we are jingoists, to the neglect of the requirements, but for cohesion on land and sea.

So I know, better than you can tell me, that your statesmen and your people of Canada have been as in the past, as alive and alert to the events as the statesmen and people of any other portion of the British Empire. But it is a good thing that one is afforded such an occasion as this of knowing that when even feebly giving utterance to the thoughts running through one's mind when passing through this great, free country of Canada in connection with the Imperial Conference which is to take place in May, one is sure to have at least your good-will; to have it, at least, irrespective of the political opinions of the gentlemen present, and to have at his side the statesman who is his political colleague (Hon. Dr. Findlay) upon the eve of their departure for that conference of so much importance to the whole British Empire.

We crossed from the Rockies under very bad auspices—there was snow in every direction. We lost sight of snow only half an hour away from Toronto. There must be great activity in the vicinity of your City of Toronto! In New Zealand we go from end to end of it, winter and summer, and we look for snow many miles away from the busy haunts of men. A man who is economically disposed can live in portions of New Zealand where he would require neither light nor fire for cooking purposes, nor would he need to boil water for any domestic requirements. (Laughter.) You can get into hot water in New Zealand without any difficulty. And you can pass away from the hot water region and in about an hour or two you can find about as cold water as in the Rocky Mountains, without the concomitant of snow.

But it does not do for anyone to talk about the beauties of his own country. (Laughter.) I mean the natural beauties. (Renewed laughter.) But, may I tell you here, we have some extraordinary things there. One is "Pelorus Jack." Upon the arrival of every steamer there appears a fish, which is neither a whale, a porpoise, nor a shark, but something like all of these creatures. It takes special interest in every steamer, appearing on the surface when some distance out, and swimming along near it for miles. This has gone on for the last thirty years. Most people believe it is a fairy tale, but I have seen it myself more than a score of times. (Laughter.) That is only one of the remarkable things of my country, but it is one of the best known, because we find that with all the tourists from the Dominion of Canada crossing to New Zealand, one of the first things they want to know is whether this Pelorus Jack, which is protected by an order-in-council, is fact or fiction. Not very long ago some people on one steamer crossing, who were unkindly disposed or skeptical of its existence, threw something over to it, and from that day it never came near that particular steamer. And I think I am safe in saying to those of you before me, because I realize that I am right away out of my own constituency, I believe that statement. They were all members of the Opposition in New Zealand. (Renewed laughter.) Otherwise such an untoward event could not possibly have taken place.

But, seriously, we are very proud of your Dominion of Canada. We know a great deal about it—in your public life, your institutions, the aims and aspirations of your people—and we know a good deal about the laws that govern the people. In turn, I have little doubt, you know something of the public life of New Zealand. We have advanced laws. We own up to aspirations to make life better and happier for the people. During the last half-century we have done so much towards the social life of the community, but no laws can help people unless they make up their minds to help themselves.

We go for preserving the infants—seeing that everything possible is done to ensure the infant reaching 21 years of age. We value the life of the infant that successfully comes to 21 years at $1,500. We go for helping the mother in maternity on the back block as well as in the centres. We give $30 to enable a medical man to be sent to a case of need, and give assistance to the mother in her time of need. We make provision for the mother for the sustenance of herself and her children at an important time such as that is.

We spend $2,000,000 per annum on old age pensions, helping men and women who have lived for twenty years in the

country, and who have led sober lives for five years. We give £26 per annum to free them from the charity of their own relatives or people outside. If they slip or fall by the way, when this has been ordered under the law of our country, it is for the time being cancelled. We don't allow the resources of our country to go to dissipation.

We go for helping the masses of the people to improve their position, and sometimes one sees in the press of other countries that we are an experimentalizing country. Ninety-eight and a half per cent. of our people are British, and seventy per cent. of them are New Zealand born. To-day you won't find in New Zealand any man in public life who would go for repealing one law of those which are sometimes in other countries, without knowledge of them, condemned.

We come along to another great sister dominion—Canada—and we find a people who look contented, who look happy, who in some respects work out their destiny in a different way; but we recognize that local circumstances have to be considered by the people who are responsible. We appreciate at least the disinterested services you have been enabled to render to your country.

When I pass away from Toronto I can thank this large company for the honor you have done me as the representative of the people of a dominion that wishes your people well. We wish the Dominion well; and I sincerely hope that when I meet the honored representative of your Dominion at the Imperial Conference—for the great and distinguished representative of this country will be there—that he will, as he has done in the past, lead the way in many respects for the betterment of the Empire, and among these in establishing in the forefront of the leaders the great sister, Dominion of Canada.

(*April 24*)

Canadian Clubs and Canadian Problems.

By Dr. J. A. Macdonald.*

ADDRESSING the Canadian Club's closing meeting of the season, upon the subject, "Canadian Clubs and Canadian Problems," Dr. J. A. Macdonald said:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-members,—My mind goes back to-night to the first year of this Canadian Club. That was the day of small things. We met, a dozen of us, in an upper room, and, over a frugal meal, discoursed on high themes. There was no one speaker for the day. Each man expressed his views without reserve. Opinions of all sorts were advocated. The one thing we had in common was our adoption of the Canadian point of view and our free devotion to Canadian interests.

From that small beginning has grown the club of to-day, with its membership of fourteen hundred. From the insignificance of a dozen years ago the Canadian Club idea has spread throughout Canada, and, from Sydney to Victoria, it is one of the most potent factors in the development of Canadian opinion and in the direction of Canadian life.

The remarkable success of the Canadian Club is due to its freedom from restraint or compulsion except such as intelligence and good manners require. This is an open forum. Here are welcomed men of the most diverse views. The one thing desired is that a man shall speak the truth as he sees it, and shall have earned the right to speak at all. So long as the Canadian Club maintains this attitude of independence and toleration so long will its bow abide in strength.

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*Dr. J. A. Macdonald has become widely known as a public speaker as well as for his vigorous handling of public questions as Editor of the Toronto *Globe*. For years he was a Presbyterian Minister, later he conducted with much success *The Westminster*, a weekly semi-religious publication in Toronto. Seven years ago he succeeded Mr. J. S. Willison as Editor of *The Globe*. His policy has made for independence in journalism within party lines. He is widely known in the United States and in Great Britain, and on occasion has been credited with work of a semi-diplomatic sort. Recently Dr. Macdonald undertook to give a portion of his time to the cause of international peace, as a director of the World Peace Foundation, established by Edward Ginn of Boston.

And the opportunity which has come to the hand of the Canadian Club is of the very highest importance. The fact that Canada is a democracy and that the worth and power of democracy depend on its public opinion gives to the Canadian Club its supreme chance. That chance is made the more significant because other organs and agents of public opinion in Canada show marked limitations. The Press, great as is its prestige and wide as is its influence, lacks the inspiration and the direct appeal of individual personality. Parliament is not so much a leader as a servant of public opinion. The Church has the message and the machinery, but the lines on which it too often moves are too narrow for large national leadership. These and all similar institutions need to be supplemented by other organizations freer in their movements, less hampered by traditions and with sympathies broad as the nation's life.

If the Canadian Club would measure up to its opportunity it must face the problems of Canada, and, not by resolutions, but through the individual efforts of its membership in their civic relations, work for the best solving of Canadian problems. Canada's problems take on many varying phases, but the more vital of them have to do with matters of citizenship, with the national ideal, and with international relations.

I. The Problem of Canadian Citizenship.

The problem of citizenship is fundamental in any democracy, and in Canada it takes on peculiar importance. The real worth of a nation and the efficiency of its government depend on the character of its citizens. In the reign of the common people it is the average man who rules. His character, his intelligence, his devotion to public interests, determine to a degree the power and prosperity of the nation.

In Canada we are at the critical stage where the opportunity of making a new great effort in democracy is face to face with the peril which thwarted and blighted the best hopes of all democracies known to history. We might here learn from the failures of other experiments, and in the north half of this continent we might illustrate to the world as has never yet been done the true meaning of government of the people, by the people and for the people. That splendid and unique chance for great achievement is offered to Young Canada to-day.

If we would be true to ourselves and to our country we must give ourselves seriously, hopefully, unselfishly, to the solving of the problem of citizenship in Canada as it looms

large to-day. And if we would do anything at all effective in this time of crisis we must face squarely the dangers which threaten the very sources of government, and which, if not averted, will cut the nerve of Canadian democracy.

1. First among the dangers to citizenship in Canada is the incoming of increasingly large masses of alien and undemocratic immigration. One of Canada's needs is population. The great vacant spaces of this country are calling for settlement. The resources of wealth are waiting development. Roads must be built, industries must be manned, the thousand services of half a continent must be carried on. But, more important than any of these, more absolute than all other considerations, the life of the nation, its purity, its freedom, its quality of endurance, stands supreme. True patriotism will not sacrifice the long and lasting life of the nation for the sake of the seeming and superficial needs of the hour.

It is with the nation as it is with the individual. A man may occasionally eat foods not up to the dietetic standard and, if his digestion is good, he may suffer no great harm. But let him eat foods that are poisoned, even though he does it ignorantly, the toxine goes into the blood, and his doctor will tell him he has intestinal toxæmia which may take months to eradicate. Let him try to work and the toxine will rupture the veins in the eyes, and his oculist will tell him he suffers from retinal hemorrhage. The poison in the blood destroys the red corpuscles, and makes it impossible for the eyes to see clearly and straight.

There is such a thing as poisoning the blood of the nation. A Mexican menu card is no more dangerous to a Canadian's digestion than is the immigration of alien and incompatible peoples a menace to the citizenship of Canada. The vitality of the nation may be reduced and its vision may be so blurred that it cannot distinguish between right and wrong.

And the most dangerous elements in immigration are not ignorance or poverty, or even physical disability. The ignorant can be educated, the poor may earn wealth, the diseased may be segregated and cared for. It is the political and moral unfitness that does lasting damage. Immigrants that belong to races whose whole history is a contradiction of democracy, no matter what their intelligence or alertness, are a danger to Canadian citizenship. The door of entrance should be safely guarded, not because the labor market is congested, not because of any theory of "Canada for Canadians," and not because Canadians are superior to Oriental or other races. The people of Canada dare not put up such bars. They would

not be recognized in the judgment hall of the nations. But the supreme right of a self-governing nation to protect the sources of its governmental authority and to maintain the foundations of its national life is recognized in every civilization, and the exercise of that right is without offence to any civilized people. Because Canada has gone the limit of manhood franchise and makes its citizens a vital part of its government, Orientals, who are by nature and instinct undemocratic, and who cannot forswear allegiance to their own emperor and nation, must not be allowed to colonize in Canada. The most vital interest of Canadian citizenship is against it. All experiences of other democracies forbid it.

The danger of our alien and undemocratic immigration is accentuated by the fact of our manhood franchise. It is bad enough when the individual voter goes up, in his dense ignorance, and marks his ballot pronouncing for or against some large policy or vital principle of government. Its true significance is seen when some ward politician rounds up his "bunch," for whom he has paid a price, or when some enfranchised foreigner whose claims have not been recognized calls out his entire colony and has his revenge.

In every great industrial centre are hundreds of foreigners who are aliens to the commonwealth of democracy, strangers to the covenants of free citizenship, ignorant of our history, unresponsive to our obligations, unable even to read the English language, and without pride in our British institutions. To give the right and the power of the franchise to these people is to sell our British birthright for less than a mess of pottage. It is to put weapons into the hands of the enemies of democratic self-government; and the politician who does the trick finds in the end the stiletto thrust between the joints of his own harness. But it is the country that suffers. Politics is degraded by the corrupt politician and the ignorant and corruptible elector. The franchise is a power for evil as for good. By it the glory of a free nation may be turned to shame.

If the tide from Southern Europe, which sweeps away so much that was best in the citizenship of the United States, is turned full and free into Canada the question of an educational test for Canadian citizenship must be faced.

2. More to be feared than all other dangers which threaten Canadian citizenship is the selfish disregard of political duties on the part of the intelligent and prosperous among our citizens, and their cynical distrust of honesty, integrity, and unselfishness as factors in the public service. Your prosperous

citizen whose attitude to a great public policy is determined by what of selfish gain there is in it for him is just one degree more dangerous than your ignorant foreigner who takes a dollar for his vote. Your master manipulator, who plays man against man and party against party, and in the end gets away with the spoil, is just so much more contemptible than the heeler in the ward. The superior person who talks loftily about the "best" people, but who abstains from all share in political campaigns, and denies all responsibility for the government of the city or of the country, is to Canadian democracy the worst type of traitor. Cynicism is at the root of most of our political evils, and cynicism is not cured either by wealth or by education. Because it is a moral habit, consistent with social respectability, it is the more dangerous to the life of the nation.

II. The Problem of the National Ideal.

If Canada is to make real progress and come to her best there must be before the minds and in the hearts of the Canadian people an ideal clearly conceived and consciously followed of what their nation ought to be. For the nation, as for the individual, progress is in pursuit of the ideal. That ideal may not be attained. Indeed, if it is worthy it must ever be in advance. New attainments in liberty and in achievement must ever reveal higher heights and worthier services. The ideal explains and gives meaning to the actual.

It was my privilege recently to fall in with the Hon. Dr. Findlay, Minister of Justice of New Zealand. "You cannot understand what is going on in New Zealand," he said, "unless you remember that all our effort in legislation and in administration is consciously directed to a clearly conceived ideal. The people and the Government aim to make life in New Zealand what in their deliberate and most intelligent judgment it ought to be. By that principle we legislate on the land question, on education, on justice, on colonization, on conservation, on insurance, on transportation, and on questions of moral and social reform. Our objective is to give to every citizen adequate access to opportunity, and to enable all the people to enjoy the rewards of honest lives and useful service."

I commend that ideal and devotion to it to all young Canadians who would give purpose and dignity to their political thinking and public service. Effort consciously directed towards that ideal would redeem politics from confusion and

inconsequence, and to such effort the best intelligence of the country would be drawn. What is wrong with us in Canada is that we have no national ideal—none clearly conceived and consistently followed. Our effort is spasmodic and piecemeal. Our governing bodies too often have no philosophy of government, no fundamental principle, no pattern in the mount of the nation they would build in the plain. They do not lead public opinion; at best, they follow. They yield to clamor here and to coercion there. They are subject to the strongest pressure, and move along the line of least resistance. That way never makes for freedom and stability. What is concerned for the people here is lost by giving away some franchise right there. Education of the people for useful service is thwarted by the access to opportunity being blocked with special privileges. Advantages which the God of Nature lavished without stint in the soil, in the mines, in the waterpowers, in the forests, have been alienated from the people to make a few millionaires. Every special privilege is a special danger. Every trust that gains control of some necessary in foodstuffs or clothing or building materials, and takes toll of consumers, tampers with the rights of the common people. Every Canadian merger that unloads useless watered stock on the British market is an offence which no repudiation of American methods and no waving of the British flag will justify or excuse.

Canada is not in special danger of becoming a military nation. The day of military glory is gone. Our danger is, rather, that in the times of "piping peace" we lost the heroic out of our souls, and our one great god be the millionaire. The glorifying of wealth is a curse to any people. The honor paid to daredevil speculators who win is a little more sordid than contempt for them when they lose. The prayer Canada needs to offer with increasing fervency is the petition of the wise man of Israel: "Give me neither poverty nor riches." The question which needs to be put to men of wealth, and which will be put with heavier emphasis in the new day of just dealing will be, not "How much money have you?" but, rather, "How did you get it?"

And if Canada would follow the highest national ideal and not fail, the duty of breeding good citizens, educating them, securing for them just opportunity, and conserving their powers, as well as their chances, must be assumed as a high obligation of the nation, and not as a responsibility of private individuals alone. The culture of the children is essential to a virile national life. Education must be lifted from its low

estate and made the first duty of the nation to all its citizens. Whatever destroys manhood or betrays womanhood, or robs the child of a fair chance, must be brought to the death, not because it wrongs the individual, but because it robs the State.

So, too, the national ideal—the ideal of a nation in which the best is conserved and the fittest given a chance to survive, must range Canada positively and resolutely against war and in favor of peace. Two months ago President David Starr Jordan addressed this Canadian Club on the biological effect of war, as illustrated in the history of the war nations of Europe. He might have gone farther and indicated the reflex political and moral effects. He might have come nearer home and observed conditions in his own great republic.

What is wrong with the United States? How comes it that in a free democracy formally pledged to "government of the people, by the people and for the people" insurgency swells and protests against injustice to the people all the way from Maine to California? Why should it be that under the reign of the people predatory wealth robs the state, defies the government, and the guilty bribe itself buys out the law? Why should the strong men who loot be unmatched by an adequate number of equally strong men who defend? Has it any relation to the fact that a generation and a half ago 650,000 of the North and 400,000 men of the South, the best the American nation bred, fell in war, and left the unheroic and mercenary, the "skedaddler," and the "bounty-jumper" to overbreed for the citizenship of to-day? Blood tells. Protoplasm tells. Heroes and patriots are not bred from cowards and grafters. The nation that kills off its best in times of war will find itself at the mercy of its worst in time of peace.

III. The Problem of International Relations.

Canada never would stand apart and alone. By history this country is made an integral part of an Empire that circles the globe and touches life on the Seven Seas. By geography Canada is the halfway house of that world-empire. And by both history and geography this young Dominion is the tie and the interpreter between the Empire of Britain and the Republic of the United States. At this moment there is not in all the world another young nation with so great a chance, commanding so strategic a position, and holding so distinctly the key to what is best and noblest in the life and civilization of the world. If Canada only measures up to the world opportunity now offered; if Canadians stand true to what is

best in the past and most inviting in the future; if with steadiness and courage we take the straight road marked out by events beyond our control, we need cover no nation's past glory, we need envy no nation's power or prestige, but with a sober sense of Canada's high destiny we may go forward confident of this, that for democracy "the best is yet to be," and that in playing her own part worthily Canada will suffer no loss, either in the sum of achievement or in the brilliance of glory, when the history of world nations comes to be written. Canada to-day holds that key position in the English-speaking world. To hold that position well is to touch the destiny of all nations.

If Canada would, indeed, play a great part among the nations her standing must be maintained as free among the free nations comprising the British Empire, without abatement of any powers of self-government and with due regard for the obligations of empire. None of the rights of responsible government won a half century ago can be surrendered to any theory of imperialism. And those rights, which give dignity and worth to all other privileges, must be made to match the new obligations which the relations of world-wide empire impose. Canada must make and administer her own laws, police her own shores, and do her share in keeping the peace on the high seas. But all this she must do in alliance with the rest of the Empire, and in the free exercise of her own responsible judgment. National autonomy is of the very essence of national freedom, and freedom is the source and secret of enduring loyalty. This is the glorious British way. By it Canada has grown in loyalty as she grew in power. And by it South Africa, that a decade ago was seething with rebellion, is now justifying once more to the world the all-conquering power of Britain's confidence in that liberty by which she makes free all the nations under the flag. Let us not doubt it. We may have no precedent for a world empire of free nations. Let us make one. Britain had to blaze the way for responsible government. Canada blazed the way for overseas confederation. Let Britain and Canada and the other British dominions give the world a new type of empire in which the measure of individual freedom is the measure of imperial loyalty.

But Canada's relations are not with Britain alone, but with America as well. A partner in the English-speaking fraternity, a factor in Anglo-American arbitration proposals, an ally for the security of America, Canada's position on this continent is a pledge of peace not for America alone, but for

the world. Believe me, the problem of Canada's future and the part and place of this young nation in the development of American life, while uncertain enough to command our severest thought, is hopeful enough to inspire our highest effort.

Time was, and not many years ago, when many thoughtful Canadians saw no future for this country except in political union with the United States. Some who were then not averse to such an issue are now the stoutest protesters against even ordinary trade relations. Time was, too, when thoughtful men in the United States looked forward to the annexation of Canada as an inevitable and not far-off event. The situation has completely changed. Annexation is no longer an open question. I do not know one informed and respectable leader of opinion in the United States who advocates it or wishes it. In a chance, but not unfruitful, conference which I had with President Taft in March of last year, when the ground was covered from the maximum and minimum tariff clause to the proposed Anglo-American arbitration treaty, the Chief Executive of the Republic assured me in terms and with an emphasis not to be mistaken that the political union of these two nations is, from the American point of view, not only not desired, but not desirable. Since the incident at Manilla Bay; since the United States was pushed out into world-politics; since the Orient loomed large on the horizon, there has come to their men of thought and leadership a new experience and a new insight. They appreciate now as they never did before the significance of the Union Jack on the north half of this continent. "The Pacific is a safer situation," said President Taft, "because two flags, not one, represent the power of English-speaking civilization." The past half-dozen years of diplomatic history illustrates this new attitude. To-day not one commanding voice, either in Canada or in the United States, would be given for annexation. That is the great new fact which shines on the horizon of Canada's international relations.

But through all these problems there runs the question: How is the ideal of the nation of eight millions to be kept unlowered and unspoiled against the day when Canada shall have eighty millions? In answering that question each man of us has his opportunity for service. Parliament and the politicians have their tasks, but the real chance is for the man out of office. Official obligations smother and hamper. In the freedom of simple citizenship the man who has a message will get his audience. The dignities of office are insignificant compared with the chance to awaken and direct the opinion

of the people. Let who will be Premier or President; it is the man who moulds the people's thoughts that rules the democracies of America.

If I have any right to make direct appeal, let me press home the obligation which Canada's problems and Canada's prospects put upon every young Canadian. Within your reach is the thing you can do. Do that thing unselfishly and with your might, and some problem of your country's life will be pressed one point nearer solution. It is for us here so to resolve and so to serve that democracy shall have a new chance and shall not fail in this young Canadian nation.

LIST OF MEMBERS

1910-11.

A

Abbs, C. E.
Abbs. R. G.
Adams, Dr. E. Herbert.
Adams, Dr. G. F.
Adamson, Agar.
Addison, Dr. W. L. T.
Agar, Charles G.
Aikins, Dr. H. W.
Alderson, W. H.
Alexander, Dr. W. H.
Alexander, W. Murray.
Allan, A. A.
Allan, A. P.
Allan, Rev. James.
Allan, W. A.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, Thomas.
Ames, A. E.
Amiraux, William L.
Amyot, Dr. G. A.
Anderson, C. W.
Anderson, George.
Anderson, Dr. H. W.
Anderson, Wallace.
Anderson, W. G.
Anderson, W. G. L.
Andrew, R. B.
Anglin, R. W.
Annandale, A. W.
Anthes, L. L.
Archer, G. K.
Archibald, G. W.
Armour, E. N.
Armstrong, B. E.
Armstrong, Rev. W. L.
Ashenhurst, Alexander.
Asling, Herbert M.
Aspden, T. Fred.
Atherton, James W.
Atkinson, J. E.
Auden, Henry W.
Auld, A. R.
Ausman, H. W.
Austin, G. A.
Austin, William R.

B

Bach, G. S.
Bach, W. G.
Baillie, A. H.
Baillie, F. W.
Baillie, James W.
Bain, Donald.
Baird, D. S.
Baird, H. N.
Baird, W. A.
Baker, J. Charles.
Baker, R. L.
Baker, W. H.
Baldwin, L. H.
Balen, H. T.
Ball, George B.
Ballantyne, Prof. James.
Balton, N. E.
Banfield, W. H.
Banford, Rev. John.
Banks, A. F.
Barker, A. B.
Barker, H. W.
Barker, R. J. W.
Barr, Walter J.
Barrett, W. W.
Barron, George.

Bathurst, S. A.
Baulch, S. F.
Baxter, D. W.
Bealey, E. R.
Beamish, J. R.
Beard, M. D.
Beardmore, W. D.
Beaton, J. P.
Beatty, H. A.
Beatty, J. W.
Beaty, J. G.
Beaumont, G. F.
Beaumont, J.
Beaupre, Eugene L.
Beck, H. T.
Beck, J. J.
Beemer, Dr. N. H.
Beer, G. Frank.
Beer, W. W.
Begg, E. A.
Begg, George M.
Belfry, F. E.
Bell, Andrew J.
Bell, J. R.
Bell-Smith, F. M.
Bender, C. B.
Bengough, J. W.
Berkinshaw, E. C.
Bertram, George M.
Bertram, Melville.
Bickerstaff, A. R.
Bickle, Ed. W.
Biggar, E. B.
Biggs, Richard L.
Bilger, W. F.
Bilton, Thomas.
Binnie, J. L.
Bishop, C. H.
Bishop, R. H.
Blachford, A. W.
Blachford, C. A.
Blachford, Charles E.
Blachford, Frank E.
Blachford, Howard C.
Black, J. C.
Black, R. G.
Black, S. W.
Black, Walter.
Black, William.
Black, Dr. W. A.
Blackburn, A. R.
Blackburn, F. J.
Blacklock, S. C.
Blain, Hugh.
Blain, W. A.
Bland, Thomas.
Bleasdall, W. H.
Blogg, A. E.
Blogg, T. Lyle.
Bole, W. W.
Bollard, Arthur.
Bolus, W. J.
Bond, C. H. A.
Bone, J. R.
Bongard, Charles W.
Bonny, Walter D.
Boultbee, A. E.
Boultbee, George E.
Bowden, Sidney.
Bowen, Thomas P.
Bowes, J. L.
Bowman, W. M.
Boyd, George.
Boyd, Valentine.
Bracken, Paul.
Bradshaw, Thomas.
Braithwaite, E. E.
Breadner, R. W.
Brecken, P. A.
Breckenridge. E. A.
Breckenridge, J. C.
Bredin, Mark.
Bremner, J. C.
Brent, W. C.
Brigden, George.
Briggs, A. W.
Briggs, S. E.
Briscoe, F. A.

Britnell, Ed.
Brock, Ivor.
Brooks, W.
Brown, C. A. B.
Brown, Rev. Crawford.
Brown, E. B.
Brown, E. P.
Brown, E. R.
Brown, F. N. B.
Brown, Newton H.
Brown, Dr. Price.
Brown, Richard.
Brown, W. Evatt.
Brown, W. Greenwood.
Brown, Dr. W. N.
Bruce, Lieut.-Col. John.
Bruce, Dr. H. A.
Bruce, Hector.
Bryan, George M.
Bucke, William.
Buckland, H. G.
Bundy, J. W.
Burfoot, George.
Burke, Edmund.
Burnett, A. H.
Burnett, G. G.
Burns, Alexander N.
Burns, Charles E.
Burns, D. H.
Burns, James A.
Burns, Ralph.
Burns, W. G.
Burruss, Grayson.
Bushell, Amos.
Butt, Harold A.

C

Cain, W. C.
Caldbeck, George.
Cameron, Rev. C. J.
Cameron, Donald.
Cameron, George.
Cameron, W. A.
Campbell, A. H.
Campbell, Allen M.
Campbell, E. T.
Campbell, George C.
Campbell, John L.
Carmichael, J. S.
Candee, C. N.
Capp, Thomas W.
Carder, M. D.
Carley, David L.
Carlyle, David.
Carnahan, W. J. A.
Carrick, John.
Carrie, W. N.
Carruthers, Adam.
Cassidy, E.
Caswell, E. S.
Catto, Charles J.
Catto, James A.
Caven, Dr. James G.
Chaffee, H. F.
Chamberlain, Dr. W. P.
Chambers, E. C. G.
Chambers, Dr. G.
Chambers, R. J.
Chapin, A. S.
Chapman, E. W.
Chapman, S. H.
Chapman, W. F.
Charlewood, C. B.
Charlton, Hon. W. A.
Cherrier, G. D.
Chipman, Willis.
Christie, F. W.
Christie, R. J.
Christie, S.
Churchill, Fred. W.
Clare, Dr. Harvey.
Clarke, Dr. E. Day.
Clark, Dr. Harold.
Clark, Herbert A.
Clarke, E. R.
Clarke, Fred. G.
Clarke, G. M.
Clarke, J.
Clarke, J. Murray.

Clarke, J. Russell.
Clarke, W. F.
Clarke, W. J.
Clarke, W. J.
Cleaver, Rev. Dr.
Clelland, D. F. A.
Clements, A. G.
Clendennan, Dr. G. W.
Cliff, George J.
Cliff, W. C.
Coakwell, J. A.
Cockburn, Rev. E.
Codd, H. F.
Cody, Archdeacon.
Colbeck, F. C.
Coleman, A. B.
Coleman, Clayton.
Coleman, R. H.
Colgrave, C. E.
Collins, J. R.
Colquhoun, A. H. U.
Colwell, C. A. E.
Connolly, J. P.
Cook, F. S.
Cook, Dr. George E.
Cooke, Christopher.
Coombs, Fred J.
Coombs, H. T.
Coombs, J. W.
Coon, S. B.
Cooper, John A.
Cooper, Rev. W. B.
Copeland, C. M.
Copeland, J. D.
Copeland, R. J.
Copper, J. E.
Corbet, J. B.
Corcoran, J. W.
Cork, G. E.
Corner, Horace C.
Corry, C. D.
Cossland, E. F.
Cotton, Dr. J. M.
Cottrelle, G. R.
Coulter, J. A.
Coulter, Joseph.
Coutts, G. B.
Cowan, William.
Cox, A. H.
Cox, Hon. George A.
Craig, William.
Cranem, Samuel.
Cranston, J. H.
Crean, Gordon.
Creed, Rev. F. N.
Creighton, C. D.
Creighton, John.
Creighton, Rev. W. B.
Crews, H. C.
Crichton, R. A.
Cringan, J. W.
Croft, William H.
Croft, William.
Crosby, Dr. G. W.
Crowther, W. C.
Cubitt, W. A.
Culverhouse, E.
Cumberland, Barlow.
Cummer, Dr. W. E.
Cummings, C. C.
Cummings, R.
Cuthbertson, A. E.

D

Dancy, Arthur H.
Dancy, R. C.
Daniel, C. D.
Daniel, F. C.
Darling, Frank.
Davidson, Rev. McB.
Davidson, N. F.
Davidson, W. G.
Davies, B. M.
Davies, C. A.
Davies, E. S.
Davies, Dr. T. A.
Davies, Thomas.
Davis, A. R.
Davis, B. N.

Davis, Hon. E. J.
Davis, Lionel.
Davis, Robert H.
Davis, W. J.
Deacon, F. H.
Deacon, G. P.
Deiffill, James.
Denison, Col. G. T.
Denison, Shirley.
Denne, A. J.
Dent, Charles R.
Despard, W. H.
Dewart, H. H.
DeWitt, Hiram.
DeWitt, Prof. N. W.
Dick, John.
Dilworth, R. J.
Dineen, W. F.
Dingman, H. J.
Dingman, R. G.
Dixon, W. J. E.
Doherty, W. K.
Doidge, W. A.
Donogh, J. O.
Donaldson, A. G.
Donovan, A. E.
Douglas, S. J.
Douglas, W. A.
Douglas, W. M.
Dow, W. J.
Duffett, W. G.
Duggan, R. B.
Duggan, T. W.
Duncan, E. J. B.
Duncan, Rev. J. M.
Duncan, Dr. J. T.
Dunlop, D. A.
Dunning, G. G.
DuVernet, E. E. A.
Draper, Selby.
Dykes, Philip.

E

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Earle, T. R.
Easson, R. H.
Eaton, Dr. Horace,
Eaton, J. C.
Eaton, R. W.
Eaton, R. Y.
Eby, C. S.
Eby, Hugh D.
Eby, J. F.
Eby, W. P.
Ecclestone, H. W.
Eckardt, A. E.
Eckardt, A. J. H.
Eckardt, H. B.
Eckardt, H. D.
Eddis, W. C.
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Edmonds, W. L.
Elgie, R. B.
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Elliott, G. L.
Elliott, Dr. J. H.
Elliott, Thomas.
Elliott, W. F.
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Ellis, P. W.
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Emery, Horace R.
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Evans, F. P.
Evans, George A.
Evans, H. P.
Evans, L. C.
Evans, Lawrence.
Evans, W. B.
Evans, W. J.

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Fairbairn, R. D.
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Falconbridge, J. D.
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Fallis, Rev. R. J.
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Farr, H. J.
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Fenton, Wilson.
Ferguson, J. G.
Fetherstonhaugh, F. B.
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Fielding, Edward.
File, Lorne K.
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Findley, Thomas.
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Fisher, Dr. Ed.
Fisher, H. F.
Fisher, J. W.
Fisher, Robert C.
Fitzgerald, F. W. G
Flavelle, J. W.
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Fleming, C. W.
Fleming, F. A.
Fletcher, A. G.
Fletcher, H. C.
Follett, J. H.
Ford, W. H.
Forster, E. L. C.
Forster, J. W. L.
Fortier, H. C.
Forward, T. W.
Foster, S. H.
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Foulds, Archibald, Jr.
Fountain, William.
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Fox, Rev. E. T.
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Foy, Frank C.
Fraleigh, Dr. A. J.
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Fraser, G. A.
Fraser, G. W.
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Fraser, J. A.
Fraser, J. C.
Fraser, W. J.
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Frind, H. O.
Frost, Harold R.
Fullerton, Dr. J. A.

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Gage, W. J.
Gagnier, Harold.
Galbraith, D. G. M.
Galbraith, Thomas.
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Gamble, Capt. K.
Gandier, Rev. A.
Garside, William.
Gartshore, J. J.
Gemmell, L. A.
Gemmell, W. M.
George, James.
George, W. K.
Gibbard, G. E.
Gibson, D. H.
Gibson, J. J.
Gibson, R. E.
Gibson, R. L.
Gibson, S. L.
Gibson, T. A.
Gibson, T. W.
Gibson, Theron.
Gibson, Thomas.
Gifford, J. R.
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Gilchrist, Archibald.
Gillespie, Walter.
Gillies, Duncan.

Gillooly, C. J.
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Glasgow, R. P.
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Godfrey, J. M.
Goforth, W. F.
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Gooderham, G. H.
Gooderham, H. F.
Gooderham, Henry.
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Gouinlock, George.
Gould, John.
Gourlay, R. S.
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Grant, W. H.
Grassick, F. C.
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Gray, Frank M.
Gray, G. Howard.
Gray, R. A. L.
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Greig, W. J.
Gregg, A. H.
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Griffin, Watson.
Gundy, J. H.
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Hachborn, E. G.
Haddow, Rev. R.
Haggard, Charles.
Hague, F. A.
Haig, D. C.
Haines, W. A.
Hale, James.
Haley, John S.
Hall, Arthur.
Hall, H. E.
Hall, J. E.
Hall, J. Herbert.
Hall, W. H.
Hambly, G. W.
Hamilton, R. C.
Hamilton, W. A.
Hamly, H. T.
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Harding, David.
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Harris, H. K.
Harris, James.
Harris, W. C. R.
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Harwood, H. S.
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Hedley, John M.
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Henderson, G. E.
Henderson, O. B.
Henderson, P. E.
Henderson, R. B.
Henderson, S.
Henderson, T. A.
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Hillary, Norman.
Hillman, H. P. L.
Hillock, C. W.
Hillock, J. F.
Hiltz, W. W.
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Hobbs, J. W.
Hocken, H. C.
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Hopkins, J. C.
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Hopper, L. R.
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Howland, Peleg.
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I

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Innes, William.
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Irish, Mark H.
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Ivey, P. D.

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James, Eben.
James, Thomas B.
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Johnson, Main.
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Jones, Col. C. S.
Jones, F. L. C.
Jones, J. E.
Jones, Sir Lyman.
Jordan, Dr. A. R.
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Joselin, E. J.
Jull, Thomas W.
Jury, J. H. H.

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Keating, E. H.
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Kent, John A.
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Kingston, G. A.
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Kyle, J. Fergus.
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Lefroy, A. H. F.
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LeMay, Tracy.
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Lewis, R. T.
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Lindsay, John.
Lindsey, G. G. S., K.C.
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Locke, Herbert A.
Lockhart, R. R.
Loftus, John T.
Long, Albert E.
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Loosemore, H. H.
Love, Spencer.
Lovell, James F.
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Lowden, John.
Lowden, John, Jr.
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Lugsdin, L. J.
Luke, Frank E.
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Lyon, A. E.
Lyon, Dr. Mortimer.

M

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McCarthy, J. D.
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McColl, E. L.
McConkey, T. G.
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McCracken, T. E.
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McDonald, J. D.
McDougall, D. H.
McFall, A. A.
McGee, Harry.
McGonegal, E.
McGiffen, Alan.
McGregor, J. B.

McGuire, W. H.
McInroy, William.
McIntosh, W. D.
McIntyre, Grant.
McIntyre, R. L.
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McKenzie, J. A.
McKenzie, Dr. B. E.
McKinnon, J. S.
McKnight, John.
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McLaughlin, R. S.
McLay, Prof. W. S. W.
McLean, F. G.
McLean, J. S.
McLean, Robert
McLean, W. B.
McLean, W. J.
McLeod, G. J.
McLeod, J. B.
McMahon, Frank.
McMurray, L. S.
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McPherson, R. U.
McQuillan, Thomas.
McTaggart, William.
McWhinney, W. J.
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MacClennan, Dr. A. W.
MacDonald, C. S.
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MacDonald, J. B.
MacDonald, H. T.
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MacGregor, J. P.
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MacKay, John.
MacKay, J. F.
MacKay, W. C.
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MacKenzie, S. H. P.
MacKerrow, Robert.
MacLaren, Alexander.
MacLaren, J. F.
MacLeod, J. J. M.
MacLeod, N. M.
MacMahon, H. W.
MacMurchy, J. C.
MacNeil, Rev. John.
MacTavish, Newton.
Macdonald, Rev. D. B.
Macdonald, Donald.
Macdonald, Dr. J. A.
Macdonnell, G. F.
Macfadden, J. A.
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Mackenzie, Dr. A. J.
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Malcolm, A. G.
Mallory, Dr. F. R.
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Mann, Sir Donald.
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Manning, Rev. C. E.
Mara, F. G.
Mara, W. H.
Markle, W. B.
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Marshall, S. B.
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Martin, A. W.
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Martin, J. P.
Martin, N. L.
Martin, W. H.
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Mason, H. H.
Mason, T. H.
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Massey, Vincent.
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Mathieson, Robert.
Matthew, W. L.
Maw, F. C.
Maybee, J. A.
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Merriam, G. R. C.
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Mickle, H. W.
Millard, Alexander.
Miller, C. P.
Miller, E. W.
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Miller, H. H.
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Millichamp, W.
Millman, Dr. Thomas.
Millman, W. H.
Mills, Alexander.
Milner, W. S.
Milnes, James H.
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Minns, Dr. F. S.
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Mitchell, C. F.
Mitchell, Charles H.
Mitchell, J. W.
Mitchell, Lorne W.
Mitchell, Thomas.
Moffatt, F. M.
Monahan, T. L.
Montgomery, R. A.
Monypenny, L. F.
Monypenny, T. F.
Moore, J. T.
Moore, S. J.
Moore, S. H.
Moore, W. A.
Moore, W. H.
Morgan, M. T.
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Morley, F. G.
Morris, Massey.
Morrison, George W.
Morphy, E. J.
Morren, E. W. S.
Morrow, A. D.
Morrow, G. A.
Morrow, W. B.
Mortimer, Dr. C. H.
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Moss, Fred.
Moyle, C. E.
Moyle, David.
Moyle, H. B.
Moyle, R. D.
Moyer, H. R. A.
Muckle, Charles P.
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Mulock, William, Jr.
Munns, William.
Murphy, James E.
Murray, C. B.
Murray, G. M.
Murray, H. W.
Murray, W. P.
Musson, C. J.
Musson, J. G.

N

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Nasmith, H. C.
Naylor, W. W.
Needler, G. H.
Neely, C. H.

Neil, Rev. John.
Neilson, N. J.
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Nesbitt, R. A.
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Neville, R. S.
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Niles, C. B.
Noble, C. J.
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Northway, J. A.
Northway, John.
Northway, W. E.
Nourse, C. E.

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O'Brien, C. P.
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Palm, Otto G.
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Parker, James.
Parker, Robert.
Parker, W. R. P.
Parkinson, M.
Parmelee, W. H.
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Parsons, S. R.
Parsons, W. G.
Passmore, S. V.
Pate, W. S.
Paterson, F. C.
Patterson, F. D.
Patterson, G. H. L
Patterson, I. H. F.
Patterson, J. A.
Patterson, J. D.
Patterson, J. H.
Patterson, R. E.
Patrick, W. G.
Paul, Fred.
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Paynter, C. J.
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Peacock, H. M.
Pearson, Arthur.
Pearson, Charles.
Pearson, John.
Pearson, W. H.
Pellatt, Sir H. M.
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Pepall, G. T.
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Perry, W. H.
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Peters, Henry.
Pettes, D. H.
Pettit, J. H.
Pettit, Stanley.
Phillips, Charles.
Phillips, William.

Plant, W. H.
Playter, W. P.
Polson, H.
Poole, C. D.
Poole, G. E.
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Powell, Thomas W.
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Pratt, Frank M.
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Provan, A.
Purvis, W. T.
Putnam, G. A.

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Rae, Allan M.
Rae, H. C.
Raney, W. E.
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Ratcliffe, J. B.
Rawlinson, M.
Rea, A. E.
Rea, T. W.
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Reid, A. T.
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Reid, George G.
Reid, J. E.
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Reid, S. G.
Reid, Thomas.
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Rennie, Thomas.
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Riddell, G. T.
Riddell, G. T.
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Robertson, J. S.
Robertson, P. L.
Robertson, W. D.
Robertson, W. E.
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Robinson. E. W.
Robinson, G. H., M.A
Robinson, J. B.
Robinson, R. K.
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Rodgers, A. H.
Rogers, A. C.
Rogers, E. A.
Rogers, Elias.
Rogers, E. R
Rogers, F. P.
Rogers, J. P.
Rohold, S. B.
Rollo, Andrew.
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Rose, Hugh.
Rose, Hugh A.
Rose, Rev. S. P.
Ross, Daniel.
Ross, D. W.
Ross, Fred. H.

Ross, Senator Sir George.
Ross, George.
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Rutherford, S. J.
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Ryrie, Harry.
Ryrie, James.

S

Sale, Julian.
Salmond, J. J.
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Samuel, H. M.
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Sanderson, Dr. H. M.
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