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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE
EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA DURING
ITS SESSION OF 1903-04

EDITOR :

REV. PROF. WILLIAM CLARK, D.D., D.C.L.

ASSISTED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

ALEXANDER FRASER

J. MACDONALD OXLEY, B.A.

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THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, P.C., M.P.
Hon. Member of the Empire Club of Canada.

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA.

During the year 1903 Canadians took a deep interest in Mr. Chamberlain's policy and campaign and in the months of October and November there took place throughout the country a very vigorous discussion of the Alaskan Boundary question and its settlement at the hands of the Tribunal in London. The feeling which was evinced in some quarters against the Mother-land in this latter connection, as well as the far wider and more general sentiment expressed in favour of some kind of closer Imperial unity, appeared to indicate the desirability of a popular organization which should appeal to the convenience and interest of the business men of Canadian cities and towns, and do so from a distinct standpoint of Empire union.

On November 18th, therefore, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly upon the initiative of Lieut-Col. James Mason, for purposes of preliminary discussion. Those present were: Lieut.-Col. Mason, Lieut.-Col. G. A. Stimson, Messrs. W. E. Lincoln Hunter, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, J. Castell Hopkins, J. P. Murray, Robert Junkin, Capt. E. Wyly Grier, Charles Elliot, James R. Code, Wallace Jones, E. Strachan Cox, J. F. M. Stewart, Noel Marshall, Major J. B. Miller and Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

There were, he thought, various reasons for action at the present time. Loose talk in certain quarters as to

future Independence for Canada was one; the opposite and general desire to foster closer connection with the Empire in order to maintain the integral existence of Canada as a self-governing British community upon this Continent was another. Others spoke and then a sub-committee was appointed to organize a new Association along these lines. It was composed of Lieut.-Col. Mason, and Messrs. Lincoln Hunter, J. P. Murray, F. G. Fetherstonhaugh, Noel Marshall, E. Strachan Cox and Castell Hopkins.

This sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed Lieut.-Col. Mason, Capt. Grier, and Messrs. Hopkins and Wallace Jones a Committee to draft a Constitution and By-laws for submission to a general organization meeting. These were duly prepared, afterwards modified and finally accepted by the new Club.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization affected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present. Lieut.-Col. Mason occupied the chair, and Mr. J. F. M. Stewart acted as Secretary, and, after a discussion of various proposed names such as The British Canadian Club, The British-American Club, The Dominion Club (recommended by the Committee) and The Empire Club of Canada, the last-mentioned name was approved by a large majority. The policy of the Club was declared to be summed up in these words: "The advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire." The officers were elected as follows: President, Lieut.-Col. Mason; 1st Vice-President, Prof William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.; 2nd Vice-President, Mr. Hugh Blain; 3rd Vice-President, Mr. J. P. Murray; Treasurer, Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.; Secretary, Mr. J. F. M. Stewart. The Executive Committee was made up of Messrs. Frank Darling, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Alex. Fraser, Capt. E. Wyley Grier, W. E. Lincoln Hunter, Wallace Jones, R. F. Junkin, Noel Marshall, H. C. Osborne, and F. B. Polson.

There were a good many press comments regarding the new organization. The *Toronto Star* praised the

wide-open character of the Canadian Club which permitted Independence men or even annexationists to be members, and referred to the new Club as a sort of Imperialistic rival; the Ottawa *Citizen* deprecated the protests of the former Association in Alaskan Boundary affairs as excessive, and the Independence talk in certain limited circles of the moment as "the mere petulance of unthinking youth"; the Toronto *Globe* declared that there was plenty of room for both the Empire and Canadian Clubs; the Rossland *Miner* thought the action, considered as a protest against any paltering with Separatist ideas, was particularly timely in view of United States aggression in Panama.

The inaugural Luncheon of the Empire Club of Canada was held on December 3rd with over one hundred members present. The President was in the chair and fifty-eight new members were proposed. Upon motion of Mr. Castell Hopkins, seconded by the Rev. Professor Clark, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., was unanimously elected the first Honourary member. A cable message was read by the President from Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal accepting the Honourary Presidency of the Club, and an address was then delivered by the 1st Vice-President upon the objects and aims of the new organization. At a succeeding meeting the membership of the Club was limited to five hundred and, early in 1904, it was found that this limit had been reached and a waiting-list rendered necessary. It was also decided by Resolution to promote the establishment of branches of the Club in other towns and cities.

Weekly luncheons were held until late in the season and proved very popular while the addresses were most varied in their nature and distinctly able in character. A Literary Committee of the Club was appointed by Resolution of December 10th, 1903, composed of the President, the three Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Castell Hopkins as Hon. Secretary to look after the obtaining of suitable speakers and the custody of the speeches for ultimate publication in book form. The first annual meeting of the Club was held May 12th (after the Constitution had been changed by unanimous consent) and

the officers were re-elected by acclamation, although the President and others express a wish to retire and pass the honours around.

A Publication Committee was appointed, composed of Lieut.-Col. Mason, Professor Clark, Mr. J. P. Murray, Mr. Fetherstonhaugh, Mr. Macdonald Oxley, Mr. Alexander Fraser, Mr. Castell Hopkins, Major Mason and the Secretary to look after the publication of the addresses delivered during the year. It was decided that Professor Clark should be Editor, assisted by Messrs. Hopkins, Fraser and Oxley, and this little volume is the result.



LIEUT.-COL. J. MASON,
President of the Empire Club of Canada.

PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.
2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.
3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.
4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.
5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.
6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President; a President; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.
7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hundred, and membership shall be open to any man at the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting."



THE REV. PROFESSOR WILLIAM CLARK, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.



EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA AND ITS IDEAL OF IMPERIALISM.

Opening address by the Rev. Professor William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., delivered at the Weekly Luncheon of the Club, on December 3rd, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Before beginning the very few words which I wish to address to this meeting to-day, I think I cannot do otherwise than congratulate you as our President on the splendid turnout of members, and I think it is the happiest augury for the success and future influence of the Club that we could wish for. When I saw it announced in the newspapers that a club was to be formed with the principles which you have adopted, I at once wrote and asked that I might be placed as a candidate for membership. You were good enough, not only to admit me to the Club, but to make me Vice-President, and you have given me the additional privilege of addressing the Club to-day.

I can quite understand that to many persons the formation of a club of this kind will seem a very little thing. A number of gentlemen come together for lunch and to listen to one of their members, or some distinguished guest, address them, and this does not seem a very important matter. I am not of that opinion. I have not the least doubt that this Club will become of great influence and power in this Dominion, because it is founded upon a distinct and well understood and realized principle, namely, that the highest interests of the Dominion of Canada are identical with the interests of the British Empire. It is sometimes said, in reply to

those who are exalting Canada and speaking of Canada First, that they are forgetting the Empire. We know better than that.

Certainly there are some, but they are very few indeed, among us who can look forward with equanimity to separation from the Mother Country. (This is supposed to mean either Independence or else absorption by our neighbours in the United States. But I think, Sir, there is only one alternative, not two.) I think most reflecting persons are convinced that an attempt at separation would probably come to an end in a very speedy absorption. I do not seek to belittle the great Republic alongside of us. We are proud of them as our own children. All their great institutions have been borrowed from our own. All their history is a continuance of our history, and we regard those who belong to that country as our friends. I, for one, certainly have no fault to find with them. I have received honours in the United States, more than I have been entitled to, so that it would be most ungrateful for me to say anything unkind about them. But that is all very well. You may be on very good terms with your neighbours without having them live in your house or you living in theirs; and just as I esteem one of my neighbours, so in the same way I esteem and respect the United States without desiring to be one of them.

I do not know, indeed, what we could gain by Annexation. Were we to break our own history in two we should not find ourselves at home and, with regard to the privileges connected with the United States, I do not imagine there are any of them which we do not possess ourselves. We have the most perfect liberty. Supposing we have Independence, what liberty could we have greater than that now possessed? (What could we gain? We certainly should not increase our dignity, nor should we rise to a more dignified position among the countries of the world than we now occupy as a part of a great Empire.) And, Sir, when we think of the countries from which we came, the two blessed ones, and think of the sacred soil on which our forefathers toiled and laboured and fought, and achieved such results as have never been

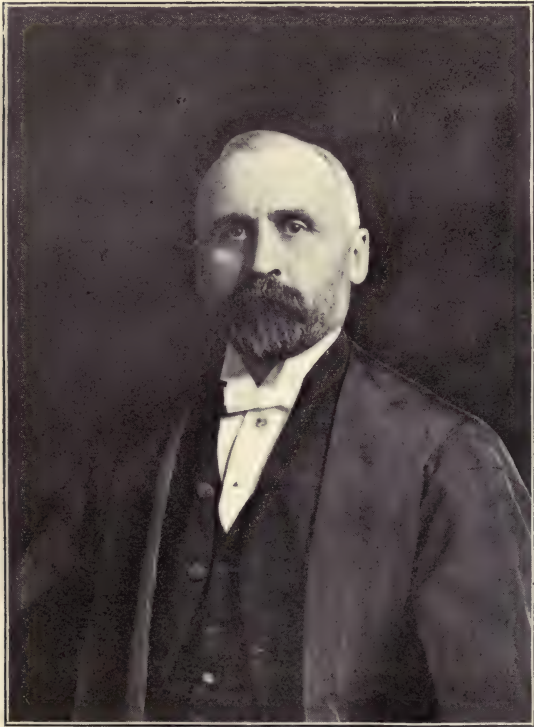
seen in any other lands, (I think we should think once, twice and thrice before we break asunder the bonds by which we are united.)

It is, Sir, a great race from which we came, or rather two great races, for I must protest that the way men speak of us as Anglo-Saxons is very imperfect and inadequate. We are not Anglo-Saxon simply, but Anglo-Celtic in origin. When you think that we have in our people the great and generous Englishman, the energetic Scotchman and the genial Irishman united as one, I think we should be proud to have such an origin to look back upon and I, for one, would be greatly grieved to think that we should cut ourselves off from such an ancestry. I think, Sir, it is very difficult for us to say which of these great peoples has the chief claim upon our homage. Each one will probably think of his own nationality; but one must always remember the Irishman who, when asked what he would have been had he not been an Irishman, replied that he would have been ashamed of himself.

However, Canadians do not enter upon these subjects in any spirit of rivalry, nor in any spirit of antagonism. We are simply based upon our own foundation, and will carry on our work; but as I said before, when we look back upon our nationality, we are not going to cut ourselves off from the great country of our origin. No, Sir. There is no history in the world upon which the eye of man can rest with the same satisfaction as upon the history of the three Kingdoms in the past.

I dare say a critical eye may detect errors in us. A French writer has put it excellently when he said that we have all the defects of our qualities. I dare say we have defects. I dare say the Englishman may occasionally become a little bumptious, the Scotchman conceited and the Irishman a trifle vain; these are the defects of their qualities. But, Sir, I say come back and think of the history of England, for example. (See what a splendid civilization it has developed. (See what opportunities it has secured to us; see what excellent government we have enjoyed. But it is sufficient to mention these things without dwelling upon them. Remember, there is no land

✓ on earth that has such liberty as Great Britain and her dependencies.) Why, poor Max O'Rell, who died the other day, proclaimed in London and in Paris and in New York that no country was really like England for liberty. Well, Sir, I am perfectly certain that you have shown your respect for yourself and respect for your country, and have done well for the British Empire, by the formation of this Empire Club, and I am greatly mistaken if this action will not help to solidify and strengthen the sentiment of loyal adhesion to the Empire, which I think it our duty to secure by any means within our power.



J. M. CLARK, K.C.

THE FRENCH SHORE QUESTION AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

Address by Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C., before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 10th, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

It is not my intention, even if time would permit, to give you a sketch of the intensely interesting history of Newfoundland, the oldest Colony of Great Britain. What I desire to impress upon the Club are a few of the reasons for strongly advocating the inclusion of Newfoundland in the Dominion of Canada, thus "rounding off Confederation," as the phrase is. The union of Canada and Newfoundland is not a new idea. It was advocated by Lord Durham. Careful provision is made in the British North America Act for the inclusion of Newfoundland in the Canadian Confederation, and it is on all hands regretted that the negotiations of 1895 ended in failure, for reasons it is not now necessary to dilate on. The control of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, that magnificent highway to the centre of this continent, is of supreme, paramount importance to Canada, and Newfoundland obviously holds its key. Further, to Newfoundland belongs the Labrador coast, from Hudson's Straits to the Straits of Belle Isle.

You will recollect that in 1876, six years after Canada had acquired Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, the boundaries of that part of Labrador which belongs to Newfoundland were declared to be: "All the coast of Labrador, from the entrance of Hudson's Straits to a line to be drawn due North and South from L'Anse Sablon, on said coast, to the 52° of North latitude." Newfoundland, therefore, commands the exit from Hudson's Bay and the greater part of the Atlantic seaboard to the East of Canada. In view of the recent discussions in this country it is, therefore, unnecessary to add any argument in favour of the proposition that

Canada should avail itself of any opportunity that may offer of union between Canada and Newfoundland. A strongly worded Resolution moved, after an admirable speech by Col. Ponton, and seconded by Hon. Mr. Ross, was carried at the meeting of the Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, held in Montreal this year, in favour of the union of Canada and Newfoundland. The main ground of the Resolution was that it was, in the opinion of the Congress, a matter of Imperial importance that one intact Atlantic seaboard should be thus permanently secured. In some quarters it is urged that such negotiations should be postponed until after the settlement of the so-called French Shore difficulty between Great Britain and France. A short reference to the basis of this dispute will indicate that there is no real cause for alarm on that score.* The French claims are founded on Article XIII. of the famous Treaty of Utrecht (1713). That Article provides that the island called Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, shall belong of right wholly to Britain. The said Article proceeds:

Nor shall the Most Christian King (the French King) his heirs and successors, or any of their subjects at any time hereafter lay claim to any right to the said island and islands or to any part of it or them. Moreover, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said Island of Newfoundland or to erect any buildings there—besides stages made of boards and huts necessary or useful for the drying of fish—or to resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish. . . . But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch fish and to dry them on land in that part only (and in no other besides that) of said Island of Newfoundland which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the northern part of said island, and thence running down the western side reaches as far as the place called Pointe Riche.

This language makes it very clear that there is really no French Shore, and no foundation for a claim to an exclusive fishing. This Article XIII. of the Treaty of Utrecht, was renewed by Article V. of the Treaty of

* Since the time of this address the Anglo-French Treaty has removed the main elements of this obstacle.—EDITOR.

Paris, 1763, and, by Article VI. Great Britain ceded the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen. France by this Treaty engaged not to fortify these islands, and to erect no buildings upon them except for the convenience of the fishing and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only as police. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783), Great Britain is confirmed in Newfoundland, and St. Pierre and Miquelon is again ceded to France, this time in full right. The restrictions above referred to were not expressly incorporated in this new session, but there was a general provision for the restoration of the *status quo* except where otherwise stipulated. There was also a contemporaneous French declaration of intention to prevent the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon becoming an object of jealousy between the two nations.

By Article V. of the Versailles Treaty, France, in order to prevent the quarrels which had hitherto arisen between the two nations, consented to renounce the right of fishing which belonged to the former in virtue of Article XIII. of the Treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John on the Eastern coast of Newfoundland, 50° N. latitude. Great Britain consented that the fishery assigned to the French, beginning at Cape St. John, passing to North and descending on the Western coast of the Island of Newfoundland, should extend to the place called Cape Raye, situated in 47° 50' lat.—the French to enjoy this as they had the right to enjoy that which was assigned to them by Treaty of Utrecht. The following declaration was made at the time :

The King having entirely agreed with His Most Christian Majesty upon the Articles of the Definitive Treaty, will seek every means which shall not only ensure the execution thereof, with his accustomed good faith and punctuality, but will besides give, on his part, all possible efficacy to the principles which shall prevent even the least foundation of dispute for the future. To this end, and in order that the fishermen of the two nations may not give cause for daily quarrels, His Britannic Majesty will take the most positive measures for preventing his subjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fishery of the French, during the temporary exercise of it which is granted to them, upon the coasts of the Island of Newfoundland ; and he will, for this pur-

pose, cause the fixed settlements which shall be formed there, to be removed. His Britannic Majesty will give orders that the French fishermen be not incommoded in cutting the wood necessary for the repair of their scaffolds, huts, and fishing vessels.

The Thirteenth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht and the method of carrying on the fishery which has at all times heretofore been acknowledged, shall be the plan upon which the fishery shall be carried on there ; it shall not be deviated from by either party ; the French fishermen building only their scaffolds, confining themselves to the repair of their fishing vessels, and not wintering there ; the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, on their part, not molesting, in any manner, the French fishermen during their fishing, nor injuring their scaffolds during their absence. The King of Great Britain in ceding the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France, regards them as ceded for the purpose of serving as a real shelter to the French fishermen, and in full confidence that these possessions will not become an object of jealousy between the two nations ; and that the fishery between the said islands and that of Newfoundland shall be limited to the middle of the channel.

By Article XIII. of the Treaty of Paris (1814) the French right of fishery upon the great bank of Newfoundland and upon the Newfoundland coasts was replaced upon the footing at which it stood in 1792. This was done, notwithstanding the emphatic protests of Newfoundland, a supposed reason being that "The European Sovereigns wanted to make the Bourbons popular with the French people." It is to be hoped that the long pending difficulties in respect of these fishery rights which have so seriously retarded the development of Newfoundland may shortly be settled by France and Great Britain, while the present friendly relations between these great pioneers in the cause of civilization continues to exist ; but in any event the above will show that they constitute no sufficient reason for postponing the inclusion of Newfoundland in the Canadian Confederation should an opportunity for doing so arise.

I have referred to the French ownership of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Newfoundlanders and Canadians have been set thinking about these islands by the report of an alleged proposal by Senator Lodge that they should be acquired by the United States. This

report has not yet been confirmed,* but in view of the powerful advocacy of the annexation of Newfoundland to the United States the whole subject demands careful consideration. When one considers the position of these islands in relation to Newfoundland and its fisheries and to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, it is plain that their acquisition by the United States would be disastrous to the interests of Newfoundland and very prejudicial to the interests of Canada. It has also been announced that these islands are not for sale by France, but that does not dispense with the necessity for vigilance.

It would be convenient if these islands could be acquired by Great Britain. This might raise the question of the so-called Monroe Doctrine, not of the doctrine as enunciated by President Monroe, but of the strange extensions which are claimed for this doctrine. The message of President Monroe expressly declared that "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere," but now, under the name of this doctrine, the United States claim a primacy or overlordship in the New World, and this hegemony has been successfully asserted in the case of Centre Venezuela and Panama.

The United States announced that they would not consent to the occupancy of Cuba and Port Rico by any other European Power than Spain under any contingency whatever. The Monroe Doctrine, as stated by President Polk, would require the consent of the United States to the acquisition of dominion by a European Power whether through voluntary cession, or by transfer, or by conquest. Whether the United States would claim that their consent is necessary to the re-transfer of St. Pierre and Miquelon to Great Britain, or would refuse such consent, remains to be seen when the occasion arises. But certain it is that on no ground of right or justice or of international law could the transfer of these islands to Great Britain be objected to by the United States.

* Afterwards denied and repudiated by Senator Lodge.—
EDITOR.

PREFERENTIAL TRADE.

Address delivered by the Hon. George E. Foster, B.A., D.C.L., LL.D., EX-M.P., Finance Minister of Canada, 1888-96, before the Empire Club, on Thursday, December 17th, 1903.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

You will please take my heartfelt thanks for the kindness of your invitation and the kindness of your reception, and consider it just as hearty as if I spent fifteen minutes in expressing it to you. I believe this is a Club which means business, consequently we will do away with prefaces and with those more or less artificial endings with which speakers like the Hon. Mr. Ross and myself sometimes like to amuse audiences, and go straight to business.

The President has stated that I am to give you my experiences while in England. No, Mr. President, not quite. I am not so fresh as to tell you all that happened to me whilst in England. I may say some things, but I will be my own judge as to what things I shall say and as to what transpired. I am afraid, too, that I shall have to transgress a little on the programme and mention some few things which did not occur in England, but which are related to the discussion which is taking place there.

I think it is well in approaching this question to suffer ourselves to define exactly what the question means, so as to cut off from it everything which does not properly belong to it, and to read into it nothing that is not contained within the proposition itself. Now, Imperial Preference is not the same as Imperialism. Imperialism may be what any advocate of that idea chooses to define it. It is not fixed. It is in a state of flux and the first point I want to make is that we will do well here, as in Great Britain they are doing, to define exactly what Imperial Preference means, and not to go outside of that definition. A quick definition of it is simply this: It is a project for traffic and trade arrangements between

Great Britain and her Colonies, beginning in that and ending in that—so far as this proposition and its advocacy at the present time is concerned. It simply is, in fact, a proposal in the rough, to be worked out into detail later, that in the British Empire the treatment accorded to members of the family shall be a little different to the treatment which is extended to nations outside of the family.

It does not mean an attitude of hostility to outside nations; it simply means a bond and an agreement under that bond, by which the members of the Empire itself shall enjoy advantages which they think properly belong to them as members of that Empire. It does not embrace within it any proposition for contributions to Imperial defence; that is a question of very great importance, as to how much we shall appropriate in this country for defence and as to how we shall spend the appropriation when it is made. But it is entirely outside and beyond the proposition which is being discussed. There is not within the four corners of this proposition any attempt, any suspicion of an attempt, to curtail one single fiscal or political liberty which any Colony of the Empire to-day enjoys. Each will retain its own fiscal independence, each will retain its own political independence in exactly the same fullness as it preserves and retains these this day. It does not imply, contemplate, or lay down any cut and dried system, or a new kind of representation, be it a Council or Parliament for the Empire. Those are also important questions, but please remember they do not come within the scope of the proposition which at present is being discussed in Great Britain and in her Colonies. We may take it for granted that in the British Empire, and I think no one will doubt that, there has been a growing sentiment for a closer relation and that over and above that growing sentiment for closer relations, there is a movement which is beginning to take concrete form and embody itself in practical and working ways.

That sentiment of its free will, without compulsion, should reach into a concrete form, approved of by both the Mother-country and the Colonies, with their own

good-will and only with their own good-will. I have had the opportunity of witnessing in this country, in all the Colonies and in fact in Great Britain, the attempt of that idea to embody itself into a positive and concrete form, which if it is not successful in doing, it is not too much to say, will mark an epoch of very great importance, and with very great results hanging upon it, not only to the Colonies and to the Mother-country looked upon singly, but to the Empire as a whole. Once let this idea and the consent of the Mother-country and the Colonies take the form which is outlined in the proposals of to-day, and I think I cannot find words too important and too emphatic to mark the gravity and the import and the meaning and the significance of what that is to our country and to the world at large. Now, at this present moment we might ask ourselves upon what has this sentiment grown? Out of what soil has it sprung? Well, it has grown, I think, out of our kinship. We are descended from one another. We have institutions and inheritances in common; we defend one another; we do trade to a certain extent with one another; we have a common flag and we owe allegiance to a common Emperor or King. All this establishes a kinship; out of which and upon which has grown this desire for closer relation in some way or other between the members of the great family who own and who exercise that kinship.

Over and above that which we may call a drawing or attractive force, there is an element outside of the Empire. It is the hostile outside nations, and when I speak of hostile I do not necessarily mean warlike, but nations which have aims and tendencies of their own in trade, in national organization, in sway and in power—national ideals different from ours. They are to a certain extent hostile to us in that sense of the word hostile, and in these nations there has been growing up for the last twenty-five years, each year a stronger and more forceful expression of that rivalry and that competition and hostility denominated as I have done it. That has had the effect upon the other hand of reinforcing the attractive bonds or drawings together based upon kinship, mutual inheritance and defence of which I have also spoken. It has reinforced them by the pressure from

without. Now then, if you will make that idea clear to yourselves, you have two great moving influences which are pressing these countries of to-day into closer trade relations. If it is possible, we should treat each other of the blood, of the kinship, better than we treat outsiders. The fear of hostile outside nations which are pitted for national government in their ideals against British influences, is that by closer bonds and closer relations we may carry our own national existence more forcefully and more successfully by drawing ourselves together and becoming consolidated.

These two great principles, these two great powers, the attractive and the drawing power, are what is pushing this question forward in Great Britain and these Colonies to-day. What is it based on? I think I would not be wrong in saying that there is another powerful element in this question; this is the unfair competition of the outside nations. Here you have for instance a population of forty-two millions within the British Islands. There is the British consumer and the British capitalist; bring them together and they make the British producer. They make their goods and they put them before their own home market, forty-two millions of people. In that home market they are met with a competition strong, keen and powerful, and it becomes impossible for them to claim their due share of that home market itself. Now this results from a protective galaxy of nations whose population runs up to about three hundred millions of people. The competition floods in from Russia, from Germany, from Austria, from Italy, from the United States and from France, and men from all of these countries meet the English producer in his own forty-two million market on exactly the same ground that he himself has.

The British instinct of fair play says that is all right on one condition: come here and undersell me if you can, but two ought to be able to play at that game. Let me go to your three hundred million market and let me undersell you if I can on the same equal basis. If, however, he goes to the three hundred million market, he finds a tariff in

Russia upon his manufactured goods of 33 per cent. He finds in the United States a tariff on what he exports to that country of about 45 to 50 per cent. That strikes Englishmen as unfair and unjust. In their devotion to a sentiment into which they were born, they have been loyal to the principles of free trade to within the present time. Now they say it is unfair. We have converted nobody, we must protect our own producer, our own capitalist. Free trade, if it means anything, is the competition of one man against another on equal conditions, is it not? Of one corporation against another on equal conditions? That is the way it used to be almost absolutely up to twenty-five years ago. To-day every nation in Europe and outside of Europe has refused to allow a competition between individual and individual, between corporation and corporation, and has changed the system until at last it is simply this: a competition and a rivalry in which the British individual and the British corporation without national backing, fights against the foreign individual and the foreign corporation with a national backing of a heavy and hostile tariff. Now, the British instinct says that is unfair, in some way it must be remedied and this Preferential policy is one of the ways in which it may be remedied.

What is mutual preference between Great Britain and her Colonies based upon? Based on the idea of protection. I notice that a very distinguished man speaking in Toronto not long ago said: "If Mr. Chamberlain designs protection, then I have nothing more to say for him; if he designs reciprocity, I have something to say in his favour." It strikes me it is impossible for this country to give a preference to Great Britain or Great Britain to give a preference to this country, unless first there is a tariff which may be lowered to the amount of the preference which is to be given. There is no other way. And so in Canada itself, long ago we took the right to protect ourselves, we embodied that right in practice, and when we were ready we gave a preference by cutting down a portion of that protective tariff in favour of the Mother-country. The only way in which Britain can give us a preference is to raise the level of

protection. When she does that, then she can consider how much of a preference she will give to her Colonies in their different products. It seems to me impossible and it seems to me as well inconsistent, for anyone in this country, no matter to what party he belongs, to show his opposition to an Imperial preference because the principles of protection to a certain extent must underlie it.

Whose child is this anyway? I do not think that you people in Canada can assume an attitude of indifference to the fight which is now being waged in so picturesque and able a manner in Great Britain. I do not think you can. I will go further and say I do not think that any thoughtful Canadian who supports the principles of either of the great parties and the policy of either of the great parties in this country, can do anything else. But when the very child that has been given birth to, nationally considered, has been brought up to a certain degree of vigour in Great Britain by Mr. Chamberlain, who has taken it for adoption, I do not think that any Canadian can afford to do anything else but to stand at the back of Mr. Chamberlain in the effort that he is making. Now, as to the question whose child is it? You have only to take the records and see. This idea as it is broached by Mr. Chamberlain to-day and the proposition which he is now trying to make operative, is a proposition which was first put into concrete form and adopted by some of the Colonies of Great Britain as their own years ago.

Look at our statute books. Leave out the Inter-colonial Conference of 1894 and just come to the statute book and there you have the legal enactment of the opinion of Canada that a preference would be a good thing, and that as they believe it to be a good thing, they have given a preference of thirty-three and a third per cent. to Great Britain and other Colonies. There it is, an actual, positive enactment, the highest form in which the public opinion of a country can express itself. But there is more than that. In 1902 there was an Inter-colonial Conference in Great Britain. The Premiers of all the Colonies were there; our Premier amongst them,

and they came to certain conclusions, and I just want to read two of them. First, that this Conference recognized that the principle of Preferential trade between the United Kingdom and His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas, would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse; that is the trade side of it. Next is a positive announcement that Preferential trade would, by permitting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the Empire. There is the Imperial side of it. There is the ripened pronouncement of all the Colonies through their Premiers after years of the principle being embodied in the legislation of Canada and some other of these Colonies. "That the Prime Ministers of the Colonies respectfully urge on His Majesty's Government, the expediency of granting unto the Colonies of the United Kingdom preferential protection on the products and manufactures of the Colonies, either by exemption from, or reduction in the duties now and hereafter imposed."

Do you want anything more positive than that? It is absolutely the request of the Colonies of Great Britain, based on their giving to Great Britain a tariff preference in the hope and belief that it will help trade and strengthen the Empire. Then they came to the British Government and say through Mr. Chamberlain, "We want you either to put a duty on, or drop off some of the duty you now have on imports, in order to give a preference to products of the Colonies. There is the request. Who was the British Minister with whom they conferred, with whom after conference upon conference they at last came to the satisfactory conclusion as to what the Colonies would do and what they wanted. That Minister was Mr. Chamberlain. He was in perfect accord with them. He would have gone farther, but being a practical man said, "What we want to get is what we all willingly agree would be good for us. If I cannot get what I would like to have, I will get as much as I can for the good of this country and the Colonies." He was a member of the Government then, one of its most powerful members. He is not a member of the Government to-day, and why is he not? He is not, simply and solely,

because having pledged his faith to certain principles, the Government said to him, "Mr. Chamberlain, we cannot go any further than to ask for a mandate for negotiation," whatever that may be, and "We cannot agree to a tax upon food because we have not the mandate of the people for it." Then Mr. Chamberlain, a powerful Minister, past the zenith of his life, with all his honours richly earned by a long course in public life, in his sixty-seventh year, simply said, "Then I will search for that mandate and get it if it is possible."

Now, Sir, I think it will require a good deal of that basest of all elements in man's mind, a mean and unworthy suspicion, to find in the course of Mr. Chamberlain's action upon this anything which indicates aught of self-seeking. Greater honours he could not have; at an age when most men's minds are getting to be not quite so mobile as they were; when the man might very well ask to rest upon the career which was undoubtedly one that he had conquered with glory to his country and honour to himself; he goes out from the Cabinet, powerful and strong, with undisguised opposition amongst his own, with a solid front of opposition in the party that is opposed to him, and for what might seem and did seem a most forlorn hope. He did it because he had pledged himself to the Colonies, because he believed this to be the thing necessary for them and for the Empire. He is out for us and it is the duty of the Colonies to see him through.

Instead of seeing him through what are some men doing in this country to-day? Strong alternatives are being proposed. One man comes out and says, "What I want is Independence"—a follower of the Government consenting to their policy, supporting the Government in its policy. Why is anybody looking around for an alternative of that kind? Another man says, "I want the power to make our own treaties in Canada," which means he wants the power to declare this country independent and to cut the last tie that binds us to the Motherland. Another man hies him away to the United States of America and in city after city, as an M.P. and a member of a Commission whose duties are not done and which

may be called to carry them on, he begs of the different bodies which he addresses to look alive and "get a hustle" on and block this idea of Imperial trade union before it is eternally and everlastingly too late. Why are some people looking for these different alternatives? Here is what these Colonies have wanted for years. Here is the object attained except the consent of the senior partner, and there in Great Britain is Mr. Chamberlain and his body of workers trying to get the consent of that senior partner. Yet where is the voice of Canada?

Sound to the very core in my belief is the sentiment of this country. It has come through Boards of Trade, it has come through representative bodies, it has come through representative men and all that piled on top of the actual enactment which in the statute book shows the mind and will of this people. Gentlemen, let me tell you one thing. Great Britain is a country where authority goes for a great deal. If at any time within these last three months when men like Lord Rosebery, Mr. Asquith, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir W. Harcourt, have been standing on platforms and denying that the Colonies wanted, or were in favour of Preferential trade; if, during that time, one single moderate, authoritative statement had come from men who can well make it and make it so that there could not be the least shadow of misunderstanding; Mr. Chamberlain's campaign would have been fully fifty per cent. ahead of what it is to-day.

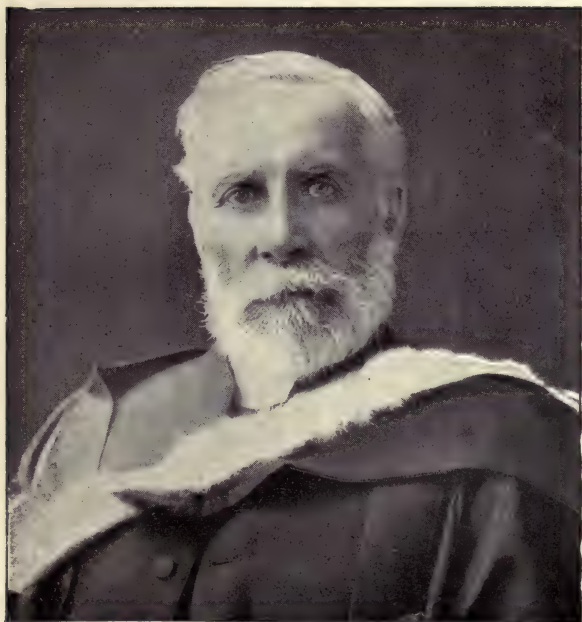
Now let me tell you what is being done. This movement is no flash in the pan. Mr. Chamberlain is an old campaigner as well as an old man in public life. He knows how things ought to be done. Rhetoric is all right, speeches are good, but underneath the speeches and rhetoric and sentiment, there is afoot one of the finest of organizations going into the details of the question to the furthest parts of those Islands, that was ever set into form and force in Great Britain. Not only are the speakers and the literature and the private canvass going on steadily, but there is more than that, and one of the things which was fore-shadowed to-day in the despatches, is one which will probably prove as powerful

as any. Mr. Chamberlain believes that he will win. When, he does not say, nor would I like to prophesy. It may be very soon, it may be a comparatively short time longer than very soon, but as sure as the agitation is on that agitation will be kept going until it will sweep those Islands into assent and the proposal will take the force of law. But the thing is to get it done quickly, as well as well done, and during the last three months, a project of which public notice was given yesterday has been under way. It is to have appointed at once (nearly every member of the Commission has now given his consent to serve) a body of men selected from all the great trades and industries of Great Britain and Ireland, composed of men whose names will carry the very profoundest conviction and the greatest influence in these Islands, who are to give their time for nothing, to meet twice a week, to have a systematic course of hearings and enquiries, to get at the conditions of every trade, to study the advantages and disadvantages of foreign competition.

In a word, this body is to carry on what an Investigating Committee for tariff purposes would carry on in our own country, in the most thorough and business-like way, so that by the time Mr. Chamberlain's campaign is through and the English people have given him an affirmative answer to his question, he will not have to wait for a period of one or two years in order to get this information, but will have it in hand under these auspices, gathered and massed, ready to use for the formation of his tariff, for the consideration of his Parliamentary followers and for the Parliamentary representatives of Greater Britain. That is the point which shows more clearly than anything else the business lines upon which this whole matter is proceeding. Now, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I have not time to mention several other things. (Go on! go on!) One natural question is, then, what will be the advantages to Canada? I want you to think of what the British market means. I want you to see that there are forty-two millions of people there, and that whereas the British producer of the food of that people grows a handful, he imports a whole armful,

That about expresses the proportion between the two. Four million acres of wheat-lands were in cultivation 25 years ago in England; to-day less than 2,000,000. What does it mean? Population is increasing; 30,000,000 then, 42,000,000 now, 50 or 60 millions in not many years hence. It is a market that is constantly increasing in the number of mouths that are to be fed; a market in which there can be no corresponding increase in what is produced in the country itself. That is, it is a market where there is a chronic deficit which is growing, and as population increases as the years go by, there is a market, rich, great, strong, wide now, which every year becomes richer and greater and stronger and wider for those who have entrance to it. Let the Canadian producer have entrance to that market, a favoured entrance over foreign competitors. Would not that be an immense benefit to the producer in Canada?

One word more, now, and that is this: You are asked (is it really a question now in Canada) you are asked to put Imperial Preference on one side and American Reciprocity on the other. Can the latter be galvanized into a question in Canada to-day? Depend upon it, there is a powerful effort being made to do so. What have we been building for? What is this Grand Trunk Pacific for? To make great lines of railway which run east and west, and not north and south. Mr. Charlton goes down to Boston. What does he say? "Liverpool fixes the price of the Canadian product. You will simply have the exporting of it. Your millers will get the milling, your transportation routes will get the carrying of it. All the rich drops which come from those long and extensive transportation routes will fertilize your soil. Your business men will get all the peelings." In the name of Heaven what is Canada built for? Have we not ports of our own? Have we not railroads of our own? Have we not a canal system of our own? Have we not a merchant marine system of our own? Have not we a country up here which wants the droppings from its own transportation? Let Mr. Charlton come to the City of Toronto and put that argument here before this people and see how many favourable answers he will receive,



THE REV. NATHANAEL BURWASH, S.T.D., LL.D.

IMPERIALISM IN EDUCATION.

Address delivered by Rev. N. Burwash, S.T.D., LL.D., Chancellor of Victoria University, Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 7th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

First of all I must thank you most sincerely for the great honour you have done me in asking me to address such a body of the intellect and culture and strength of our Queen City. I see before me very largely young men, young men whose energy and enterprise is the hope of our country for the future—young men who have been trained under our educational system and whose entire future is influenced by our educational ideals. I have no doubt that you as young men, looking into the future as well as upon the past, will take the deepest interest in all that concerns the building up of our nationality, and especially in that part of it which depends upon the education of the nation.

For many generations the world has been alive to the importance of patriotism in education. You will find it away back in the days of ancient Greece and Rome, and you will find it in the earliest development of the nationalities of the Old World—that is, of Europe. It has been a very prominent factor in the educational work of our neighbours across the line. They have done everything to stimulate the national sentiment and to build up their young people with the idea that the United States of America is the greatest nation upon the face of the globe. There are rights and wrongs in this idea of patriotism in education. It tends more or less to increase our conceit of ourselves. If it goes so far as to falsify the great facts of history, if it loses sight of what the world all-round is doing, then it is a curse rather than a blessing, and in the long run will bring its limitations in the achievement of character and of national ideas and produce ignorance of those great movements in the march of which every prominent and strong nation must necessarily form a part.

But there is another type of patriotism in education which is very different from this—the type which cherishes all that is great and good in the history of the past; a type which makes itself thoroughly conversant with the elements of its own strength and with the character of its own country; a type of patriotism that is in love even with those things the outside world may depreciate and out of which barren rocks and hills bring something that it loves. Take the men of Ireland, take the men of Scotland, and take the men of England to-day, and every acre of land in those Islands is dear to them. They love the rugged rocks, the hills and valleys and the moss upon the hillside; all have something that touches their hearts, and although they know not why, they are deeply attached to the soil. Their forefathers have lived and died there and there is nothing in the simple, natural love for the scenes of our childhood which tends to depreciate the men themselves or to limit their views, or to make them less strong as men, and the men of those Islands, like the men of ancient Greece, have grown up with a love for their country—have numbered themselves amongst the strongest of our race. Certainly every country must rise in that way, and if there is a love of their country in the hearts of their children and if they have a sympathetic temperament, they will certainly always love the land in which they were born.

But there is another side from which patriotism may be cultivated with safety and advantage and that is the historical side. That develops the higher and more intellectual and perhaps less emotional—and yet I do not know that it is less emotional—idea of patriotism than the simple love of rocks and hills and beauties and other things of our native land. Every man should know his country in all its past and here comes in the Imperial idea of education. We are not limited to the history of our own land and we, as Canadians, have a double heritage in the history of a country of which none need be ashamed and in the glorious traditions of an Empire. And in that Imperial idea we have behind us the history of 1500—I was almost going to say 2000 years—of glorious memories and association with all those elements in science and

will notice at once that in the extent of its curriculum, in all that belongs to the field of learning, they are perhaps not equal to the Germans. Twenty-five or thirty years ago when I sent one of my pupils over to Cambridge to pursue a post-graduate course, I gave him a letter of introduction to the Professor there. After the Professor had read the letter he said, "Why do you come here?" The student replied that his Professor had advised him to go to England, whereupon the English Professor replied, "Go to Germany, I could not conscientiously keep you here. In Germany you will get what you cannot get here." So away the student went to Germany, and after three or four years he came back thoroughly permeated with the German ideals and conception, and with the idea that Germany was the greatest place in the world in the department of education. That is perhaps true in a sense, as the German ideal of education is acknowledged to be very good.

There is a French ideal of good form and logical clearness, and anyone who has picked up a French text-book will know how well everything in the book is treated. You can see from the beginning to the end of the French text-book, and everything is put in such beautiful form and order that there is no difficulty in mastering its contents. On the other hand, while there is a great amount of knowledge and learning of more or less utility in the German texts, you can hardly make out the complex form. But the English conception of education has been more or less a useful as well as intellectual development of the *man*. The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge have in their curriculum and in their learning, the most successful system, so far as I am aware, that the world has known, for the making of strong, finished, well-educated, and high-minded men. No country has been better served in its public life, national life, ecclesiastical life and literary life; no country has been better served by the character and strength of its manhood, than the English people, and what I might say of Oxford and Cambridge is perhaps quite as true of the Dublin College and others.

Now what forms our Canadian type? We very naturally ask ourselves, what shaped the model? We

began with a good foundation laid after our English, Scotch and Irish types. The first prominent and able educators in this country were men from the Universities of the Old Land, and they did a great deal to form a type of Canadian culture for all time to come. Bishop Strachan, Dr. Phillips, Dr. Harris, Dr. McCaul, and many others were men from the Universities in the Old Land who came with the ideals of the Old Land before them. The first schools established were the grammar schools, and then the higher institutions of learning, and they commenced to mould the schools of this country after that educational type.

But we have had influences of a very large element from other sources. We have borrowed from the United States, and school-masters from the New England and other States came over and laid foundations, and some of them did work that lasted for a long time and was no doubt beneficial in its influence. When Dr. Ryerson took hold of our education he went to Germany and Ireland, and he borrowed very largely from Massachusetts, and these elements were all introduced into our educational system. But perhaps the most important depreciating element has been the number of our young men who go to the United States and Germany for their post-graduate work. That is an element which we do not perhaps appreciate in all its seriousness as to the effect on the future. These men come back to us, and they become prominent by virtue of their advanced positions, educationally, and they become the leaders of our future. They become Professors in our Colleges, and if you run over the Colleges in this City you will find that almost every man in these institutions has been brought more or less under the influence of the great educational institutions, either on the other side of the line or in Germany, and as they come back they bring with them the German ideals or the American ideals rather than English ideals. A very small number have been educated in the English Universities as a result of their post-graduate course.

This will perhaps enable you to appreciate the importance of such work as was inaugurated by Mr. Cecil Rhodes in the establishment of the Rhodes' Scholarships

a few years ago. He was not, however, the first by any means to see the importance of this matter or to lead off in this direction. Before Mr. Rhodes our own Mr. Flavelle had established a post-graduate scholarship in Oxford University, and so far as Ontario is concerned, Mr. Flavelle's work is just as important to us as Mr. Rhodes' work, because it will do exactly the same thing for us and maintain for all time to come in connection with his name and the scholarship, at least one of our prominent young men, and thus bring in the University ideals of Oxford.

I visited Oxford some eight or nine years ago, and was very much impressed with it as an Imperial centre. There upon the streets you saw young men from all parts of the Empire. Sometimes it was amusing to see walking arm in arm up and down High Street, in Oxford, a man from South Africa, as black as your cap, and one of our aristocratic sons of Britain. I believe I saw one day the son of a nobleman who is now Governor of Australia, side by side with one of these Zulus, and they seemed to be on very good terms. There was the heart of the Empire in touch with one of its outsiders. There were men there from Canada and Australia, as well as people from the United States. The whole English-speaking race seemed to be represented there, and not only the English-speaking race, but representatives from every other country forming a part of our Empire.

In that centre of such a life, and in touch with all parts of the Empire, you will see what an opportunity there is for impressing young men with high Imperial ideas. And there is nothing in connection with the national ideal in education that is of more importance than that our young people should grow up not with a conception that theirs is the biggest country in the world, the greatest, or the country with the most wealth, or the largest number of acres, but that they should grow up with a sense of the importance of the responsibilities which have been laid upon them in connection with the future of the race in their part of the British Empire. Without any doubt God has given Britain a great work to do in the future of mankind, and when Rudyard Kipling speaks of the "White

Man's Burden," in a piece of imagination, it represents a great moral fact. And, as we form our Canadian type of education, I think we ought to aim especially in preserving for our young people the British ideals that have been so long and so thoroughly developed in the past history of England.

There is an ideal that will enable us to be foremost. Germany has done a great deal, and so has the United States, but there is a higher ideal for us; that is the high ideal of man, of high moral manhood, and if there is anything in the English ideals that strikes me, it is that. An Englishman feels it is beneath him to do a wrong thing or be dishonest. It is part of his education that all these things are unbecoming to a man, as a man, with the highest ideals of manhood, and the more thoroughly we can build up these ideals, the stronger we will be in the future, for depend upon it, gentlemen, the future of every individual and every nation depends far more upon the moral character than upon the extent of advancement in the arts and sciences. You can pick up arts and sciences for various purposes at ten months' notice, at any time, but moral character is something that can only be built up by long years of hard work, and pure living, and associations with successive generations of men who have cultivated that ideal before you. It is in the home, and in the school, and at the university that these ideals must be planted, and once planted there, depend upon it they will live on for the future.

CANADIAN SENTIMENT BEFORE AND AFTER CONFEDERATION.

Address by Mr. Benjamin Sulte, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Canada, before the Empire Club, on January 14th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

You will recollect three previous occasions on which I had the pleasure of addressing Toronto organizations. It is long ago; the time runs by five, ten and fifteen years, but I remember it and some few of my friends in Toronto do recall those days with pleasure, because we met on those occasions to speak of matters that are exactly of the same nature as the subject I have to deal with to-day, the subject, as you have just stated, of the origin of Canadian sentiment, what it was before Confederation, what it has been after. I have made the calculation, if I may so call it, that there is a turning point at the moment Confederation was enacted, and we must not mind the past until this moment, then look on something else for the thirty-seven years that have elapsed since. Therefore you understand the division, as it were, of my subject.

If you wish to go, as I generally do, into historical matters as far back as possible, you will find that three centuries ago there was already a Canadian sentiment in existence. This is an easy matter to be traced when you meet with the difficulties of the first settlers in the Province of Quebec who were fighting then the influence of what they called the Frenchmen of France. You understand that at the moment of the English conquest there were two kinds of French in the country. The French of France went back to France, whilst the others who had adopted Canada for their home never dreamed of that. And another thing happened very soon after which is regarded by many historians. It is the fact that this little group styled themselves the Canadian nation, and I suppose the Frenchmen of France were surprised at seeing



BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.

such a group of people in the far-away colony call themselves a nation; but it had originated in the fact that these people were in America for the sake of remaining there and were imbued with a particular spirit of patriotism, and had imbibed a sentiment from the soil which the French of France could not understand.

I thought for a moment I would not speak of these things because they are so old, but I do not think there is anything so obsolete that we may not bring back recollection of it, and this is a remarkable instance. So much so—but here I am brought to enter upon something which I must not forget. The same spirit existed somewhere else in the Thirteen Colonies alongside of our border, and they were at the same time trying to make use of it, but in a different way—by proclaiming their republicanism. Twice the settlers of Quebec, having created what we may style Canadian spirit through a patriotism derived practically from the new country, never conceived the idea of separating their loyalty from the Crown. Therefore we have two examples of this wonderful thing. I say wonderful, because as a rule it is not admitted that colonies may have patriotism of their own. They may have one provided it is operated for them by the Crown. The French created a patriotism of their own, but they were steady and fast, and loyal to the monarchical ideal and to the Crown.

When the trouble was over and the thirteen states were distinctly separated to make a system of their own, well, it happened that a good many people amongst them declined the idea of going into a Republic, and of course you know them as the U. E. Loyalists. They came to Canada, that is to say, without making any error in the word, they did not come to Canada, but they came to the territories that were not occupied, for Canada was merely Quebec, and it was a little group of huts and that was all. In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia they formed new colonies, which action was exactly in accordance with the very spirit that already existed in the little Canada. Those people never dreamed, of course, that they were themselves creating new Canadas, and that one day their descendants would gather them all up together when they

had grown a little and build a nationality out of them. Of course it was too much to conceive of in those days. They concentrated in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Upper Canada, because they were people that were loyal to the Crown and full of a spirit of patriotism—that is, of an attachment to the new country, and a desire to administer their own affairs in their own locality without too much participation by the Crown or Imperial administrators.

This land they had and they worked it, and generation after generation passed quietly in that state of things, but in the interval they had created a spirit of patriotism, which was a local one. It might be said that a Nova Scotian was not a man of New Brunswick, and those two people were nobody compared with him of Upper Canada. They were not French colonists, they had a spirit of what we call now provincialism, which they had never thought of before, but which they had created. Such was the position about sixty years ago when it was proposed to unite the four little worlds, and when the proposal to amalgamate them came forth—well, people began to realize that it was like bringing oil and water together. Everyone was as proud of his rights and as full of local patriotism as any man to-day could be.

You remember when the first talk about Confederation came, that it sounded like a bugle call to rally parties who were not at all prepared to rally. The astonishment was immense, and of course discussion followed. Our people are not so stupid but that even when they do not like a thing they like to discuss it. It took a long time. It was some fifteen years before we could come to a certain moment, where we can say, in 1867, that Confederation is formed. I remember those days. I was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, and I had ten years of journalism. I remember how often we thought it was not made at all, and, if I do remember, the very key to the thing, the very clue to it, was that the people in the four provinces were promised that they would not part with the British flag, and that they would retain the British institutions. As for Confederation, this we had, and it was

agreed that the people did not like it, but that they accepted it under these conditions.

Now here we are, and this is the turning point of my subject. The past as I have tried to explain it, is, I think, very clear to you—the combination of these elements of not willing at all to go together, of how long will it last? It might last five years, ten years, three months, we did not know. The least little thing might break it asunder. Was there a man amongst us who could suggest a plan? If we could only get a man of such prestige! Come, come, we were clever men. There was not a man to do this wonderful thing I am talking about. Well, look here. Do you hear that noise? Who is kicking in the North-West? Something has happened there; do you hear the yell of the half-breeds and even of the pale-faces? “We do not want the interference of any Canadian.” You will remember 1870. Then everybody looked at each other and said, “What is that? The Canadians. It is us, we all, they do not want us. Oh, we will see—for we are the Canadians.” They found out union better than if all the big men of the country and even the women, had favoured it. We saw our volunteers start from the four Provinces. You know that soldiers make history and this time they made it well and they made it beautifully, and the next day after this squabble you could not find amongst the Provincials, for instance, any repulsion towards Confederation. They were all Canadians, and who the mischief is not a Canadian? We gained more by these six months of trouble than we could have achieved or gained by any other combination, either political or scientific, if science enters into these things. There was already the element of patriotism and sentiment in existence in these little colonies and they found that they were shaken and realized their situation. They joined together and proclaimed themselves Canadians.

Then British Columbia came in without any trouble, to be a Canadian Province; then Prince Edward Island came in to be Canadian without any talk or restriction. Since that time, as you are all aware, all the children of the present generation are without exception Canadians.

There may be still some old men, older than I, and that is hardly possible, who have kept some of their old ideas, but they are very few and far between, and they are, as a rule, quite determined to allow matters to pass into the hands of others, so we are now at this period, 1904, so wonderfully permeated with a sentiment of patriotism that those who made Confederation could never have dreamed of a thing like it. I heard men say even then, "Time will bring it." Well, time is a very big expression. If we had not had two or three occasions to step forward with a rapidity that few nations have had, we would not be where we are; but where we are, I think, only now requires the wisdom and the care that any nation must have in order to develop itself. There is no need to create a national spirit. It is in full existence. I, for my part, have seen the days when we attempted to create one without much success. I have seen the turning point and then the spirit of development and now I can see the crowning of it, and all in fifty years. We ought to be proud and thank the Almighty for all His benefits. England, France and Spain to obtain unification had wars and wars for three hundred years. All I have to say in closing is this: Take the expressions of my great desire for the success and prosperity of this country—grow, prosper and multiply.



THE HON. W. H. MONTAGUE, P.C., M.D.

THOUGHTS ABOUT CANADA AND AUSTRALIA.

Address by the Hon. W. H. Montague, P.C., M.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 21st, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

It was said by one of the leaders of religious thought in London, that the very best possible evidence of the advancement of religious subjects was the attendance of so many people at the noon services of the late Rev. Dr. Parker, who had such an influence in the religious field in the Metropolis. I fancy if the splendid Luncheon which is served here does not call you together, that you are to be complimented very greatly upon the fact that you are gathered for the purpose of always hearing something in connection with the Empire to which we all as Canadians belong. I must say that it appears to me that you are making a great sacrifice in being willing to give up a portion of your lunch hour to listen to a speech, for I have always before me an incident which was related by Mr. Stevenson, late Vice-President of the United States, as to a hanging in the Western States. When the subject of the unfortunate incident was upon the platform, he was asked if he had anything to say. He replied that he had not. A gentleman in the back of the crowd said: "If he has nothing to say, I would like to say a few words concerning my candidature for an office in this county. The Magistrate said to the Sheriff, "Who is this man?" and he replied that it was Mr. Gibbons, who was seeking the position of jailer. The Magistrate said he might say a few words, whereupon the unfortunate criminal said, "Let him speak; give him all the time he wants, but let me be hung first."

I appreciate very highly the compliment which you have paid me in asking me to be here to-day at this meeting as a stranger, though I hope the next time you read your list I shall have the privilege of being a member, and

I appreciate more your kind invitation to say a few words, not upon any one particular subject, but a few words on what I regard as matters of Imperial concern, having special relation to Canada and to the country on the other side of the world which is the second greatest Colony in the British Empire. I am delighted to see so many young men who are members of this Empire Club. Although there are a great many grey hairs in my head and I have fought a considerable number of campaigns, I feel that I am a young man, and I say to you, Sir, and I hope to the men who are gathered here, that while it is a magnificent thing to have in an assembly or in any country, the wisdom and experience of age, notwithstanding, if any country or institution is to develop in the future, it must depend largely for that development upon the pluck, perseverance and energy of the young men.

It is my privilege to-morrow night to speak before the Commercial Club of Providence, Rhode Island, upon the position which Canada occupies among the nations of the world. I promise you that my sentiment shall be just as strongly Canadian and Imperial as I express them here to-day. We Canadians should be proud of the fact that the men whom we have sent to the United States have done us credit. When the United States wanted a President for their New York Central, they appointed Mr. Callaway, a Canadian who had worked his way up from an office boy. When they wanted a good man in the Philippines they sent an old New Brunswick man. Wherever you find Canadians, not only in the United States, but elsewhere, you find that they occupy the very highest positions. I am pleased to be able to say something to you touching on Australia, the land of the squatter, for a man who owns one, two or three hundred thousand acres in Australia is called a squatter. A man who has a farm of 3,000 or 4,000 acres is called a cockatoo and a man with 20,000 acres is known as a selector. I am sure that as Canadians we are pleased to know that on the other side of the world Canadians who have gone and taken their places there, have taken them with dignity.

Canadianism is not worth having that is not included in

Imperialism, and Imperialism is not worth having that does not appreciate the magnificent position of Canada and the services which Canadians will yet do for the Empire and for the Mother Country as it advances. There is a saying that everything comes to him who waits, and, someone has added, "who works." Canada has waited and worked for a long time. You remember how long and arduously we worked in order to get Reciprocity with the United States of America. We need not work for that now and in my judgment we shall never work for it again. If the Canadians desire to import things from the United States they must take down their tariff against the United States on these things, and if the United States desire to import things from Canada, they must do likewise. We watched and laboured for a long time for the purpose of showing to the Motherland the resources of Canada and the value of the Colony to the Empire. It was a long fight. There was indifference at home and there was ignorance abroad. When one of us said to the English people that something was foreign to us and that we refused to regard anything as really British in which we did not have a share, they laughed at us. This day has gone by and I think one of the greatest statesman who has ever contributed his share to the growth of the Empire is Mr. Chamberlain. In the discussion of the wonderful resources of these Colonies and of the necessity and advantage of cultivating and assisting them in order that they can assist the Motherland in her magnificent march of progress as an Empire, Mr. Chamberlain has indeed taken a great part.

Now, Sir, there is one thing which comes to me in this connection and that is that you have done yourself a proud thing by placing at the head, as Honorary President of this institution, a grand old man—I hope no one will be offended on the other side of the political horizon if I say "the grand old man of Canada." I refer to Lord Strathcona, who has done more to teach the Motherland the value of Canada as a Colony; who has done more to raise sympathy for Canadians in the Motherland and has done more work for the consolidation of the Empire, possibly, than any Canadian living at the present time.

Here, Sir, I want to say just a word or two as to the question of indiscriminate immigration. The United States have a great amount of people very difficult to assimilate at the present time. We hope they may have no trouble with them, but they may. In the new territories of Canada 75 per cent. of the people who are building up institutions there, cultivating the soil and making those new territories into great Provinces, 75 per cent. are Canadians. What does that mean? It means the extension of Canadian and British institutions and when the foundations for these are well and safely laid, when the political institutions are established, we shall be in a much better position to assimilate foreign immigrants than we would be otherwise. Australia has taken the same care. You will remember that only two years ago they passed an Educational Test Bill then which would not allow anyone to come into the country who could not write or read English properly. They excepted spelling, for even our distinguished Inspector of Toronto Schools may sometimes make an error in spelling some of our English words.

Australia has had another difficulty and it is a difficulty which exists at the present time and is a very burning question. It is a question which faces the labour leaders and leaders of public thought generally. In Queensland they have great fields of disintegrated lava which are extremely productive of sugar, but they say they cannot till them with white labour, but must have the Kanaka labourer. Hence the question to-day, the one great and moving question of whether Australia shall be a white Australia or whether these people shall be allowed to come and take a part in this important industry. Just a word now as to Australia in a general way and I shall do it in comparison with Canada. Canada occupies a position unique among the Colonies, yet Australia has been able to obtain a great deal more attention in the Motherland. She never deserved it, never had the resources that justified it. England, Ireland and Scotland long ago should have turned the tide of immigrants from the United States to Canada and sent us money for the development of our resources, and, instead of building up

a rival nation they would have been building up a strong defence and even a greater empire than they have elsewhere. Australia will never support a large population. The very fact I gave you in my opening remarks shows that a single squatter must have a very large portion of land. This is evidence of the fact that the soil by reason of want of moisture is not productive. Many here will be able to know in a few years hence, and I think I am safe in saying, that the limit of Australia's population is fifteen million, and I think I am generous in making that statement. The limit of Canadian population is perhaps one hundred million, for we have yet one hundred and sixty-five million acres to be put under the plough in our Canadian North-West, or enough land to raise four times as much grain as is required by the British Empire at this time.

Now, Sir, I want to say to you in the first place in regard to Australia's political institutions that they are supposed to be modelled after ours. But they are not. We have a constitution by which all our Provinces are united into what is called the Dominion of Canada. In Australia it is called the Commonwealth, because, perhaps, there was something more of the keynote of freedom in the name of Commonwealth than in the name Canada has chosen. But there is a more serious difference. In Canada we have a constitution under which the reserve power is held by the Federal authorities and nothing belongs to the Provinces with the exception of what is specifically given to those Provinces in the Federal or Constitution Act itself. In Australia they have copied the American plan and everything which does not belong under the Constitution Act to the Federal authorities is exercised by the State. That is the great weakness in the constitution of the United States to-day and it is this principle which has led to so much trouble in the Republic.

Speaking again of Australia they came together, in my judgment too early for federation to have properly taken place. I, of course, am one of those who believe that in every union of provinces or states there must be a compromise. In Canada there was a compromise.

Certain Provinces yielded certain things up for the general or federal good, but we were fortunate in having a deadlock before Confederation. Canada had to change her methods and become federated in order practically to go on and transact her business, and the result was that not nearly so many compromises were necessary as would have been otherwise. In Australia where the strength of the leaders led to the union, the people of the States had to be conciliated and given much greater privileges than would have been necessary otherwise. What is the result to-day? That there is still no free trade, practically, between the States. In West Australia there is still a tariff against other parts of Australia. Some of the central portions of Australia that you hear about are not like those of the North-West of Canada. I was in places, myself, in Australia where it had not rained for seven years, and when it did rain the people got out with tin horns and drums and whistles and rejoiced as much as we did when Pretoria fell. Now this great central plateau in Australia is entirely different from our North-West. There we have great boundless regions which we shall cultivate. I am sure you have all noticed the figures recently published in regard to the North-West, and I am also told that the largest railway yards in the world are to be located at Winnipeg at the end of the year, and that the City of Winnipeg is to-day the largest wheat market in the Empire. I want to say a word here in regard to Australia's Imperial feelings. The results of the recent general election I think may be misunderstood. I know very well the present loyal Prime Minister (Mr. Deakin) and, while the Rt. Hon. George H. Reid, the Opposition Leader, is against some of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, at the same time he is a very strong Imperialist in his own way. If, to-day, the people of Australia were asked whether they should become independent or not, I fancy that perhaps 99 per cent. of them would say: Let us stay with the Empire and let us build it up. Surely no better evidence of that need be required than the fact that she contributed very largely to the late War, and if that were not enough, it might be added that she contributes at the present time toward the Imperial Navy.

Australia, however, like Canada, feels that the Motherland has not quite aroused herself to appreciation of the Colonies. We are willing to help defend the Empire, we are willing to work, but we want the Empire to appreciate us more than at the present time. England is not completely alive to the importance of Canada and Australia. We shall never be able to get at the older people of Great Britain, we must get at the boys and girls. I hope you will appreciate the good work that has been done by Lord Strathcona in sending literature to the boys and girls. I hope the Dominion of Canada will prepare a book, well illustrated, that will describe thoroughly the resources and advantages of Canada, and that they will put that book, if possible, into the hands of every school boy and girl of England, Ireland and Scotland—for when we get these educated as to the possibilities of this country, then and then alone, Sir, will the Motherland appreciate us as she should.

Let me say two or three words in regard to the position we occupy in Canada. I am going to say something that all will not agree with. I think it would be a good plan to take men like the Hon. G. W. Ross and the Hon. G. E. Foster, for instance, and create a Department of Patriotism and let them go about the country for the purpose of creating national sentiment. I know you will agree with me when I say that one of the great Powers of to-day is Japan. She is taking a surprising position—a little island that has stood up with her face close to Russia and has never given back one inch in all her negotiations. She is to-day one of the powers of the world. Do you know what it has sprung from. You will find that the system of education is such that there is practically a Department of Patriotism for teaching and instilling the children of that country with a love for Japan and from the very junior class to the University, the boys and girls are taught Japan. What we want to be taught is Canada and the Empire from A, B, C, until we have finished our course in the University.

Another thing we want to guard against is being carried away by enthusiasm. Once we came very nearly being carried away into Reciprocity with the United

States, but the more thoughtful people finally controlled the ship of state. Let us not be carried away now by the fact or thought that Imperialism is just to be grasped at and that we have no more to do. The grandest service that Canada can do for the Empire is to see that Canada is developed and to see that Canada gets her proper place. What is the country which England meets in every portion of the world in keenest competition? In every line of competition she meets the United States, in other lines France and in every line Germany. The German character and policy have been such that industry and scientific education have brought Germany to a position where she is placed among the greatest industrial countries of the world. I say for Canada, let us see to it that we have a system of technical education established that will be alive and aggressive and with brains behind it.

Just a word. We have recently heard some Canadians discussing the question of Independence. I should say let us be independent if it would make us safer or better than we are at the present time, but that would be impossible. Nor would it give us greater commercial advantage than we have or are likely to have in the early coming years; that is impossible. Now, I think I have detained you. I thank you for your kindness and appreciate the manner in which you have listened to me, and I hope to come again and meet you all, and the one word I leave with you is this: Let us stand with Canada and while standing for Canada, stand for the Empire, now and ever, inseparable in the history of the world.



A. MONRO GRIER, K.C.

THE QUALITIES WHICH GO TO MAKE A GOOD CITIZEN OF THE EMPIRE.

Address delivered by Mr. A. Monro Grier, K.C., on January 28th, 1904, at the Weekly Luncheon of the Empire Club.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I must confess that, whilst I rise to speak with a full sense of the honour which you have conferred upon me in asking me to address you, I have a corresponding feeling of diffidence, which arises from a contemplation upon my part of my incapacity to deal with such a subject as that in hand; especially in the short time at my command, namely, thirty minutes. I cannot help thinking of the remark made by the late Mr. Florence, the actor, in "The Mighty Dollar." Producing a large roll of manuscript he accosts a friend of his with the remark, "Have you three hours to spare, because if so, I should like to read to you a speech which I am going to make."

In this quandary, I was greatly comforted when I remembered a story which your worthy Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. Clark, told me of late. There was a certain clerical dignitary who had an exceptional capacity for distinguishing, and thus of getting out of, difficulties in which others tried to involve him. His opening word was "distinguo." Upon a certain occasion his ecclesiastical superior confronted him with this poser:—"If one were to eat soup, would one be breaking one's fast?" To this the dignitary replied, "Distinguo. If one should eat soup, as generally made, one would break one's fast; but, if one should eat your Lordship's soup, one would not break one's fast, for verily there is no particular wherein it differeth from water." I was comforted by the reflection, that do my very best, in my address to you, I should certainly not succeed in giving you anything which would tax in the very slightest degree your mental digestion.

In starting to speak to you upon my subject, I am impressed with the change which has taken place in

Ontario since I first began to practise law in Toronto, some twenty years ago. At that time it would have seemed impossible that to-day I should be addressing an audience composed of the Empire Club upon the subject of the qualities which constitute a good citizen of the British Empire. Twenty years ago there was not the same intimate feeling of friendship and oneness between Canada and the British Isles. This arose from the ignorance which then existed upon each side of the ocean with reference to the country at the other side. Since then, knowledge has grown, and with the increase of knowledge has come a like increase of the sense of oneness. I desire, however, with reference to the ignorance of England as to Ontario and the other settled parts of Canada, to point out that these settled parts were just as ignorant in their turn of the mighty lands in the West. This ignorance produced perhaps a certain sense of irritation, in each case, upon the part of the unknown, and therefore unappreciated land; but you must bear in mind that, whilst the new country was fully alive to its own potentialities, the older country could only form its opinion upon what had been actually accomplished by the newer country. In the last twenty years, Ontario's knowledge of the West has grown. So, in the last twenty years Great Britain's knowledge of Ontario and Canada generally has grown. Let me point out to you that the great progress which Canada has made in the estimation of Great Britain has been largely, if not primarily, due to the immense strides of that portion of Canada which twenty years ago was not thoroughly appreciated by Ontario itself. May we not carry the analogy a step further, and reflect with satisfaction and pride that, as Canada generally has grown in national stature and in the estimation of the older part of the Empire, by reason of the newer part of Canada, namely, the West, so the Empire itself has grown in prestige amongst the nations of the world by reason of the newer part of the Empire, namely, Canada.

1. These thoughts naturally bring before us the first quality which I wish to insist upon, namely, Breadth of Mind. We are all willing to enlarge in the abstract upon

the merits and the virtue of breadth of mind, but when it comes to an application of the quality in any concrete instance, we are apt to come short. Let us then try to cultivate this quality so that our view may be, not parochial, not provincial, not even federal merely, but a view coterminous with the vast British Empire.

2. I must pass on to my second point, Courage and Confidence. I am amazed, if not amused, at times, at the way in which it is insisted that the difficulties in the way of bringing the different parts of the Empire closer together, are insuperable. Difficulties in themselves are incitements to the man of courage. Contemplate for a moment the attitude of the daring player on the football field; the circumstance that the opposing side is of greater bulk than his own side acts as a spur to the man of pluck. He laughs at difficulties, which merely act as a tonic to him. But we have more than these general reflections to spur us on and to encourage us. In the Empire, what remains to be accomplished is as nothing compared with what has been done. Many of us in this room can remember the time when it was seriously discussed as to whether or not the "Colonies," so called, were a desirable possession, and if it would not be well to let the component parts of the Empire break apart, and become again so many separate units. To-day, any such suggestion as that Great Britain and the other portions of the Empire are not enhanced in prestige and value by the cohesion of the several parts would be laughed at. Indeed, the men of the very school which used to suggest that the Colonies were only a burden, have not the temerity to advocate such views. To bring about the general view that the Empire ought to be more closely welded, was, I admit, a great accomplishment, and one made in the face of vast difficulties; but the view once formed, the way in which this should be done is a comparatively simple thing. If we are united in our view as to what is desirable, we shall find a way to accomplish that end, if the previous history of the British Empire in its deeds done is to count for anything.

In war as well as in peace, the outlying portions of the Empire have made their voice heard and have estab-

lished their position. If you ask me, "Where, in war?" I have only to name Paardeberg, to remind you that the Empire can accomplish more and stand higher amongst the nations of the world in things military, because of the loyal co-operation of Canada. If you ask me, "Where, in peace?" I need only remind you of the change of attitude of one of the most potent and aggressive of the European countries by reason of certain tariff regulations framed by the Parliament in Ottawa.

The rolls of history show how difficulties have been overcome, one by one, in the making of the British Empire. The disunited fragments of England itself became, from warring and separate principalities, a united whole. Later, England and Scotland became one. Later, again, England and Scotland and Ireland. Since, then, provinces of out-lying parts of the Empire have been formed into strong united federations, and these out-lying parts, so made one within their own several borders, have been welded with England and Scotland and Ireland to form that splendid fabric, the British Empire. The spirit which actuates and dominates us to-day is no new spirit, but is the same as that which animated the men of England hundreds of years ago. Our feeling of loyalty to the Crown is as great as it then was, or greater. To-day, more than at any time, heretofore perhaps, we say with a feeling of regard not only for the office itself, but for the personal occupant of the throne, God Save the King! If I turn to the language put by the immortal Shakespeare in the mouth of King Henry V., I find that, if I change the name of the sovereign mentioned, the words can be used with the same truth and have the same inspiring effect as when they were uttered:—

I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot.
Follow your spirit, and upon this charge
Cry, "God for Edward, England and Saint George."

3. I now come to my third point, namely, Reverence and Knowledge. I couple these two qualities together, because, whilst knowledge is admitted by all to be a

necessary acquirement, I am of those who believe that knowledge, unless linked with the quality of reverence, is not of any great value. I may be old-fashioned in this, but I venture to insist upon it. No country, in my estimation, has arrived at the extreme of greatness, unless the quality of reverence is upheld within its borders. I yield to none in admiration of the great qualities which are to be found amongst the people of the great country to the South, but, so far as I have been able to observe, some of its best men, whilst deploring the fact, state that the quality of reverence is not as generally cultivated as it should be. I say, then, acquire knowledge, lay hold of it wherever it is to be found; but see to it that you lay hold of reverence also. This conjunction of qualities is beautifully insisted upon by Tennyson where he says—

Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music as before.

I sometimes fear that many of us do not properly understand and appreciate the constitution under which we live. I would recommend those who wish to acquire this appreciation to study the pages of our good friend Blackstone upon this subject. We should all understand that any authority which is over us is there by our will, and that in fact we ourselves are a part of that authority. It is this which makes us content, and more than content, with our form of government, the realization that all authority exists by the will of the people of the country. As we realize that authority exists by reason of our own will, we shall respect authority. He who shows most respect for law and order will most respect himself. The converse proposition is unquestionably true, that he who most respects himself will most respect law and order.

Do not be disturbed by the sneers and alleged witticisms of the self-labelled "cynic." I admire, as much as anyone does, the merit of playful satire and witty

cynicisms applied to the smaller things of life; but I implore of you that, in the larger matters, the things which are of prime importance, you see to it that you follow in the footsteps of those who are characterized by a sweet serious sanity, rather than in the steps of the cynic. The cynic is an enthusiast gone sour. Wine turned to vinegar. Experts tell us that in the making of a salad one should be miserly with the vinegar and prodigal with the oil. In like manner, let me ask you to see to it that in your constitution you take care to see that there is but little, if any, of the vinegar of cynicism, and that, on the other hand, there is, in abundance, the sweet oil of charity. Let me diverge for a moment, to plead for better treatment of our public men by the Press and generally. The Press is frequently condemned on account of the bitterness of its party references, but I would have you bear in mind that the Press is generally the mirror of the manners of the times, and that, if a more charitable and tolerant view obtained amongst the people, the Press would not feel itself obliged to indulge in such virulent attacks. Except where principles are involved, when we cannot make honest attacks too earnestly, we should show tolerance towards each other. We should exhibit more the spirit which we find amongst public men in England, where, so great is the toleration shown, that public men do not accuse each other of breaking every commandment of the decalogue, even if their quarrel is upon a matter of such vital interest to the welfare of the Empire as the price per volume of a school-book, worth, say, fifteen cents! Those of you who have been in England and have seen Westminster Abbey, will readily understand the suggestion which I have now to make. If you find yourself impressed with the idea that all the wisdom of the world is centred under your hat, or under the hats of your particular part of the Empire, I suggest that you take a journey to old London Town, and, arrived there, seek out Westminster Abbey. When you have read some of the records to be found upon the storied walls, your eyes will be attracted to the splendid pillars, and up them to the tracery of the vaulted roof. This will roll away before the eyes of your spirit, and be-

yond you will see the sky, leading you to remember that "God's in His Heaven." Filled with a sense of reverence and awe, and stumbling out into God's sunlight, you will find yourself, with bowed head, murmuring, "Lest we forget, lest we forget!"

4. My next point is one which is antithetical to the one with which I have just dealt, or perhaps I should say apparently antithetical, namely, Pride of Race. I have often thought that one of the best methods whereby one can keep within proper bounds the egoism which to a certain degree is necessary in order to progress in life, is to find outside of one's own skin something which is admirable, to let one's mind rest upon. I suggest that nothing is more likely to conduce to humility of the individual than a contemplation of the glories of the race at large. The more that we realize the prowess of the race, the more shall we be concerned at the small accomplishments which individually we have achieved. It does not matter in which direction our eyes turn, we find that the scroll of history holds up to our admiration those of the British race. If we consider the records of the British Navy, we are amazed at the deeds done, and in view of the stupendous odds against us at times, and the dreadful blows with which we whacked the other side, we are inevitably lead to think that a power not less than divine was behind our men. I remind you of two men, Cochrane and Nelson, not to mention the vast number of other men who added to Britain's glory at sea. Not long ago, I noticed an analogy drawn between a certain naval engagement and that of Trafalgar. I am bound to say that I have seen analogies which struck me as being more perfect. But, if you are concerned, or if you are amused, at this extreme of boasting on the part of others, take heart of grace in the thought that, when the men of other nations desire to be counted great as naval men, they take as the criteria of excellence the standards established by our own men.

In referring to deeds of the Army, I speak with great diffidence because there are so many here who are better advised than I am in this particular. I need not mention the names of the men who have made themselves famous

in history as leaders of the British troops, but there is one point which I wish to emphasize, and it is that many of the great leaders have distinguished themselves not only in their military capacity, but also in a civil capacity, when the duty has devolved upon them of administering the affairs of the people whom they have conquered. In this connection, I emphasize that we of this Club are not contending for "Empire" generally, but for the *British Empire*. Funny little readers of history, with their heads crammed full of information, which puts my ignorance to shame, fail altogether when they come to apply the facts which they have stored within their minds. They are led away by mere sound and similarity of words. In this way, it comes to pass that, hearing the expression, "British Empire," they airily say, "Empire? Oh, dear me! there were other empires, and they have all passed away, therefore this empire will pass away." It does not matter what you call the British Empire; it stands by reason of its inherent virtue and strength, and not by reason of any name which you attach to it. The British Empire would stand even if you called it a "Board of Control" or a "Municipal Council." The fact that other aggregations of countries or of peoples have been called Empires does not of necessity mean that those empires were in the least like our own. In their case the conquered people had a position of relative inferiority. The strength of the British Empire lies in the fact that all parts of it are free and that the conquered people in their respective turns come to understand and to love the Empire of which they form a part.

Turning our eyes upon the Parliamentary men, we are overwhelmed at the thought of the long record of those who, as the needs of the country have demanded, have devoted their lives to the good of the country, without consideration of personal advancement, and to the sacrifice of individual interests. In thinking of this subject, we are reminded again of the splendid continuity shown in the English history. It is remarkable that a nation can point to a Cecil directing the affairs of an Elizabeth, and, later on, a descendant, another Cecil, directing the affairs of a Victoria.

I consider one more avenue of accomplishment, namely, that of the literary field. In this direction the British can point to achievements far beyond those of any other race in my humble view. I admit that in some particular department of learning or of writing some other nation may be pre-eminent, but it appears to me to be self-evident that, taking the range of literature at large, history, science, medicine, the law, sociology, fiction and poetry, the British must be universally acknowledged to be in the fore-front of all nations. Devour some of the good things which are to be had. Seize upon them, make them a part of yourselves. Dwell with delight upon some of the splendours and some of the beauties which are displayed. The trouble is, not that there is not enough, but that there is far too much, to read; and we suffer a constant danger of being overwhelmed by the tide of current literature. The only safe way, as it seems to me, is to entrench ourselves, shut ourselves up with the books of known worth, keep back the on-rushing tide which threatens to overwhelm, and then make some, if only a few, of the books which are worth while, a part of our very being.

Sir, I must be coming to an end, though, of course, I have only touched upon a few of the qualities which occur to one as being of importance to the constitution of a good citizen. After all, one cannot set forth any better rule of conduct than that contained within these lines—

I made them lay their hands in mine and swear
To reverence the King, as if he were
Their conscience, and their conscience as their King.

If we are inspired by such thoughts as are contained in that oath, we shall prove ourselves worthy citizens. I feel that if Macaulay had lived until to-day, he would have recast his picture of the New Zealander standing on London Bridge. I suggest that he might have seen the National Gallery (an inadequate building for the space on which it stands) removed to make way for a splendid structure, in which is being held the Parliament of the Empire. Outside, in the square containing the monument

erected to the great sea-captain, Nelson, radium lights up the scene. Inside, in the room devoted to the long distance telephone to Canada, a member for Ontario is telephoning to his constituency, and the New Zealander, instead of standing on London Bridge, cultivating at once cynicism and rheumatism, is telephoning, in the room devoted to his country, a message to his constituency, that a Right Honourable Joseph of his day and generation has just brought in a bill which is calculated to still further aid the strength and stability of the British Empire and, consequently, to do good to humanity at large.



A. T. HUNTER, B.A., B.C.L.

THE FATUOUS INSOLENCE OF THE CANADIANS.

Address delivered before the Empire Club, Toronto, on Thursday, February 4th, 1904, by Mr. A. T. Hunter, B.A., LL.B.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Before I enter upon the treatment of this subject, which I have chosen without any assistance or advice, I wish to thank you for my admission to this Society, which I think offers uncommon opportunities for a man of peaceful temperament. There are other excellent patriotic dining organizations. There is the splendid Canadian Club of Toronto, whose initial Dinner I attended, and being pressed for an opinion, expressed with the frankness of a common Canadian a number of opinions, some of which I then held, and others of which I thought would be novel and interesting to the new organization. They never invited me again.

There is also the Anglo-Saxon Union, wider in its scope than our own Empire Club, inasmuch as it welcomes not only British subjects, but American subjects. But such a Union I do not think as good for our purposes as this organization, in that it offers no opportunities except for gushful blandishments. You cannot freely express your opinion of the wisdom and profundity of English statecraft when some American is present to interpret your words as a compliment to himself. It is the glory of this Empire Club that it is magnificently organized for both beginning and ending those family quarrels which make home life dear to us, and with whose progress we suffer no outsider to interfere. I take it as an opportunity not to be neglected that each of us can here meet with a large body of citizens loyal to the Empire; and with whose general and particular opinions he can vigorously agree or differ and whose judgment he can vehemently admire or despise. I take it that I am not a free man if I cannot, no foreigner being present, exalt or abuse the

Kangaroo, condemn the Africander, or call attention to the besotted imbecility of the old Englishman.

To-day, however, believing that there are few present from the distant parts of the Empire to whose comfort or information we can add, and that the vast majority of us are those who by force of birth and other circumstances, over which we have no control, are true Canadians, I shall deal with matters that are real, even if unpleasant, and suggest things which being gravid with consequences are, therefore, unusual subjects of oratory. We shall deal with two quantities, the fixed and the variable—Canada and the Canadians. Some of us have seen and others may have subscribed for it, almost paid for, books on the "Builders," and on the "Makers" of Canada. The honest truth is that Canada has by the hand of man been neither built nor made. Acadia has been both made and remade, and old Lower Canada and old Upper Canada have been conquered from both man and nature. But all the Canadians that have ever been—English, French, or nomadic Indian—have never made a conquest of Canada; they have merely hacked at the fringe on her robe. It is a matter of pride with our orators that in the North-West wheat can be successfully grown some 800 miles north of the International Boundary, and that the Territories can support a population of fifty millions.

That this should be a matter of pride is merely another instance of the strange things men take pride in. Had we peopled the North-West the pride would be legitimate. But our scanty settlers stand out to view like the pins with which you tack down a map to prevent it being blown away. With to-day the bulk of her lands untilled, unoccupied, unexplored and unguarded Canada remains the unlocked storehouse of Nature, the unallotted prize of the ultimate masters of the world.

Let us now deal with the variables—the Canadians. Fifteen, ten, or even five years ago, what nation could you select more unknown, more unassuming and more docile than the Canadians. In our own land we permitted ourselves a mild native-wine sort of ecstasy, for what was always hyphenated as this Canada-of-ours.

We called her, and a few still call her, a young country, because her forest trees are of immemorial age and her undisturbed rocks and unharrowed prairies are as they may have looked in the first light that gave day to the world. We called ourselves, and a few still call us a young people, in order that the cub statesmen of what we designate "The Mother-land" may mother our hoary-headed public men or maternally pat their venerable pates, telling us Canadians what a promising lively child we are, and what a good kind man Lord Alverstone is to put up with our romping. But this pertains to the past—the day of national modesty and mothering has gone forever. There is no Canadian of fifty or sixty years of age that will now submit to be ruled in opinion by an Englishman, his junior in age; and there is no Canadian of thirty but will back his opinions against any Englishman that ever lived.

Inspired by the new won laurels of Paardeberg and Hart's River the "Men of the North," have taken on the first requisite of a great people, that is, Insolence. For no nation ever yet rose to greatness or fell to disaster save with insolence. Who so insolent in his day as the Athenian or the Roman citizen? No one save perhaps the modern German or Englishman. But insolence is of two kinds, benignant and malignant, or sustained insolence and fatuous insolence. When Napoleon I. advanced with a battalion square of 200,000 men to meet Prussia at Jena, his was a sustained insolence. As they say on the street, "he had the groceries." But when Napoleon III. tried the Berlin route with 350,000 men his was a fatuous insolence. And still their folly in 1870 could almost be forgiven the French. It is true they had not won Batoche or Paardeberg; but Magenta, Solferino and the Malakoff were not bad, and Napoleon the Little had a bigger and more gorgeous army in 1870 than the British Empire ever at one time put in the field.

But let us return to prove the insolence of Canadians and to reckon the cost. Let us consider how we got this insolence. I shall digress for a moment, and then come back again. You remember ten, certainly fifteen years ago, nearly all the Canadians who now are reckoned

orators were filling the platforms with what subject? Simply Temperance. And why Temperance? Because they thought it could never get close enough to hurt them. And now that Temperance has got between the shirt and the skin they are all talking Imperialism and the eternal glory of the Canadian soldier. Within another ten years their subject will be the blessings of peace in our time and their silver voices will come up through the floor of the barn. There is not an Imperialist orator in Canada but may yet be asked in some form the ancient query, "Where is now thy mouth with which thou saidest: 'Who is Abimeleck that we should serve him.'"

These orators who have been going up and down the country the last few years telling and retelling the story of Canadian valour in South Africa have not succeeded in inflating with vanity the veterans of that war; because actual soldiers who have performed well usually let the bars on their medals talk. But every loose-waisted, paddle-footed, undrilled man in Canada has come to think that by virtue of being a Canadian he is a natural-born rifle-shot, warrior and strategist. He could rip up and reorganize the War Office in about twenty minutes. This spirit would do no harm if we were sure of not fighting. This spirit would do no harm but for the fact that the trial of the Canadian army is coming. You ask how I know that we are going to be involved in a war. I shall give you some reasons, which I think you will find worth considering why we shall be involved in a war, and a war not to help England, but on our account.

The first is, of course, our new spirit of insolence. We Canadians think we can fight and you need not go out to Woodbridge Fair to know that when a man thinks he can fight he is not long in clashing. But we have a better reason. The same brilliant speakers that are puffing us up with post-prandial valour have, with the assistance of a great many able Government agents, been spreading all over the world a knowledge of what we have. They have told all and sundry, and for the first time have had the misfortune to be believed, that we Canadians have a glorious heritage, meaning thereby

that we have the forests of timber which we are too penurious to cut; the unwrought mines which a short time ago we used as a pretext for selling each other all kinds of weird and wonderful mining shares; and the vacant granary of the North, for which, if we don't make more haste in its occupation, some one else will find a tenant.

Among all our reckless doings the most daring is this insolent advertising to the powers of the world that we have unparalleled national resources and no army to protect them. Having enjoyed peace undisturbed, save by petty and unsupported raids since the War of 1812, we have forgotten the source of this peace; we have had peace because no one knew we had anything worth stealing. Let me illustrate. Who of us ever heard of Manchuria until the events of the Japan-China War suddenly drew the speculative eye of the Muscovite Emperor of brass-knuckled Peace, Lord of the double-headed Vulture, to the existence of Manchuria's resources. Most of us never heard of Manchuria, and if any of us, being like our friend, J. Castell Hopkins, an encyclopedist, had ever read of Manchuria, he read that she had enjoyed peace after the Chinese model since about the year after Shakespeare's death. But who, ten years ago, would have dreamed that more Russisan battalions than Canada has companies, with more batteries than Canada has guns, would to-day be trying to hold Manchuria! Well, the advertising mischief is done. As they say in police circles: "We have been showing our wad." We cannot dis-advertise and we might as well double and treble the insertions. Let us now briefly state what we have to face:

1. Canada is known to be worth stealing.
2. England might in six hours lose for six months the command of the seas.
3. Acting on South African experience, no power would invade Canada with less than 50,000 men.
4. Acting on the same experience, the invading force would not give Canada time to get ready as England gave the Boers time.

Well, ever since any one here can remember, the Canadians have been doing great promise-work in connection with the militia. It is one of the misfortunes of the case that we cannot go into detail concerning Canada's defence; it would be as unpatriotic to do so, as never to mention the subject. But you can get at it for yourselves by two illustrations; by comparing Canada with two other small nations, one African, the other European. The Boer Republics, prior to the Jameson Raid of December, 1895, were in the same state of fatuous insolence that we are rapidly approaching. It was all Majuba Hill and every man was a Heaven-born rifle-shot. The raid scared them; and their insolence became a sustained insolence. In 1896, instead of Sir Frederick Borden's \$2,000,000, which we think a large sum, they spent £2,000,000, and after that averaged a million and a half pounds every year until the war.

As the saying is, they "took business seriously." They got a rifle for every man; we have 40,000 rifles in Canada to arm 200,000 men. Their artillery weapons were the best that Europe could produce; our Canadian cannon are cemetarial monuments. They were ready, and twice beat England to a stand-still. Nothing overthrew them but the unmeasured strength of the Empire and their shoulders weren't squarely on the mat at that. You expect the Minister of Militia here soon. When he does come tell him to make it \$10,000,000, and get the job done. Had we spent it five years ago we would have had more land and less Alverstonian patronage.

And now, in conclusion, let me compare Canada with the other small nation, to which in our military preparations we bear a singular resemblance. I refer to the modern Kingdom of Greece. True, Greece has a fine navy. But, of course, in 1897, just as happened to the French in 1870, her superior navy never did anything when she needed it. Let us not depend on navies. Greece in 1897 had a toy army as to numbers. We have a toy army, which by repeated skeleton camps and 50-cents-a-day inducements, is becoming an imaginary army. The Greeks were not ready; there were no uniforms for the recruits who asked to be led against the enemy. We

would be in the same box and like the Greek Government we couldn't get uniforms in time—not enough cloth to be had. There were no rifles and their recruits had to break into the gunsmiths and get sporting rifles; as we would have to do. They had no ammunition. Let us draw a veil over our supply of ammunition. They lacked discipline. We lack discipline. They had their terrible panic at Larissa, which, I suppose, is Hellenic for Ridgeway.

But you will say the Greek is a degenerate and I answer so was the Egyptian. Give Lord Kitchener the Greeks and the money and, as he reached Khartoum, he would reach Constantinople. But what ailed the Greeks? I shall tell you, and then sit down. The Greeks attribute their downfall to an institution known as the café-politician, who was omniscient and talked excitedly of the indomitable Greek soldiery, of the brave deeds of 1828, and of the ancestral glories of Marathon and Thermopylæ—which names I take it are a free translation of Paardeberg and Hart's River. Assuredly we have no café-politicians in Canada. On the contrary we have become great by having clubs in our midst where we dine together once a week and tell each other, amid thunders of applause, that we are a great people. Thus greatness feeds on itself.

Gentlemen, is it not time that we passed from the eloquent omniscience of the Greek to the slim ignorance of our new fellow-subject, the Boer? Let us graduate from a fatuous insolence to a condition of preparation. I thank you for having listened so patiently to words that I trust you would not have allowed other than a native Canadian to speak.

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER.

Address delivered by Professor Maurice Hutton, M.A., LL.D.,
Principal of University College, Toronto, before the Empire Club,
at its Luncheon, on February 11th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Plato, in his picture of an ideal state, asks himself this question—How am I going to combine the manly qualities which build up an empire, enterprise and self-reliance and high spirit and aggression, with the other qualities more gentle but more efficient in maintaining an empire, perhaps, when built: considerateness, sweet reasonableness, good temper, mercy and thoughtfulness? And, after looking about him he finds a type of this paragon that he wants, this thing with all the virtues, in a very unexpected direction, just in the common or garden watch-dog, who is full of gentle virtue, of patience, justice, consideration, philosophy, towards his master; and full of virtuous "vice," of growls and snarling and aggression, and suspicion and combat towards all strangers and intruders.

Now, gentlemen, I propose to be guilty of an anachronism this morning and to imagine that we are all of us present at that debate of Plato's, watching his perplexities, studying his dilemma, and we are going to suggest to him a rival competitor against that common or garden watch-dog—a rival competitor for the possession of these many-sided and somewhat apparently incompatible qualities. We are going to say to him, Plato, it is possible that in the Island of Atlantis you will find a people known as Canadians even better fitted than your watch-dog for realizing this ideal character. Philosophers have told us since your time, Plato, that all great civilizations are created by a blend—are created when one people of one type meets another people of quite a different type and by force of circumstances are compelled to blend with them and to add their joint civilizations together. Your own



PROFESSOR MAURICE HUTTON, M.A., LL.D.

civilization of Greece, Plato, it is generally understood, was produced by a sturdy northern people coming down like a wolf upon the southern fold of a very ancient and rich civilization, and mingling with that southern ancient and rich civilization to produce the civilization of continental Greece; and then these people, driven out from the south, some of them, moved over to Asia Minor, and in their turn were blended with the Asiatic peoples, and these produced the many-sided, susceptible, sensitive, marvellous genius of the Ionian Greek.

Now, Plato, we have in Canada all the ancient blends which we brought over from our forefathers. The north of Ireland blend, for instance, where the Saxon met the Celt and produced a type stronger than either; and the Huguenot blend where some Celts met Saxons and Normans and other Celts and produced a type also stronger than either; and the English blend itself, Saxon and Danes and Normans and British. We have all these blends in Canada; and we have another which they have not in our Motherland—we are sharing our country with a people nearest of any people in the world to the genius of ancient Greece—with a people through whom logic and literature and art and science is apt to reach a greater height than anywhere else; we are blending with Frenchmen in Canada.

We of British stock ought to be able, Plato, to provide you with what you want in the shape of nation building—the aggressive spirit, the self-reliance, the enterprise, which makes one side; and we can trust these Frenchmen to provide us with the other side; to soothe us with their finer fancies, to touch us with their lighter thoughts, to soften us with their more feminine graces, and to inspire us with their much more subtle and delicate intelligence. And if, perchance, Plato, that is not sufficient to produce the right blend, we have yet other strings to our bow and other chances; for part of this country of ours was peopled by men of our own race who left a neighbouring country because a quarrel arose (as quarrels always arose in your Greece, you remember, between colonists and the mother country), in which these members of our race, having that other virtue of sweet reason-

ableness, that virtue of considerateness, that virtue of an instinct for the past and a reverence for the past and a loyalty to the past, were unwilling to quarrel over what seemed to them, perhaps, a somewhat transient grievance, though ill-usage it was; were unwilling to quarrel with their own ancestors over what appeared to them trifles; and rather than be false to the past and turn their back upon their memories of kin and their association of the old time, they left their homes and came over here to Canada and hewed out for themselves a home in the bush.

They can hardly have been deficient, they who hewed out a home in the bush, in the manlier virtues—they can hardly have lacked those any more than they lacked sweet reasonableness and considerateness and forgiveness and a tendency to put up with ill-usage from those they loved. But if they did lack any of these manlier qualities, even so, Plato, there is no reason to think we in Canada need lack those qualities. Even if we cannot get them, as we should expect to, from those Empire Loyalists, and even if, in spite of the United Empire Loyalists, Canada might be, as a colony deficient—and colonies as you Greeks always thought are apt to be deficient in enterprise and apt to be deficient in self-reliance because they are dependents, and as long as they are dependents—if there is any fear of Canada lacking in self-reliance and enterprise, we have other causes which remove those fears; for to the south of us we have the same people from whom the United Empire Loyalists parted company—those people who would not put up with any imposition—and those people are all about us to the south, and influence us, and are bound to influence us; they Americanize us just as much as they antagonize us. They do both all the time.

And we have the same conditions to produce an American type which has produced it in them—a type of self-reliance and resourcefulness and energy. We have the same climate, only better, because more keen and trying and philosophers have told us, following, Plato, a hint from you and Aristotle, that while the earliest civilizations do not thrive in trying and keen climates, the greatest civilizations always thrive in those climates; because the climate itself acts as a tonic and stimulates

and removes all slackness. We have the same conditions of climate to produce resourcefulness and energy which our American cousins have; the same conditions, only not the same bitter quarrel with our Mother Country, which started them from the first with a twist in their development, as rebels instead of simply and merely colonists; which hampered the great Washington throughout his career with the presence by his side of mischief-makers and demagogues; which has left its trail ever since upon their diplomacy—a trail of mischief-making and demagogueism—so that, though not four months have elapsed since we were all complaining of their conception of jurists of repute, even now we are not the last and latest sufferers by the sharp practice of their diplomacy.

But we have the same conditions which produce the best type of American without that bitter quarrel. We have the same identical simple life which makes of every man a jack of all trades. We have the same influx of the enterprising spirits of all lands, without so many immigrants from the southern and neglected peoples of Europe. We have the same and a great deal more than the same absence of wealth and luxury and ease, which, while they breed the highest civilizations and the highest art, no doubt, and the most minute science, nevertheless deprive those who live under such conditions of a certain strenuousness and nervous energy. And we have exactly the same, or even more—we have the same inspiring pride and hope in those boundless acres and virgin resources which have filled that country with such boundless pride and hope. And we assume that all these conditions will produce the same results and will develop in Canada the same American type of energy, resourcefulness, self-confidence, self-reliance, courage, and the necessary amount of aggressiveness.

We turn to the United Empire Loyalists for the element of sweet reasonableness and loyalty to the past and considerateness to our own kin to avert those quarrels which were not averted in the case of our cousins to the south; and to remove that jealousy and quarrelsomeness of disposition which has ever marked American diplo-

macy and most of all marks it towards her own ancestors for some reason or other—perhaps, because she feels she has too often, through the influence of demagogues, taken advantage of the innocence of those ancestors. Whatever it be, she has shown a spirit of quarrelsomeness which should not be in any way a sign of Canadian diplomacy in relation to the Mother Country or any other country.

And then we trust to the French element; if we do our duty by it, if we really mingle with it—why should we not, for example, accept that ancient flag of theirs, the Lilies of France, which has now no other home throughout the world, and add it to our own Union Jack? We trust to the French element, if we honestly unite with it and make it one people with us—we trust to the French people to introduce all the logic and the science, and the art and the literature which always reach their height in Frenchmen or Greeks; to introduce also that historic consciousness, that memory of the past, that sense of touch with our own traditions and records which has always marked Frenchmen and Greeks; to save us from that forgetting of our own history and indifference to our own past which marks most men of the British race, always excepting the United Empire Loyalist.

We turn to the French element again and trust to that element to introduce the courtesy and the geniality, and the power of assimilating emigrants and alien people; the power of attracting foreigners which our race alone has never possessed, but which has made Germans in Alsace and Lorraine passionate Frenchmen; Frenchmen in spite of their language; Frenchmen in spite of their history; Frenchmen in spite of the ridicule which the French could not help pouring upon their dull Teutonic wits—which has made a passionate Frenchman out of a German of Alsace and Lorraine; passionate Frenchmen out of the Highlanders around Murray Bay; out of a Murray, a Fraser, and a Maclean, no longer conscious of their Scotch origin—we trust to the French to introduce and give us that element of attractiveness and power of assimilation which they have exercised all over the world. And we trust to them to give us that freedom from cus-

tom and convention, for want of which Romans and Britons have often been slaves to the habits of the past; to give us that originality and independence of mind and genius which re-made Europe in the so-called Renaissance by means of Greek literature, through the re-discovery of Greek literature; and which re-made Europe a hundred years ago by means of the French Revolution.

And now, Plato, I feel as if I had exhausted you and exhausted also myself, and I will only ask you to think a moment and to answer one question: Do you not think, Plato, there is that in this Canada, with these blends of energy and vigour and aggressiveness, whether from England or the United States or from the North of Ireland; and with these other blends of loyalty to the past, considerateness for the past which comes with the traditions of the united empire; and with those blends of thought and philosophy, and science and art, and language and manners, and courtesy and politeness which come with the French—do you not think, in Canada, Plato, we have the chance of combining what you want to combine in your ideal state—the many-sided virtues of a perfect character? And do you not think, Plato, that it might possibly be found that this paragon is a Canadian? And is not thy servant Canada, Plato—it not thy servant Canada a dog, and, yea, much more than a dog that she also should be able to do this great thing?

THE RELATIONS OF CANADA, THE MOTHER- LAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

Address by Mr. Cyrus A. Birge, ex-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, delivered on February 18th, 1904, from Mss. previously prepared, and delivered before the Commercial Club, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Measured in miles Canada is a subject long and broad, reaching as it does from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from our mutual boundary to the far North. We had at one time a few thousand miles more of territory in what is now known as Maine, Michigan and Alaska, but being a good-natured and a liberal people we divided up the estate, and still have enough left to require all our energies and ability to develop it.

Before going further let me say that I want to speak to you freely and frankly and from the view-point of a loyal Canadian, and any references that I may make, or any statements to which I may give utterance that may not be in accord with your views, feelings or wishes, will not, I assure you, Sir and Gentlemen, be prompted by any spirit of antagonism to the United States or its people, but will be prompted purely from a desire to give to you some of the facts as to existing conditions in Canada, and to outline to you some of the aims, some of the ambitions, some of the aspirations and intentions of her people.

Of the incidents in Canada's history which led up to the federation of what was at one time a series of scattered provinces into one great Dominion, I need not speak. Suffice it to say that this has been peacefully accomplished and that Canada stands forth to-day a young and vigorous nation, entering upon her career under favourable auspices, and ready to do her part in making her own history and developing her share of the great North American continent. Side by side with you we will endeavour to make the whole of North America blossom



CYRUS A. BIRGE.



out into the most attractive and favoured portion of God's footstool. That is one of our aims and one of our ambitions.

Like the people of your own country the majority of our people are of Anglo-Saxon descent. Many of them from Britain, our common mother, and many of them from your own land, and surely none the worse for that. A speaker whom I heard recently, stated that the evolution, or development, of men came from contact, and it is true and will apply equally to nations. The civilization of Old England was brought to New England. The early settlers there displayed rare heroism. They soon began to establish new standards which continued to grow and improve until they have developed into the life and energy of a magnificent nation which stands before the world to-day a splendid monument to the heroism of the Pilgrim Fathers, an example of what energy, industry and perseverance can accomplish, and an illustration of the power of a dominant race to absorb and mould into harmony with your own standards the millions that have gone to you from other lands.

Gentlemen, we honour your nation, we honour your people for what they have accomplished, and what you in the United States have done in this direction we in Canada are doing. In the development of men we have the advantage of the straining of the race from Old England to Canada and from New England to Canada, and from each has come their best, with the result that we in our Northern clime have a people unsurpassed if not unequalled in the world to-day.

Now, Sir, let me refer to our relations with the Motherland and with the United States. First, as to the Motherland. During my intercourse with some of my friends on this side of the line I have frequently found a very great misapprehension as to the relations that exist between Canada and Great Britain. For instance, the idea prevails that Canadians are not a free people, that they are governed by Great Britain, that Canadian legislation is subject to British control, that Canada has to pay annually to Great Britain a considerable sum as a tax, and that in times of war Canada must furnish her quota of

men. Mr. President, these are all errors. Canada's people are as free as any people on earth to-day. She is free to legislate as she chooses, just as you are. She makes her own Tariff just as you do. She makes her own laws, as free from interference from Great Britain as you are, with the exception, however, of the treaty-making power, which might easily clash with Great Britain's foreign policy; but even now this question is before the Canadian people and may take form that will bring it also within the realm of Canadian power. Canada does not pay one dollar of taxes to Great Britain directly or indirectly, any more than you do. In case of Great Britain being at war Canada is not obliged to supply one man to aid her any more than you are.

Then you ask, "What is the bond that holds Canada to Great Britain?" I answer, "loyal sentiment." Loyal sentiment to Britain's King, not loyalty to the man alone but as being the representative of law, and power, and order. Loyal sentiment towards the British Flag, loyal sentiment towards British institutions and to the grand history of the British race. Canada free? Yes, free as the air we breathe, yet bound by silken ties of sentiment, love, honour and blood, ties which though in appearance weak it takes much to break.

Another feature of our relations with Great Britain, and one which is receiving considerable attention just now, is our Preferential Tariff in favour of that country. Imperialism, or the idea of a Greater Britain, has taken deep root in Canada, and has forced itself upon the minds of British statesmen, until to-day it is the most prominent feature of British politics. Canada was the first to move in this matter, our Government giving to Britain a Tariff Preference, first of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., then of 25 per cent., and finally this was increased to $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. This Preference, together with the Conferences of the different Colonial Premiers in London on the subject, has led to Mr. Chamberlain taking up the question of an Imperial Preference within the Empire, which of necessity means some kind of protective Tariff in Great Britain.

Shades of John Bright and Cobden! Think of it, a

Tariff on footstuffs in Britain! What it will result in only the future can show, but from conversations with Delegates to the Chamber of Commerce of the Empire, held in Montreal in September last, and from private letters I have received from gentlemen in England in close touch with English politics, I am led to believe that the outlook for the realization of Mr. Chamberlain's plan is strong. At any rate, Canada has done her part in introducing and promoting this great scheme, and it now remains for Great Britain to do hers.

Now, Mr. President, let us turn to our relations with the United States. These, thank heaven, are the most friendly. To you, also, we are bound, not quite in the same way as to our common Motherland, but by ties of neighbourhood, by ties of mutual interest, by ties of race and kinship. Long may these ties bind us together, and long may we continue side by side, you with Old Glory to the front, and we with Canada's flag and the Union Jack to the fore, each in our own way working out the development and destiny of this great North American Continent.

One of the questions as to the relations between our two countries, which has been the subject of considerable discussion on your side of the line, is that of Annexation. I saw recently that one of your Senators, Senator Hale, had taken upon himself the prophetic mantle, and declared that Canada would yet be annexed to the United States. Mr. Chairman, I fear that his inspiration was not good, that his powers of divination were immature, that the mantle that has fallen upon the Hon. Senator is that of a false prophet. There seems to be an idea here that there is a strong annexation sentiment in Canada. Sir, I want to state emphatically that this is not the case. There is no such sentiment existent, not a particle of it. I never knew of but three real annexationists in Canada, and two of these the Lord sent for and the other came back to the United States where he belonged.

But, Sir, there is another question regarding the relations of Canada to the United States that is receiving considerable attention on your side of the line, and that is the much-talked of one, Reciprocity with Canada. I

mean much-talked of in the United States, for I want to tell you that the cry fails utterly to find a responsive chord in Canada. It may be that those who are so active in the movement in your country have been misled by the utterances of one of our members of Parliament, Mr. John Charlton, who, by the way, was a former citizen of your country. He has frequently spoken in different parts of the United States on this subject, and quite recently in Boston he advocated it strongly.

It is a hobby of his, but I want to assure you, I want to assure the American people, that Mr. Charlton does not voice Canadian sentiment on this question. Why should we want Reciprocity? We have little or nothing to gain by it and much to lose. Our farmers don't want it as it would not advance their interests. Our merchants don't want it for it would not increase their profits. Our artisans and mechanics don't want it as it would lessen their wages and leave them with less employment. Our manufacturers don't want it as it would open their market for your surplus products and decrease their own output. We have enough of this as it is.

You may say that Canada would have the advantage of the larger market, but we would not. There is such a strong sentiment of loyalty in the United States in favour of United States goods, that Canadians could not sell goods in your market on equal terms with your own producers. I know this from experience, having tried it some years ago with goods made from the same material and on the same machinery, and what was the reply I got to my efforts? "Why should we buy of you? United States goods are good enough for our people, and we could not sell yours except at a lower price. Give us a 10 per cent. lower price and we will try it." How would you like that for Reciprocity? This reminds me of a story I heard, of a party of journalists from the United States who visited Winnipeg last summer. They were being shown around by a gentleman of my acquaintance who tells the story. It was in the month of July. Passing a house in front of which a lady was working among her flowers, they stopped to admire the roses, then in full bloom, and being invited by her to make a closer inspec-

tion they all filed into the grounds and were presented with some of the beautiful blossoms. In returning thanks for this kindness, a gentleman, the Editor of one of the Minneapolis papers, made the following remark, "I believe thoroughly in reciprocity, and would like to do something to show my appreciation of your kindness. We, however, only raise snowballs in our country, but if I ever have the opportunity I shall be most pleased to give you some of them." The lady was evidently equal to the occasion and replied that she had always understood that that illustrated the American idea of reciprocity with Canada, "snowballs for roses."

The United States has shown no favours to Canada commercially and Canada owes no favours in return. What does the United States want of Canada's wheat? Not for consumption, but to sell to our customers. What does the United States want of Canada's manufacturers? Not to replace her own, surely. The United States has a surplus of nearly everything that we have to sell. We are not dazzled with a promise of an opportunity of entering a market of 80,000,000, because these 80,000,000 are producing along the same lines what we produce.

One of your New England men, Mr. Eugene N. Foss, of Boston, said to be a prominent leader in the National Reciprocity League, is very active in promoting the idea and is evidently very sanguine. In discussing it recently in Minneapolis, he is reported to have said: "I have never been so sanguine over the outlook for the realization of Reciprocity with Canada. I think we are within striking distance of the goal. Our manufacturers have been too busy to give much effort or thought to the subject, but from now on, for a period, times will not be so flush. There will be less business and more time for thought. There will be fewer orders and more effort to get them. This will turn attention to Reciprocity, which promises to open foreign markets. I regard Reciprocity with Canada as the most important field for negotiations. Its realization is essential to the highest prosperity of both countries. It is inevitable."

Very nice! A very desirable consummation from Mr. Foss' standpoint. Mr. Foss is evidently an optimist who

looks through the glasses of his own desires and sees only the reflection of those desires and does not seem to remember that it takes two to make a bargain. He does not take Canada into account at all, but assumes that when his Government is ready to offer terms to Canada she will accept them, of course.

He states that American manufacturers are in favour of Reciprocity. I can quite believe it. And Mr. Foss seems to forget that Canada is also a producer of the same class of agricultural products that you produce, and that she is also a producer of a large variety of the goods and products produced in the United States, and that Canadians desire and intend to protect their own products of the farm, forest, and mine, and to build up and maintain their own manufacturing industries.

Another advocate of Reciprocity, from the United States standpoint, is Mr. Campbell Shaw, of the National Committee on Reciprocity with Canada, who recently sent out an open letter to Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts. Mr. Shaw is very anxious that the matter should be pressed before the Presidential election of 1904. He refers to the active campaign of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, of which I had the honour to be President last year, for a higher Protective Tariff, and expresses his fear that if action on the part of the United States is delayed, the sentiment in Canada in favour of Reciprocity with the United States will be thoroughly throttled, and that control of the Canadian market will be lost. He further states that you have been building up Canada at the expense of the United States.

Mr. President, I want to say in reply to Mr. Shaw's statements, first, that the sentiment in favour of Reciprocity with the United States, is already throttled, thoroughly throttled, and has been for some time. Second, that United States manufacturers do not control the Canadian market. Although we are large buyers of goods from them, a large portion of these purchases are of goods that are upon the free list, and the higher tariff which we are seeking will help to correct this. And, third, that as regards his statement that Canada is being built up at the expense of the United States, the facts are

just the reverse. Canada through her low Tariff, as compared with that of the United States, has been building up United States industries at the expense of her own.

I quite agree, however, with one of Mr. Shaw's statements when he says that "for many years, Canada sent many of her best men to help build up the United States at her expense. We are returning the favour now and neither Reciprocity nor a higher tariff will stop our overflow into the Northern country." Mr. Shaw is quite correct in these statements, and that is a very good kind of reciprocity, though Mr. Shaw, like Mr. Foss, seems to think that all you have to do is to offer Reciprocity to Canada and that she will jump at it.

But, Mr. Chairman, that is not the case. The time was when we wanted Reciprocity, and wanted it badly, but our overtures were turned down and we were forced to look for other markets. We did so and have found them and they are more profitable to us than yours could be, as we sell to them direct instead of through your people acting as middlemen and taking a profit off the deal. The class of goods which we would export to you are the very goods which you in return would export to our present market. The Reciprocity which we want is a tariff on a level with that of the United States, and which will place both countries on equal terms. We must have a scale of duties that will have the same effect with us as yours has had upon your country. Then, when our Tariffs are on a comparative level, it will be time enough to consider whether Reciprocity in some natural products common to both countries would be mutually advantageous and, if found to be so, then let us have it.

I referred a few moments ago to the utterances of one of our Canadian members of Parliament, who has spoken frequently over here, advocating Reciprocity, and who, speaking in Boston recently, threatened Tariff retaliation if you refused it to him. I say "him," for he is about the only one who wants it. Mr. Chairman, here again Mr. Charlton does not voice Canadian sentiment. We do not propose a higher tariff for retaliation. But in considering the question, Canada's interests must be our first consideration, just as were your interests the

first consideration in abrogating the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, and in framing the McKinley Tariff. In the adoption of a higher tariff by Canada, it will not be a question of fiscal retaliation, but one of national need for the upbuilding and progress of Canada as a nation. You have had the good common sense to build up the industries of your own country, while we have been foolish enough to leave the bars down and buy largely abroad what we could readily have made at home. What we hope to do now is to follow still more closely your example in giving adequate protection to our home industries of all kinds, and to find employment for our young men at home, instead of sending them to you.

Mr. Charlton, I repeat, does not voice the opinion of the Canadian people and, like Mr. Foss and Mr. Shaw, makes a great mistake in supposing that Canada would gladly open her doors for the entrance of United States goods if Reciprocity were offered her. Nor does Mr. Charlton voice the opinion of his chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, who, speaking at the banquet of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, at Montreal, two years ago, referred to the question of Reciprocity as follows: "I remember, and you remember also, that since the abolition of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, we have sent delegation after delegation to Washington to obtain Reciprocity. We are not sending any more delegations. But I rather expect, and I would not be surprised if the thing were to take place within a few years, I say I rather expect that there will be delegations coming from Washington to Ottawa for Reciprocity. Having learned the lesson from our friends to the south how to receive such a delegation, we shall receive them in the proper way—with every possible politeness." No, Mr. Chairman, there is no desire for Reciprocity in Canada, nor prospect of Reciprocity with the United States.

But, while I have endeavoured to set forth some facts as they are regarding Canada, while these facts may have dampened some hopes, while there is no hope for annexation, or reciprocity between the two countries, yet there is much to bind us together in the development, each in our own way, of the great heritage that has come to us through

our common ancestry. In the elevation of our people; in taking our share in, and in keeping to the front in the progressive march of civilization; in leading in commercial and industrial life; in upholding all that is best in national spirit, freedom and honour, marching on side by side in true national friendship, the two countries shall stand forth as examples of the best civilization the world has produced. In our trade we are competitors, and as such we only prove that we are worthy of each other and of the Anglo-Saxon blood that courses through our veins.

With all the din of competition and industrial warfare, and even through those elements, Great Britain and the United States may yet become more than allies. Who knows but that in coming centuries, they may become one great nation, forming an empire which will undoubtedly, should it ever come to pass, be the greatest which the world could anticipate? Who knows but that in this great consummation Canada shall play an important part? Who knows but that she may be the instrument in the hand of Him who guides the destinies of nations to bring about the greatest of all alliances which the world has ever seen?

And, while the friendship of Great Britain and her sons in the North American hemisphere is the greatest guarantee to peace throughout the world, may we not look forward to see beyond industrial competitions and preferential tariffs, that harmony which will make us all one under the common liberty and institutions of our race. To-day we are making history. Let us see to it that our parts are well performed.

Men, my brothers, men, the workers,
Ever reaping something new,
That which they have done but earnest
Of the things which they shall do,
Till the war drum throbs no longer,
And battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the world.

OUR EMPIRE CABLES.

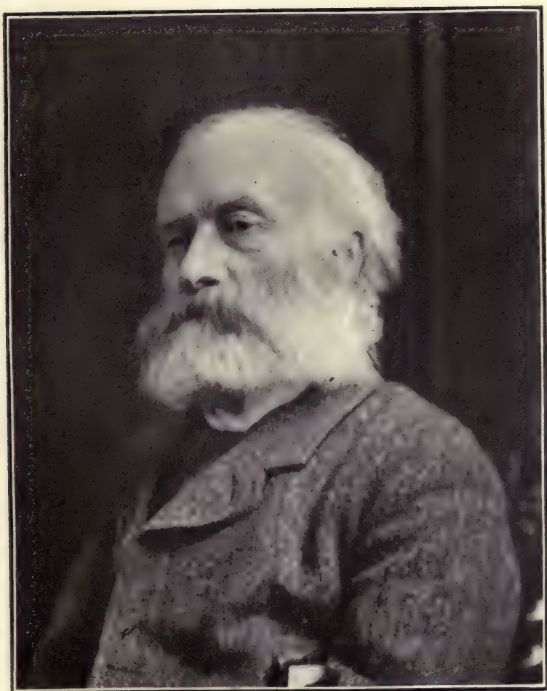
An address delivered by Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., LL.D., before the Empire Club, at their Luncheon, on February 25th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I am sure there is not at the present moment any subject more important than the projected system of Pan-Britannic cables and telegraphs, girdling the globe, and all under state control. It is a vital subject—a subject fraught with momentous possibilities; a subject of prime importance to every true citizen of the British Empire, whether his home be in that Motherland from which the ancestors of many of us came, or in these daughter nations across the seas.

You will bear with me if I traverse ground which has been, I confess, worn rather smooth by the reiteration of the same statements and the same arguments. The route of the proposed, so called All-Red Line, its scope, and the cogent reasons for its establishment, are all so clear and well-defined that one must perforce follow the beaten track in discussing them. The question of state-owned cables, connecting each of the great self-governing Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire with the Mother Country, as well as with each other, is by no means new. It has been publicly discussed for some years past, and the history of the movement—of the long, uphill fight against a gigantic and almost all-powerful antagonist; of the even more wearing conflict with British conservatism of character; of the diplomatic battles and the intrigues—furnishes one of the most stirring and memorable chapters in modern British history.

It would, in the limited time at my disposal, be out of the question to attempt to sketch even briefly the early history of this project. Indeed, I shall be content if a rapid survey of its present state and future outlook, does not too severely tax your patience. The Pacific Cable



SIR SANDFORD FLEMING, K.C.M.G., LL.D.



was completed on the 31st October, 1902, and on that day the globe was telegraphically encircled for the first time, though not yet by the complete system of state-owned cables which we hope some day to see an accomplished fact. The Pacific Cable has amply fulfilled the expectations of its friends. It has been in active operation now for considerably over a year, and the volume of general business has steadily increased until it now exceeds the estimate of the Imperial Cable Committee of 1897.

In one respect only has the Pacific Cable been disappointing—and through no fault of the cable itself. Up to the present time there does not seem to have been a single press message, either from Australia to Canada, or from Canada to Australia. This, I am sure you will agree with me, is not a satisfactory state of affairs. Canadians and Australasians alike are anxious to increase in every possible way the cordial relations which even now exist between the Dominion, New Zealand and the Commonwealth; and certainly no more effective means to this end could be devised than an efficient press service. Our mutual good will rests at present upon no more substantial foundation than the sentiment of partnership in a common Empire.

Strong as is this golden link, it might not always be proof against misunderstandings arising out of our almost total ignorance of each other; for it must not be forgotten that Australasians and Canadians are practically strangers to each other. What do we know of the life, customs, ideals, or prejudices of our kinsmen in the Antipodes; and what do they know of ours? We have a very superficial knowledge of each other's political life, and beyond this, practically nothing. We Canadians have an infinitely closer knowledge of our neighbours in the Republic to the south than we have of the people of the sister British States; and I venture to say that the average Australasian knows considerably more about the people and institutions of the United States than he does of Canada. I need not emphasize the immense importance of Canadians and Australasians and New Zealanders getting into closer touch with one another. Each is destined to become a great and powerful nation, and each

looks forward to the closer welding together of the British Empire. Fuller knowledge cannot work anything but good to the several peoples. I have seen enough of Australia and the Australasians to wish earnestly that some means might be devised for bringing the same or fuller knowledge to every Canadian; and I have enough national conceit to believe that Canada will bear a reasonably close scrutiny on the part of our kinsmen at the other end of the Pacific Cable.

We are prone to jeer good-naturedly at the conservatism of the Mother Country; at the reluctance of Englishmen to adopt new ideas, or part with old ones; but every now and then something crops up which marks us a chip—modified, no doubt, by a radically different environment, but still an unmistakable chip—of the old British block. Here is a case in point, in this matter of the press and the Pacific Cable. We all admit the desirability of closer acquaintance between Canadians and Australasians, and we must as certainly admit that hitherto our knowledge of current affairs in Australia has been something less than meagre. Our Canadian papers have frequent telegraphic news from every quarter of the world except Australia and New Zealand, and the sorry dribblets of news that we get of these great Colonies comes at second-hand from English newspapers. There is the situation. On the one hand a roundabout, unsatisfactory channel, bringing at wide intervals a modicum of news, generally after it has quite lost its timeliness; on the other hand, a direct, perfectly-equipped cable from Canada to Australia, capable of supplying all the important news of New Zealand and the Commonwealth to the press of Canada, day by day, and hour by hour. We, however, cling to the old channel and ignore the new. Are we not something of a chip of the old block?

Fully recognizing the political, commercial and social importance of an efficient news service between Australia and Canada, the Dominion Government agreed to recommend the trial of an experimental service which would be free to the Canadian press, for a period of three months, on the principle that a three months' trial would create a lively demand in Canada for Australian news, and

thus encourage our newspapers to take it up on their own account. You all remember how Sam Slick sold his famous clocks, by leaving one of them in each farm-house that he visited, and finding on his return that they had become indispensable.

The Government accordingly passed an Order-in-Council in March last, pointing out that a news service was much needed; that such a service would tend to promote trade and extend commercial intercourse between the British countries at both ends of the cable; and that other advantages would result. Australia and New Zealand were invited to unite with Canada in taking steps to establish a press service across the Pacific which would be free of charge to all newspapers, and limited to 500 words each way daily for a period of three months. The Government of New Zealand responded in favour of the proposal, but the Government of the Commonwealth raised some objections. Up to the present time these objections have not been removed.

If, however, Australia does not see its way to co-operate, I can see no good reason why Canada and New Zealand at least, might not get the benefit of a limited news service such as has been contemplated. The original proposal to transmit 500 words of press news daily would occupy half an hour of the more than twenty hours that the cable is idle or not engaged in the transmission of paying traffic. But even a much more limited service than this would be of advantage, as an educative experiment. A Canada-New Zealand news service might be tried with even 500 words a week. I feel satisfied that a limited service of this kind, free to the press, would prove to be the forerunner of a full daily press service, in which the people of the Australian Commonwealth would soon become willing participants. I am afraid that the Australasians and New Zealanders are chips off the old block too.

If we thought that, having repulsed the Eastern Extension Cable Company and their associates, in the series of pitched battles which ended in the signing of the Pacific Cable contract, we had finally silenced that powerful combination, we were grievously disappointed. The

Eastern Extension, with resourcefulness worthy of a better cause, were no sooner vanquished in front, than they made an unexpected and only too effective flank attack upon the forces of the Pacific Cable.

On December 31st, 1900, the contract for establishing the Pacific Cable was formally executed on behalf of the Home Government, and the Governments of Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand. Sixteen days afterwards the Government of New South Wales yielded to the entreaties of the Eastern Extension Company and without the consent of the five other Governments in the partnership arrangement or any of them, granted the Company concessions materially affecting the financial outlook of the Pacific Cable. This agreement could not be rescinded unless by mutual consent, and as the Post and Telegraph service has, since the date of the agreement, been transferred to the Commonwealth of Australia, New South Wales, even if she desired, has not now the power to set aside her own act. The power has passed from her, and the Government of the Commonwealth, as inheritor of the act, is bound by the agreement.

The Postmaster-General of Canada, during his visit to Australia, discussed the question with the then Premier of the Commonwealth, the Right Honourable Edmund Barton, and upon his return to Canada, Sir William Mulock informed the House of Commons that Mr. Barton recognized it to be the duty of the Commonwealth, while adhering to the agreement of New South Wales with the Telegraph Company, to live up to the spirit of the Pacific Cable agreement, and that he earnestly desired to see an honourable way out of the grave difficulty to which his Government had fallen heir.

It may be well to sketch briefly the steps which led up to this situation in Australia. The Eastern Extension, a private undertaking, had from the first placed themselves in opposition to the Imperial telegraph scheme, and employed every conceivable means to strifle the proposal to establish the Pacific Cable.

One main reason for their special hostility to the Pacific Cable lay in the fact that it formed the most important section of the larger proposal, and that the Cana-

dian route was absolutely the only route by which the globe could be girdled by a chain of all-British state-owned cables. When it became known that the six Governments concerned had resolved to establish the Pacific Cable, the Telegraph companies combined and determined to adopt drastic measures in order to defeat the new State policy. They saw plainly that a State-owned cable across the Pacific would speedily lead to similar cables across the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. Accordingly they arranged to pre-occupy the ground by laying a private cable on the precise route which had previously been projected in the Indian, and partly in the Atlantic Ocean, for the State-owned line. Moreover, they made tempting overtures to the Governments of the Australian Colonies, offering to reduce the burdensome telegraph charges hitherto exacted, provided these Governments granted them certain concessions; which concessions they believed would enable the combined companies to ruin the commercial value of the Pacific Cable.

There is also evidence to show that the Cable companies took means to invoke the powers of the press to influence public opinion in their favour. Unfortunately the then Government of New South Wales listened to the overtures and granted what the Companies asked for; but, fortunately, so far at least as the Pacific Cable is concerned, the designs of the Eastern Extension people have not borne the expected fruit. Whether their cable from the Cape to Australia shall prove a stumbling-block in the way of the all-British State-owned cable, is a matter that rests entirely with the people of Great Britain and the Colonies. That it need not necessarily affect in any way the laying of a State cable from Australia to South Africa, is beyond question. Two courses are open: The Companies concerned may be given the option of transferring, at a fair price, their private cable from Australia to the Cape; or failing this, arrangements may be made for laying a State cable across the Indian Ocean to form the second link in the globe-circling chain.

The main features of the all-British cable scheme may be described as one unbroken chain of State-owned telegraphs around the world, touching or traversing all the

great British Possessions so as to bring each of them into direct electric touch with the Mother Country and with each other. In this manner Canada, New Zealand and Australia, India, South Africa, and the United Kingdoms would be brought within the same electric circle. An essential feature of the scheme laid down is that no part of the system should touch foreign soil, and that the cables should each and all avoid shallow seas in proximity to any country likely at any time to prove unfriendly. The route of the proposed electric chain may be more precisely described as extending from Great Britain to Canada, across Canada to Vancouver, from Vancouver to New Zealand and Australia, from the landing-place of the Pacific Cable on the easterly coast of Australia across the continent to Western Australia; from Western Australia to South Africa with a branch to India; from South Africa to Bermuda, touching at St. Helena, Ascension and Barbadoes; and, finally, from Bermuda direct to England, or north, *via* the existing cable, to Canada. I need not enter into the matter of cost.

Such a telegraph girdle of the globe would constitute a means of connecting all His Majesty's great Possessions and nearly all the naval coaling stations with each other and with the Imperial centre in London. The sub-ocean connections would be deep sea cables in the least vulnerable position, and it may be added that the system would possess an advantage peculiar to a globe-encircling line of telegraph—each point touched would be telegraphically connected with every other point by two distinct routes extending in opposite directions. This feature possesses special value, and in practice would prove the best security against interruptions from whatever cause.

The sentiment in favour of an all-British system of state-owned cables is a matter of education and that it will become more popular every year I have no doubt whatever. Perhaps no single thing has contributed more to illustrate the vast possibilities of the project as a means of binding closer together the scattered portions of the British Empire, than the opening of the Pacific Cable. Only a month or two ago a remarkable example was fur-

nished of its efficiency. During the course of the British-Australian cricket matches last autumn and December a determined effort was made to cut down the records, and illustrate the potentialities of the new all-British route from England to Australasia *via* Canada. The record marks one of the most notable triumphs in the history of ocean telegraphy. Within the span of a lifetime it has taken from four to five months to communicate with Australia. This was in the days of the sailing ship. Then came the steamer, and the record was cut in half. With the successful establishment of cable connection between England and Australia, by the old route, telegraphic messages were received in England on the same business day on which they were despatched from Australia. The advent of the Pacific Cable, however, stirred up the old Companies, and the record improved and by the State-owned Pacific Cable marvels have been achieved.

By the new line messages recording the progress of the first match against Victoria were received in London from Melbourne in the hitherto unprecedented time of twenty-one minutes, *via* the Pacific Cable. This was on November 18th. On the 23rd the score came over the same route in eleven minutes. On December 12th descriptions of the match at Sydney were received in London in 10½ minutes, 9 minutes, 7 minutes, 5½ minutes, 5 minutes, and, finally, the score of Australia's cricket champions, at the close of their first innings, handed in at the Sydney office at 2.40, was delivered in London at precisely 2.43½ (Greenwich time)—that is to say, 3½ minutes. Imagine transmitting a message around the semi-circumference of the globe—15,000 miles in 3½ minutes!

How significant and full of promise is this marvelous telegraphic record from the extreme confines of the Empire to its heart! What clearer evidence can we look for of the vast possibilities of the new route to Australasia, and of that world-encircling project of which it forms the first great link. What, for instance, is to prevent the Governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Cape, etc., holding conferences with the Home Government, by means of a State-controlled system

of cables? What is to prevent each having an Intelligence Department by and through which a conference might be had say for half an hour every day. With the means of communication under State control, there would be nothing to prevent such conferences being perfectly confidential—quite as much as communications between the several departments of any one Government. What a prospect this opens up, of a unified Empire; scattered territorially throughout every quarter of the globe, but brought into constant and instant touch by the magic agency of electricity.

I have said that there is a steadily-increasing sentiment throughout the Empire in favour of the project of a State-controlled, world-encircling cable, and no more conclusive evidence of this sentiment can be adduced than the reception given to the Resolution which I had the privilege of introducing in behalf of the Ottawa Board of Trade at the Fifth Congress of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, at Montreal, in August last.

I may mention that at the Congress the British Empire League in Canada exerted a powerful influence; the Executive of the League addressed a letter to the President which was printed and a copy placed in the hand of each delegate some days before the matter came up for discussion. I shall venture to read to you a portion of this letter as it bears directly upon the importance of completing the Empire-girdling, State-owned telegraph system, and thereby checkmating the great antagonists of the public interests, the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company.

“There is only one effective remedy,” says the League. “It is to provide means independent of the monopoly of uniting telegraphically all the great outposts of the Empire so as to bring them into direct touch with the Mother Country and with each other. This object is not difficult of attainment; it can be effected by extending the principle of State-ownership to a single cable traversing the Indian Ocean, and another traversing the Atlantic Ocean, precisely as we have one across the Pacific Ocean. To accomplish this end it may in part become necessary, if not otherwise arranged, to subordinate private to public

interests and exercise the powers of 'Eminent Domain,' by which private property may be appropriated as public necessity requires—just compensation being paid. By this inherent right possessed by the State, the dominant idea of a world-girdling line of state-owned telegraphs may readily be realized, with the following results :—

1. It would reduce rates on telegraph messages between Australia and England to half, and eventually to less than half the present charges.

2. It would play a most important part in the maintenance of the commercial, social and political relations of the whole British people.

3. It would provide a double means of telegraphing, that is to say, easterly as well as westerly, by a national line, at low uniform charges, between any one British State and all the other self-governing States.

4. It would be a most effective medium for daily communion between all the Governmental units of the world-wide Empire, by and through which many questions would be settled as they arise, which, without it, might not be disposed of in months.

5. It would contribute in the most practical manner to the consolidation of the Empire.

6. It would prove in every sense an important and indispensable factor in Imperial unity."

A Resolution approving this policy was submitted to the Congress by the delegate specially appointed to do so by the Ottawa Board of Trade; it was seconded by Mr. Cockshutt, delegate from the Toronto Board of Trade, and was carried with absolute unanimity. The unanimous endorsement of the project by the great commercial parliament—the nearest approach yet accomplished to a parliament representative of the whole British Empire,—I regard as of the utmost significance and as being the happiest augury for the accomplishment of this Imperial project.

I shall not tax your patience to the breaking point by elaborating the many directions, political, military, commercial and social in which the Inter-Imperial State-owned system of electric cables, would be of inestimable benefit. At the present moment when war is in the air I am sure you will pardon me for touching on a single

point—the absolute necessity of having the electric nerves of the British Empire freed from the control of private companies. We all know with what ease the property of companies changes hands—we know that startling events in the world's history often come suddenly, and I ask you what is to prevent the agents of an unfriendly foreign power in time of peace arranging to acquire possession of company-owned cables? I need not ask you what dire consequence might follow at a moment when least expected. Does not every consideration confirm the opinion I have so frequently expressed that telegraphy between the several British nations around the globe should be under the absolute control of the State?

In these few words I have tried to indicate as clearly and briefly as I could, the present state of the Cable project, the steps which led up to it in a general way, its importance as a factor in upbuilding and welding together the scattered portions of our Empire, and in maintaining between all its parts that sympathy which is the only sure bond of connection. I am convinced that the successful completion of the cables of our Empire, as projected, is only a matter of time. I hope myself to witness it, but assuredly you young men will see the day when Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, the West Indies, and the Motherland, will be strung like jewels on an epoch-making electric girdle; space will be annihilated so far as these great divisions of our Empire is concerned. All British subjects throughout the world will be kinsmen in the truest sense; trade and commerce will be aided; the Empire will be strengthened in all its parts and made mutually helpful; political questions of moment to some or all of the Sister Nations will be discussed freely by their statesmen and the way opened for their speedy settlement without the irritating and often fatal delays incident to existing methods; the effectiveness of necessary measures of defence will be enormously increased; and this world-wide union of commonwealths will become more and more a civilizing agency making always for the peace of the world and the welfare of mankind.



THE HON. LOUIS PHILIPPE BRODEUR, K.C., M.P.

THE LOYALTY OF FRENCH-CANADIANS TO THE EMPIRE.

Address delivered by the Honourable L. P. Brodeur, K.C.,
M.P., Dominion Minister of the Interior, before the Empire Club,
at their Luncheon, March 3rd, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

To speak before the Empire Club of Canada is a privilege that any citizen of this Dominion might highly prize, and, especially one who has been entrusted, to a certain degree, with a share in the administration of our country's affairs. It is not my purpose to delay you with any lengthy or elaborate speech, but I cannot refrain from giving expression to my deep appreciation of the kindness which prompted you in extending to me an invitation to be present, to-day, and the delicacy which suggested a few remarks on the important subject of the loyalty to Great Britain which is one of the most undeniable characteristics of the French-Canadian nationality.

The love of country is the basis of all true patriotism, and poets, as well as orators, have expended their best talents in every time and every age in proclaiming the grandeur and nobility of real patriotism. No matter how desolate or sterile, no matter how situated—at the frozen Pole or near the Torrid Line—a man's best country ever is his home. Hence it is that the Canadian, and especially the French-Canadian, finds in Canada all that is needed to awaken the love of country and to stimulate his patriotism. It is the land discovered by his ancestors, colonized and civilized by his forefathers; and its traditions, its memories, its scenery, its historical associations, all tend to make him feel that it is the land of his birth, of his heritage, and the land which will contain his own ashes and be the pride and legacy of his children.

Naturally, the French-Canadian is more attached to

the section of the country which is most closely associated with the glorious achievements of his own race and with the memories of a past, which are, in a particular manner, his own; but that does not prevent his love of Canada extending to the utmost confines of the Dominion, for, after all, it is as a great national entity and not as a mixture of conflicting parts that we must all look upon our young country. The Scotchman has his natural love for the land of his forefathers, and it does not conflict with his devotion to Canada and her interests. The same for the Irishman, the same for the Englishman, the same for the man of any origin. The love you have for your mother does not preclude the love for the one who was her mother. The love of your wife and children does not efface the love of your mother or father, or your brothers and sisters. The more the human heart has to love, the wider and deeper becomes its range of affection and its capacity for love. Thus it is, the French-Canadian's love for Canada, instead of weakening only serves to strengthen the bond of his devotion towards the Empire, of which his country forms such an important part.

The French-Canadians prize too highly the advantages that they enjoy under the safeguards of the British Constitution to wish to change their position for any one that the accidents of the future might create. The French-Canadian knows too well that Independence would be, for the present, a mere Utopia, in which would be lost the safeguards that the existing Constitution has established for his interests, his laws and his language; he knows that a national or political alliance with any other country would mean the forfeiture of the same advantages. Thus does he appreciate fully the advantages derived from the Power under which his lot is cast, and while he sees in the accordance of all such liberties the practical side of the justice to which, by Treaty or otherwise, he has a right, he recognizes the great characteristics of the system under which he enjoys his liberty and is correspondingly true and loyal to it.

I need scarcely appeal to the history of Canada. It is a matter of history that the loyalty of the French-

Canadians has been unswerving from the day that they came under the British *régime*, and that they have proved their allegiance with their lives' blood. They had only just become King George's subjects when they were called upon to defend the Flag against the Indians who, under the Ottawa Chieftain Pontiac, had formed the conspiracy in the western tribes to wipe out the power of England from North America. This was in 1764, a year after the Treaty of Paris. Eleven years after, we find them around General Carleton, in arms to defend their country against the American invaders. You are all aware that the British power was, at that time, in extreme peril, the country being overrun by Americans. St. John, Montreal and Three Rivers had been captured by the enemy, and General Carleton stood a fugitive in the vicinity of Montreal. It was then that two French-Canadian gentlemen, militia-men, undertook to bring him safely to Quebec by the St. Lawrence route during the night. They succeeded in their venture, and Carleton set at once, with the help of the French-Canadians, to organize the defence of this last bulwark of the British power at that special moment in Canada. There is no telling what would have happened if the French-Canadians, instead of rallying themselves around the Governor, had given in to the entreaties of Congress and those of the French Admiral D'Estaing.

The voice of the Catholic Hierarchy was raised during that war to stimulate the French citizens of Canada to be true to their new Constitution, and they stood loyal to the British Crown as they have always stood since. In 1812, Canadian loyalty was put to the same test as in 1775, with the same result. I am glad to observe that in this second American war the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada bore the brunt of the day with equal courage and equal success. I may remind you, however, that the hostilities had taken place after the removal from Quebec of the Governor, Sir James Craig, whose conduct had been far from being agreeable to the majority of that section of the country. He went so far as to suppress the only French paper of the day and sent three members of Parliament to prison because they had

dared to ask for the reform of the Assembly by excluding judges from that body. Our forefathers knew how to distinguish between the acts of a despot like Craig, who abused his power, and those of the Home Government, and their loyalty had stood in spite of what Craig had done to weaken it. It is known by everyone that the Battle of Chateauguay, which had been so decisive, gave victory to the British flag, and that the officer commanding it was a French-Canadian, de Salaberry.

But someone may observe in this connection, "What about the troubles of 1837?" I hasten to answer that the opposition of those days of political trouble was directed against Colonial misrule, but not against the British Crown. The Governors of the time were wont to use public moneys without the sanction of the House, without the consent of the public, and hence the difficulties. Upper Canada then laboured under the same oppressive *régime*, and fought it on the same lines. If we are to blame the opposition of those days, we must in the same strain condemn the conduct of Hampden and Pym, who resisted the encroachments of Charles I. and transgressed the English Constitution. To understand a so-called Rebellion you must leave aside the accidental events of its culmination and go back to the source, examine the causes, remote and near, and then take into consideration the consequences. Listen to Papineau, the grand leading spirit of that memorable event. In Montreal, on the occasion of an election necessitated by the death of the King, in 1820, Papineau expressed himself as follows:

George the Third, a sovereign revered for his moral character, for his attention to his kingly duties, and for his love of his subjects, succeeds to Louis the Fifteenth, a prince then deservedly despised for his debauchery, his inattention to the wants of the people, and his lavishing of the public moneys on favourites and mistresses. From that day the reign of law succeeds to that of violence; from that day the treasures, the navy and armies of Great Britain are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger; from that day the better part of her laws becomes ours, while our religion, our property, and the special laws by which they were governed remain unaltered; soon after are granted to us the principles of her free Constitution—an infal-

lible pledge, when acted upon, of our internal prosperity. New religious toleration ; trial by jury (the wisest of safeguards ever devised for the protection of innocence) ; security against arbitrary imprisonment, by the privileges of the Habeas Corpus ; legal and equal security afforded to all, in their person, honour and property ; the right to obey no other laws than those of our own making and choice, expressed through our representatives ; all these advantages have become our birthright, and, I hope, shall be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them, let us only act as becomes British subjects and free men.

How do we reconcile this language of a man fully imbued with the advantages of the Constitution with what happened later in 1837? It is easy ; it is very clear to all who reflect. Had the Constitution of 1791 been administered by men determined to be guided by the spirit rather than by the mere letter, it would have fulfilled the legitimate aspirations of the country. The essence of the Parliamentary system is the power vested in the representatives of the people of voting on the levying of the taxes and of controlling the public expenditure. This, in the main, was what Papineau and his friends justly demanded. They had a Constitution and they did not want to have it sacrificed to the rapacity of the leaders of a bureaucracy, who deprived them, by maladministration, of the rights that Great Britain had granted them. It was this family compact kind of administration that was answerable for all the troubles that followed. It was as British subjects that the French-Canadians sought the privilege of self-government ; it was in the very name of the Constitution that they acted ; it was against maladministration and not against the Crown, that they protested.

Let us turn our eyes from that troubled period to the inauguration of responsible Government, which brought harmony among the contending factions and fostered prosperity in the country. In 1849, when the famous Corn Laws were repealed in England, a number of leading citizens of Canada and merchants whose trade was effected by such a change in the fiscal laws of Great Britain, signed an annexation manifesto that has become historical. In glancing over the names of those

who then would have handed over our destinies to the American Republic, those of French-Canadians are as conspicuously few as those of English-speaking Canadians are numerous. That annexation movement justified, to a large extent, what was said later by a prominent French-Canadian Statesman: "The last shot which will be fired for the protection of the British flag on this continent, will be fired by the hand of a French-Canadian."

During the American War, at the time of the Trent affair, which threatened to bring into conflict Great Britain and the United States, the French-Canadians at once formed regiments and enlisted, in large numbers, both in the cities and in the country. Their loyalty was also shown during the Fenian invasions, and it has never failed in any test. When the Confederation Act was being discussed in the election which followed the 1st July, 1867, and there was some fear that the people of Quebec would not approve of such a Constitution being imposed by the authorities in Great Britain, without the will of the people, the Bishops of the Catholic Church in Quebec, and noteworthy amongst them Bishops Larocque and Bourget, were issuing pastoral letters calling upon the people to support the party then in power because, as they asserted, that party had the Act of our Confederation passed in England and as an act of loyalty and loyal appreciation it was the duty of their flock to support its promoters. As you are aware, that appeal brought its fruit and Sir John A. Macdonald came back from the elections with a majority in the Province of Quebec.

Again, as recently as 1891, on the eve of a general election, and when the question of Unrestricted Reciprocity was on the tapis, we find the late Archbishop Fabre in his pastoral letter appealing to the people to be careful of the political movement that might endanger or slacken the close bonds that united Canada to Great Britain; and in so doing His Grace paid a most remarkable tribute to the British Constitution. When some of the flower of our youth went to fight and even die for the cause of the Empire during the recent trouble in South Africa, the

Government of Canada spent large sums of money to defray the expenses in connection with the sending of these contingents. There may have been those who, for political reasons, found fault, but the sentiment of the French-Canadians went with those of their race who were fighting in distant veldts. The Laurier Government who, the first in the history of our country, had done that for the Empire, was in the following elections of 1900 supported in the Province of Quebec, amongst the French-Canadians by the largest majority that has ever been given in that Province to a Government, and that in spite of the appeals made against Sir W. Laurier by his opponents.

I do not know whether I should be permitted, on this occasion, to give advice to our friends of Ontario on this question of loyalty of the French-Canadians to Great Britain, but you will allow me, however, to say that you should never undertake to judge us by the ill-advised writings, or phrases, or speeches of some of our countrymen, as we should never try, in our Province, to judge the feeling of Ontario by what is published by some irresponsible newspapers or said by irresponsible persons. We have a history; we have proved in the past what we have done for the Empire and I think I am perfectly justified in asking that we should be judged by that past. It seems to me I have said enough to convince the loyal members of this Club that the loyalty of the French-Canadians emulates theirs and is all the more remarkable from the fact that their ancestors are of another land. We have before us a record extending over a century of sound loyalty, which may go far to vindicate our people from the aspersions of ill-informed persons.

In our days of matter of fact the material interests of the people seem to rule the world more and more. As the British Ambassador in Paris remarked some time ago: "Nations do not fight any more for sentiment or for ideas. It is a wise policy on the part of governments to put loyalty and interests on the same side to insure the maintenance of the former." French-Canadians have long understood that their interests are bound up with the existence of the British Rule, under which

they have enjoyed the greatest amount of liberty they can wish for. They would be inimical to their own private interests if they thought otherwise. You sometimes hear, but very seldom, indeed, a discordant note coming from unimportant quarters which might be interpreted as a proof of disloyalty. It is said that it is the right of Englishmen to grumble; I must say that these few discontented parties show themselves Englishmen in this matter to the length of abusing the privilege.

I was very glad, indeed, to accept the invitation of the Empire Club, and I hope that opportunities of returning your hospitality of to-day, and thus cementing our union and our friendship will present themselves. I have spoken briefly of the different spheres of action in which the French-Canadians have proven their devotion to the cause of Great Britain and to the Constitution of our common country, and I desire, in closing, to say for myself, that as the grandson of one of the patriotic Canadians whose life went out on the field contending for our constitutional rights, the Crown and the Empire have no more loyal son than I am. But I would like to see all this quarrelling about the word "loyalty" ended, and a more practical test of its existence given in the union of all creeds and races in one grand effort for the development and the progress of this fair Dominion.

In response to a vote of thanks Mr. Brodeur continued:

I was very glad, indeed, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, to have had the occasion of coming and meeting my friends of Toronto. I knew that there might be some feeling, perhaps, in this section of the country against my countrymen ("No, no"), and I thought it was my duty to dispel any feeling which might exist, but I am glad to see by what you have just said that this feeling does not exist. We are all Canadians, and whether we live in the Province of Quebec, whether we live in the Maritime Provinces, or whether we live in the West, we want simply to build up this fine country of ours. This is our duty, this is our task, and for my part I was very glad indeed, sometime ago even to leave the Chair

of Speaker of the House of Commons to take my share in building up this vast country of ours, and to devote all my time and energy to that effect. I am a true, loyal Canadian, and I assure you that it is the same with the vast majority of French-Canadians, not only of the Province of Quebec, but of the other Provinces. I hope, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen; that we will have very often the occasion of meeting together in this way. Come to Montreal; come to the Province of Quebec. Most of us can understand English, and I know that there are some here who can talk French. Let them come, and make speeches in French, in good French, perhaps better French than I speak myself, though you have been kind enough to listen to the broken English I have given you. I thank you heartily for your hospitality and for your kindness, and I hope we will very soon have the occasion for reciprocating.

CONSCIENCE AS A NATIONAL ASSET.

Address by the Rev. Dr. O. C. S. Wallace, Chancellor of McMaster University, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 10th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

In view of what you have just said, perhaps, I would better follow Daniel Webster's advice, and in my opening remarks "give attention to definitions." If Professor Clark, whom I would rather listen to than speak to, were giving a definition of conscience, doubtless he would make it scholastic; with his wealth of learning he could hardly do otherwise. But with his permission, and yours, I will use to-day a simple and practical definition, easily understood and easily applied. Conscience, according to my definition, involves two things, a judgment and an emotion. In conscience there is a moral judgment respecting right and wrong; not right and wrong in the abstract, not right and wrong in the conduct of another, but right and wrong in one's own conduct. Growing out of this moral judgment, or accompanying it, there is an emotion; a man likes that which he believes to be right in his conduct, or dislikes that which he believes to be wrong. Depending upon this moral judgment, proceeding from this emotion, there is a sense of obligation, of duty. A man feels that he should do the right thing, and shun the wrong thing.

When we speak of conscience in a national relation, we have in mind the family, the conduct of business, and the conduct of public affairs, political and other; for when conscience asserts itself in these three realms, it adds to the worth and the welfare of the state. There is a tendency in this day for parents to relegate to the schools certain responsibilities, which, in the olden times, the father himself met. I plead for such a conscience in the father as shall put upon himself and hold fast to himself a responsibility for the upbringing of his family in such a manner, in such a spirit, and with



THE REV. O. C. S. WALLACE, D.D., LL.D.

such ideals that his offspring shall take their place in the nation by and by, ready for its responsibilities, and worthy of high things.

It is obvious that conscience in the transaction of business is necessary to a successful prosecution of the multitudinous affairs of our business world. A year ago the financiers of this city were filled with anxiety lest the financial troubles through which some in Toronto were passing should result in a general loss of confidence; for upon the confidence of the people in our institutions and in the men who direct them, the business of Canada depends. Withdraw confidence and the whole fabric is shattered. This is so obvious that I need not dwell upon it for a moment. Confidence between business man and business man, and confidence in the officials of our great financial institutions, is necessary to commercial stability and progress. And the basis of confidence is conscience.

Colonel Mason has made a pleasant reference, with a painful implication, to the politics of our country. Conscience in public affairs, political and other, makes the difference between a great nation and a little nation, a progressive nation and a retrogressive nation. There are worse things in politics than party animosities. Party or individual lack of conscience is worse. I am not of those who rejoice when there is nothing of strenuous feeling between the representatives of parties, and who think that in this there is a promise of an early millenium. I do not rejoice when there is no occasion for great differences of opinion and for profound feeling growing out of those differences. It is not necessary, nor is it desirable, that we should all think alike. It is well for a nation when there are occasions for deep feeling growing out of a profound conviction. Stalwart convictions are elements of greatness, whether in an individual or a nation. It is deplorable when in any nation those who guide the law-making and the business of the country, or those who have to do with the interpretation of the law or its execution, are able to compromise with conscience, and to turn lightly and easily from the right to the wrong. I would plead, if it were necessary to plead, for such a

conscience in the family, in business and in politics, as should hold the people of Canada closely to high ideals, to high ideals for national ends.

Now a word concerning the phrase "a national asset," in the statement of my subject, which Colonel Mason says has puzzled some. I mean by national asset a something which has a value, not imaginary, but actual, to the nation, a something which is a part of the nation's working capital, with which it meets its obligations, with which it does its business; and it is because I conceive of conscience as a part of the working capital of Canada that I speak in this way of conscience as a national asset. What I have said already will, perhaps, be sufficient to make clear what my viewpoint is, and I need not occupy more time in enlarging upon this thought.

The use of the word "national" in this connection is deliberate, and is meant to be significant. I sympathize with those Canadians who are willing for the present to submit to the word "colonial," but who do not like it. I am willing for the present to be with those who are laughed at, because of their large and glowing aspirations, to take my place beside the men who study the future more than the past. The men who look forth upon the present only, and shut themselves into that vision, may call some Canadians presumptuous, if not bumptious, visionary, if not fantastical; and they may laugh at us contemptuously and superciliously; but I have never felt it a disgrace to have my visions laughed at by the blind. Professor Clark will probably remember the story concerning Norman McLeod and the doctrine of evolution. Professor Clark, I think, knows all of the stories, especially those that have a literary flavour. Norman McLeod once attended a meeting of the British Association when the doctrine of evolution was not so well known, and not so generally accepted, as it is now, and he was not pleased with the assent given by the members of the Association to the new doctrine, and he expressed his dissatisfaction by re-writing the first chapter of Genesis. This is how it stood when he was done with it.

First verse: "The earth was without form and void."

Second verse: "A meteor fell upon the earth."

Third verse: "The result was fish, flesh and fowl."

Fourth verse: "From these proceeded the British Association.

Fifth verse: "And the British Association pronounced it all tolerably good."

There are those who admit that there has been a marvellous evolution in the past in national organization and ideal. They have seen when the material universe was without form and void. They have seen the fall of the meteor. They have seen from the meteor fish, flesh and fowl; and from fish, flesh and fowl they have seen the evolution of themselves and their times. But the unfortunate thing is that they pronounce it all "tolerably good." They are satisfied, and look for nothing greater in the future. They are distrustful, if not pessimistic, when they face the question as to whether anything better can be done among nations than has been done already. I take it that the Empire Club is composed of prophets, of seers, of men who hope, of men who have large visions, of men who say "our nation," and mean Canada. But when we use the word "national," in speaking of Canada, we confess one or other of two hopes. One might use the word "national" with a thought of future independence, of a national life entirely separate governmentally from the Empire. We are not taking that position to-day, I hope. As we use now the word "national" in speaking of Canada, we are actually looking forward to a time when the Empire shall consist, not of a group of colonies, but of a group of nations. This is saying that we have a new idea of a nation, and a new idea of an Empire. And why not?

We are thinking of the British Empire as composed of the English-Scotch-Irish nation, the Canadian nation, the Australian nation, the Indian nation, the South African nation, and—shall I say it?—the Egyptian nation, and other nations, too. Why should there not be in this century, with all the best of the centuries to teach us, with all the accumulated resources, intellectual, moral, religious, of the present day—why should there not be

evolved an Imperial ideal better than any that was known when Rome ruled the world; better than any proud dream of the "Little Corsican"; better than any martial shape that takes form in the vision of a Czar or a Kaiser, or, perhaps, a Mikado; better than even that glorious and mighty reality which our Imperial fathers have wrought out upon this solid earth? Why not? Why may we not have a vision more glorious, an ideal more lofty, and by and by a reality more grand and exalted than anything the past has known?

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, it is with some such hopes, with some such visions, that I approach my own duty, and invite you to approach your own duty, as citizens of Canada to-day. The present conditions in Canada are favourable to the production of great men. I do not want to talk like a fool simply because I am a Canadian. I do not want other people to hope like fools because they are Canadians. I hold that you and I should talk and hope like wise men, and we do this when we speak of and hope for the production of great men in Canada. The Bedouin wants to know where to pitch his black tent, where to find pasture for his camels or his horses, and how best to advance the interests, the little interests, of his little tribe. He lives a little life and dies a little man. Great tasks, great responsibilities, great obligations, make men great. Now, look the world over to-day, and where will you find in any country greater questions facing a people, greater problems to be solved, greater responsibilities looming up before them, than we find in our own country?

You have heard discussions here again and again on the importance of developing the material resources of Canada. That involves a large responsibility. You have doubtless had some discussion here on the importance of a new study of the units making up this great Confederation, the individual organization of each of those units, and of their relations to each other. We have also our Imperial relationships and responsibilities. We have questions facing us to-day, though I may not stay to rehearse them, so significant in character, so ominous in possibility, that if we have ordinary intelligence, even

ordinary moral and mental grip, we cannot face them, certainly we cannot wrestle with them, without growing in the process. And I want to say to-day that in developing the resources of Canada, in solving the municipal, provincial, Dominion and Imperial problems, in attaining to the high and great things which are beckoning us onward, there must be a regard for moral fibre, a regard for conscience as the foundation of all, if our glorious possibilities are to be attained. The development of material resources—is that in any way concerned with morality and with conscience? The tree on the stump, the fish in the sea, the gold in the mine, the wheat unharvested, they have no value. And it is not enough that there be hands to harvest, to gather, to prepare these resources; except as we are a developed people, physically, mentally and morally, we shall not be able to make the largest use for ourselves and for others, of the wealth which lies at our hands.

At the present time there are dangers in respect to conscience, dangers lest conscience be dulled, lest moral standards be lowered. There are capitalistic combinations that seem to be inevitable, and there is a proverb that a corporation has no soul. This means simply that a member of a corporation does not feel that keen individual responsibility for the actions of the corporation which he would feel for his own actions. There are labour combinations, and strikes issuing from them, in which the individual as one of a multitude takes positions and approves of deeds which if he were alone he would never approve. I simply point to these, I do not emphasize them to-day. There is evidently a withdrawal of emphasis from individualism, and with it the lessening of the sense of responsibility; and this is ominous. There is also a withdrawal of emphasis from the particular. Important little things are not emphasized as they were. Greatly to the advantage of the people, in many respects, there is a growth of good-will.

Professor Clark and I a few days ago united in conducting a religious service in the University of Toronto; he is an Anglican, I am a Baptist. That couldn't have happened fifty years ago in this country. Not that the

Anglicans were any better then. Not that the Baptists are any better now. But there has been a growth of good-will. There is to-day a very significant movement in our country towards a union of certain Christian denominations. I have no word of criticism or comment to offer in respect to this; I mention it as an illustration of the growth of tolerance and mutual sympathy. But they used to say in England that wherever the Lord had a church the devil had a chapel. I have sometimes feared that this proverb originated with the Anglicans! I won't dwell upon that—to do so might be painful to me as a Dissenter; but I put it before you to dwell on. Wherever there is a movement having in it great possibilities for good, there will be possibilities of evil, and there is a tendency at the present day to make compromises in the interests of good-will, and in order to escape from prejudice and narrowness, to make light of conscience. Rather let there be full emphasis on conscience even if it compels the other man to differ from me or from you, or compels you and me to differ from him.

There is also at the present time a worship of success. This is partly due to the material growth of our country, and to those opportunities for success which come only when there is great material prosperity. We may learn from our neighbours. When Charles Dickens visited the United States, he observed there an emphasis upon smartness and success, which he believed would yet prove the undoing of that great country. He says: "The following dialogue I have held a hundred times: 'Is it not a very disgraceful circumstance that such a man as So-and-So should have acquired so much property by the most infamous means, and notwithstanding all the crimes of which he has been guilty should be tolerated and abetted by your citizens? He is a public nuisance, is he not?'

" 'Yes, sir.'

" 'A convicted liar?'

" 'Yes, sir.'

" 'He has been kicked and cuffed and caned?'

" 'Yes, sir.'

" 'And he is utterly debased?'

“ ‘Yes, sir.’

“ ‘In the name of wonder, then, what is his merit?’

“ ‘Well, sir, he is a smart man.’ ”

Something of this spirit has been coming into Canada, partly as a result of the material development of our country, and partly through the influence of imported literature. I dare say that I shall be treading upon the tender places of some when I declare that according to my judgment it is a great evil that in connection with Christian churches there should be Success Clubs, in which the great object presumably is to teach boys “how to win success.” In many of the addresses which are heard by our school children, the great and dominant note to-day is “how to win success.” That spirit pervades our society everywhere. Failure is criminal. The man who fails is tabooed. This tendency to emphasize the value of mere ability, the ability to succeed, has already wrought great harm. It has robbed Canada of many promising citizens. How many of our young men whom we would gladly have held in our own country are helping to build up another country! They have been won away from us because they saw greater financial prizes among strangers than at home. And men say they do not blame them for going where they can get the most money, and our newspapers are given to glorifying the success of our men abroad, and in this way they stir up others to go where they too may win money and position. Unless I am quite mistaken, in a former generation there was no such emphasis put upon the success that was measured by material standards. The man was great who had character, whose ideals were noble, while money counted for less than it does now.

There is a danger from immigration to which hardly sufficient attention is being given by Canadians. I lived some years in the United States, and saw there the evils of their immigration. Immigration from Europe and Asia to this continent will tend toward the lowering of moral standards of the nation if there be not a constant and wise care. Immigration, it is true, under some circumstances, may strengthen conscience. It was so when

the Pilgrim Fathers came to New England. Some one has said that they came with the intention of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and of making everybody else do the same. This made it uncomfortable for dissentients. My forefathers were persecuted in the Massachusetts colony because they were Baptists. Perhaps the forefathers of some of you were persecuted because they were Quakers. You will remember that Baptists and Quakers and witches were once vigorously persecuted in the Massachusetts colony by those conscientious New England people. And this may seem very bad. But I call your attention, gentlemen, to the miracle of assimilation which has taken place in the United States; the power of that great people to assimilate the millions who have come to their shores is one of the miracles of history. Credit something of that to the conscience of New England. But New England has changed in the last fifty years, changed greatly even in the last twenty-five years, and changed largely because of a different type of immigration. Immigration in the past has given to Canada much of strength of conscience and of moral quality. But what of the future? We want people, we must have people to develop our resources, but let us take heed that our dreams do not lead by and by to such an awakening as that which has come in the United States.

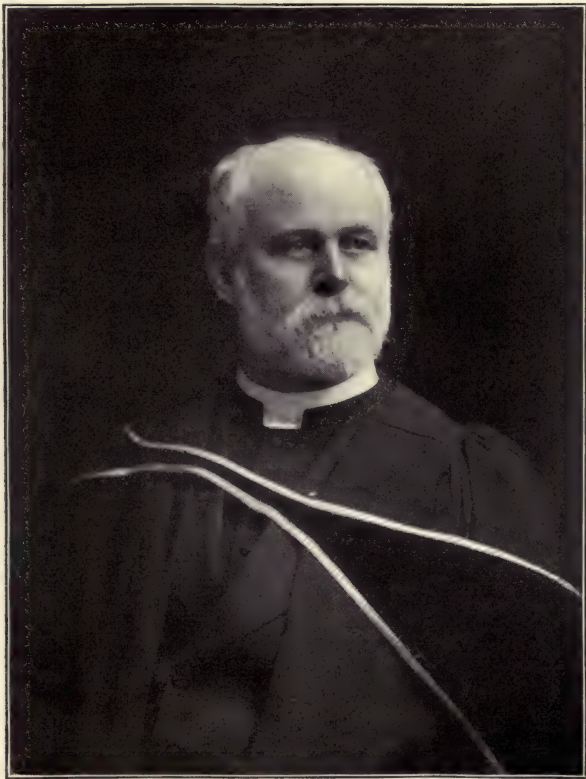
I will lay emphasis on only one thing more, and it is something in which I am particularly interested. Our great hope to-day is in the school. Now, I find in our schools a few things that need to be corrected. How under existing conditions to correct them I do not know. Perhaps you may know. There is a theory of education in our country which holds that children in their studies should follow the line of least resistance. Some of you business men have been complaining, and most justly, because of the lack of thoroughness in the training of the boys. I hold that this leads to moral as well as intellectual weakness. There are more youthful criminals than formerly. Will we venture to say that no blame is to be attached to our schools for this? I would like to enlarge on this, but I have not time to do so. In the

government of many of our schools there is something more to be desired. I do not know what is true of all the schools, but I say without any hesitancy, and with a due sense of responsibility for what I am saying, that in some of the schools of this city there is a method of government in vogue which tends to produce lying and deceit. If I had time I would undertake to demonstrate that this is a fair criticism.

Two thousand years ago the Jews knew enough to put the training of boys into the hands of those who could be an example of what it was desired that boys should become. For boys they had male teachers. I yield to no man on earth in my reverence for womanhood. I grant that in the earlier years of a boy's education no one can do better than a woman, but as the boy grows older he needs to come under the influence of a man—he is a male. The boy is a male, and he should be trained by a male to do masculine duties in this world. If we are to have virility in the men of the next generation, if we are to have reverence for truth, for integrity, for high-mindedness, if we are to have all those elements of great moral character which you and I value, I hold, and hold it with all my soul, that we must give more attention to this great matter of governing, teaching, and training the boys of to-day.

Now, gentlemen, I must hurriedly close. I recognize that Canada's largest wealth is in her people. The quality of the Canadian is superb. I do not believe that there is a better race on earth to-day, and I believe that our people are superior to most people. When our students go to the great universities of the United States, or of Europe, and are put into competition with men of other countries, it is seen that our sons are equal to the best. It has been discovered, too, that in those powers that lead to industrial development, and commercial expansion and efficiency, our Canadians are not inferior to others. In spite of the youth of our country we have discovered—I was proud of my countrymen, Colonel Mason, when I heard the testimony to the quality of our soldier boys from one of the British officers who served in the South African War, as I sat opposite to him in

my hotel at Naples a year ago—we have discovered that our sons on the field of battle, even when alongside of the seasoned troops of our great Empire, are not inferior. Wherever our men have been put to the test they have shown themselves possessed of high mental and moral quality. Gentlemen, this is largely due to our ancestry. We have had a noble ancestry here in Canada, physically, mentally, morally. Unlettered, many of them, hard-working, clean in their hearts and their habits, they have endowed us well. And now my message to-day is—if I may become the exhorter for a moment—what we have let us hold; and more, let us patiently and nobly gain.



THE VERY REV. DR. DANIEL M. GORDON.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE PEOPLE.

Address delivered before the Empire Club, on March 17th, 1904, by the Very Rev. Dr. D. M. Gordon, Principal of Queen's University, Kingston.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Others have spoken to you upon political, commercial, historical and economic questions. I may be permitted to take up a phase of higher education, and to speak of the relation of the universities to the people.

We are often asked to think imperially. Even from an Imperial point of view my subject is one of great importance, for, after all, the strength of a nation depends upon the intellectual and moral qualities of its citizens, and the greatest service we can render the Empire is by the development of the higher types of men and women. Given the right kind of people, and all will come right in our political, social and commercial relations, and the purpose of the universities is to aid in improving the fountains of our national life, by training those who may be qualified to mould public thought and action. The test of the universities to-day is the service they can render to the nation, and this service is to be rendered not merely by educating a chosen few, from whom wisdom may percolate downwards throughout the mass, but by reaching as many as possible of the individuals who compose the mass, and thus making their influence felt among all classes.

Our Canadian universities have been modelled chiefly upon those of the Mother Country; but in Britain you have two very different types of university, the English and the Scottish, both of which have affected our educational ideas in Canada. The contrast between these may not be so marked now as formerly, especially as a number of new universities have of late been established in England, but until comparatively recent years when one spoke of the English university it was to the Oxford or

Cambridge type that he referred. There, for the most part, the advantages of higher education were confined to the privileged few. The students were drawn very largely from the landed, the titled, and the richer classes. The university was in league with the aristocracy rather than with the great body of the people. It might train those who were to teach and govern their fellows, but only in this remote and indirect way was it meant for the nation at large. Provision was made by which some were admitted simply on the score of talent or attainment, for there were scholarships available under certain conditions for young men of exceptional ability, but the education offered was, as a rule, for the sons of the privileged classes.

It was far otherwise in the Scottish universities. There the students were freely drawn from that great repository, the mass of the people. Partly as the effect and partly as the cause of the democratic spirit of the Scottish people, their universities aimed at placing higher education within the reach of all, and thus earned in the truest way the title of national, by meeting the needs of the nation at large. As Ian Maclaren says, "The path was well trodden from the farmhouse to the university." Thus there was fostered in Scotland a keen appetite for the benefits which the university confers. Many of her sons who were strangers to wealth and ease acquired an academic training through resolute and unsparring effort. By their toil to secure a college education, they won the power for higher toil, and developed the fibre of their will and character as well as of their mental faculties. And so it came about that while the English universities might have men of higher scholarship, those of Scotland were far more fully serving the nation, moulding into excellent materials from all classes and keeping in touch with all, helping to place that little people in the very front rank of educated nations, enabling them to contribute very largely in proportion to their numbers to the growing thought, the enlightenment and progress of the world.

In Canada we have been influenced by both of these types, but for the most part the Scottish type has pre-

veiled. University education has rightly come to be regarded by us not as the exclusive property of the well-to-do, a preserve for the children of privilege, but as an advantage that should be open as far as possible to all who have brains and energy to avail themselves of it. We are a democracy. We think that no man among us should be doomed to an inferior place by reason of birth, but that if he be gifted with superior talents the way should be open for him to make the best of himself for the benefit of the whole community. We want to make the most of ourselves as a people, to make the best of the youth of our country, on whom its future depends, to develop their intelligence, their love of truth and righteousness, their power of forming wise judgments and correct opinions. We want them to have increasing capacity for handling the resources of the country, for dealing with the problems of commercial, social and political life, while at the same time they should be as familiar as may be with the best thoughts of the best thinkers, and have their life enriched with the ripest fruits of the generations that have gone before us. We want them to be fitted in the fullest degree for citizenship in this country, which, more than any other country, is opening out with amplest and most attractive opportunity.

Now, many influences may contribute to this training for citizenship. In addition to the public schools, to which the formal education of the majority must be confined, there are facilities for self-training always open to the earnest. There are libraries and reading-rooms, and the vast and varied information of the daily and weekly press. There are magazines and books, at so moderate a price as to be within reach of the humblest purse. There is the invaluable experience of one's daily work, bringing him into contact with men, from each of whom something may be learned; and a familiar adage reminds us that experience is the best teacher, although it may be added that her fees are sometimes very high. There is, for those who can afford it, the training school of travel, peculiarly helpful to him who keeps a watchful eye and open ear; and even the poorest and most untravelled may, if he have sufficient force of mind and character,

cultivate his powers of observation and reflection in any lot so as to be happy in his own life and helpful to his neighbours.

These are some of the influences by which many of our best citizens have been trained, or rather, which they have employed in training themselves. And there are some who think that these are more effective as a training for citizenship than the universities. To them the university seems too remote from the life of the people to be an important factor in shaping public opinion or public action. They have been accustomed to look on it as a training school for certain professions, a preserve for the more advanced teacher, the lawyer, the doctor, the clergyman, and any others who might be so misguided as to waste part of youth's golden years in some of the studies through which those professionals must pass. If that narrow view was ever correct, it is not correct to-day. The idea and the ideal of a university is broader than it was when some of us were boys. It is not confined to training for certain professions. It has in view the man before the professional, and aims at raising the man with his talents, his working powers, all his capacities, to a higher degree of efficiency.

When Ezra Cornell founded the University which bears his name, he wrote, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." There is a breadth in that purpose which makes it practically impossible. Even in the best equipped university you cannot find instruction upon every subject. And yet it is the aim or ideal of the university to put a man at the point of view that has been reached along any line of inquiry by those who have gone before him. When a man takes up any subject—philosophy, literature, history, science—he finds that some have been already exploring that subject before him. Now, the university tries to place him at the point of view that has been reached by previous investigation. Of course the general university curriculum can do this only in regard to the great, broad lines of human inquiry, those that have been the subjects of most frequent investigation, and with which it seems most important for us to

be familiar. But by degrees these lines have been multiplied; the list of subjects has been increased; the university provides a guide for the inquirer along any one of many directions, and tries to let him see the point reached by the inquirers who have gone before him, and also tries to help him go forward as a path-finder, detecting the trail that leads further on into realms of truth.

The university, however, does not restrict the student to one field of inquiry. On the contrary it would try to prevent him from specializing too soon and to make him acquainted with at least the outlines of various fields of study. The true scholar should not only know some one subject pretty well, but he should be familiar enough with other subjects to see how his own is related to them. And so the university tries to help him see things in their true perspective, and place his own particular field in right relation to other fields, and have a broad outlook, a wide horizon, like the sailor who takes his bearings by sun and star as well as by lighthouse and headland. Not only so, but by the course of study along which it leads him the university tries to develop the man. It cannot give him brains, but there is no other agency so likely to train him how to make the best use of his brains. I speak, of course, not of the idler or of the misfit, who are found everywhere in life, but of the man with purpose and energy. The university helps to expand his powers of perception and of reflection, helps him to form habits of attention and application, helps him to sift opinions and to weigh evidence in the search for truth. It is not merely that he is acquiring knowledge; it is not even merely that he is sharpening his faculties, giving breadth and firmness to his mental grasp; but he is educating his character as well as his mind. If he is to be a successful student, then thoroughness must be the ruling quality in every study. He knows that when difficulties arise, they must be solved, not shirked. When proofs are offered to him he can accept them only if they are entirely valid. It is not easy and comfortable opinion, but truth with which he has to do, for the worship of truth is the very life of

the university. Besides, he is forming habits of self-government, and of that proper self-respect which is but the due regard which a man should feel for the nature God has given him.

There is an increasing tendency in our universities to lay upon the students the duty of maintaining discipline, and thus to train them for the full responsibilities of freedom. Young lads may matriculate who have not been much from home, nor have often had the burden of deciding for themselves. They have not yet learned how to use their liberty, and there is the danger that freedom may lead them into folly. They have not been steadied by a sense of responsibility, nor settled firmly upon the centre of gravity. In the university class-rooms and societies these young fellows come in contact with some who have a more adequate sense of the mission of the university as well as of their own mission in life; they become trained into clearer and more balanced views; they find their place and recognize their opportunities, and form some worthy purpose which they already begin to realize.

There are some who object that the courses of study keep the universities out of touch with the people, that they are unpractical, unfitted for that large majority of men who are not looking to professional life, and that many who pass through them lose rather than gain by them. This is an old and familiar objection to university education, and I cannot trespass upon your time to discuss it. But there is this to be noticed, that all the development of our universities for the past thirty years has been along the line of bringing them more closely in touch with popular needs, and of making them of more direct service to the nation. We might even say that the development of our universities has been along the line of usefulness as truly as the development of our railroad systems or of our agricultural implements. Look at the subjects of study. The old-time course was largely confined to classics, philosophy, and pure science, that is, mathematics and what in Scotland was called natural philosophy. Some of us are old-fashioned enough to believe that those three lines of study

were peculiarly fitted to develop a man for mental work in any field, and to give him an all-round training. But, be our estimate of these what it may, the more recent development of university studies has been along the line of subjects more attractive to that eminently practical person, the man on the street.

Thus, for instance, we have much more attention given now than formerly to our own English language and literature. It has been often pointed out, as by Macaulay and others, that the ancient classics have not by any means the same relative value now that they had when the curriculum in British universities was framed. Our own incomparable English literature has come into existence, enriched by translations from all languages as well as by the products of our own race. It may still be well even for the knowledge of English to study ancient languages, but life is short and the vast majority will be content with the treasures preserved in their own tongue. And the study of our literature is being made still more helpful in an increasing number of our leading universities by having connected with it the study of our English Bible. No department of inquiry should be of more effective service to our people than that which brings to bear upon them through the influence of devoted students the moral and spiritual uplift of our sacred Scriptures.

With our own language and literature there has been introduced into all our universities the study of Modern Languages, especially French and German, the value of which may, perhaps, be not so apparent to the Greek-minded man, but which, at least, I assume, no one here present will dispute. It would be well, indeed, in view of the large proportion of our countrymen who speak the French tongue, if an increasing number of those of us who have sprung from other stock were able to use that language with ease and accuracy. We must, at least, recognize its claims, and acknowledge the wealth and beauty of literature to which it introduces us. Nor can we do without German if we would be familiar with much of the best literature, especially of the scientific works and reports of our day.

History is another of the studies recognized among our present requirements; and there are few more important, not merely for giving us a due appreciation of the past, but for training us in forming just and charitable judgments of our fellowmen. To measure human conduct correctly, to trace the springs of action, to estimate motives, to form accurate opinions about others, is one of the most difficult tasks that we can undertake, and yet each of us must attempt it every day. Few lines of study are more helpful than history in correcting the narrow conclusions of our individual experience, and in leading us at least to try faithfully to be just and true in this task of passing judgment, of forming our opinions of our fellowmen.

Political economy is even more recent than history in obtaining recognition in the universities, but it has already received a prominent place. Questions of commerce and finance, of government and administration demand for their solution the attention of experts. It is not enough that the people should take their views upon these subjects from the newspapers, however wise and well-informed the press may be. Even editors are not omniscient, and may often be helped by specialists. How much more those of us that along every line of reading feel hampered with ignorance. Whatever our views of tariffs and trusts, we are at one in wishing to have the correct view, to know the true and proper line that governments and people should follow in dealing with such matters.

To the subjects I have mentioned there have been added among those on which instruction is now offered in our universities, the circle of physical sciences. The world around us, as well as the world within, matter in all its forms and combinations, as well as mind in all its activities and achievements, become the subject of our research, and we are enriched by the studies necessary for the chemist, the miner, the engineer, and others, who harness for us the forces of nature, and help to fulfil the primal commission that man should have dominion over the earth. These are departments that appeal at once to all as being of practical value to the

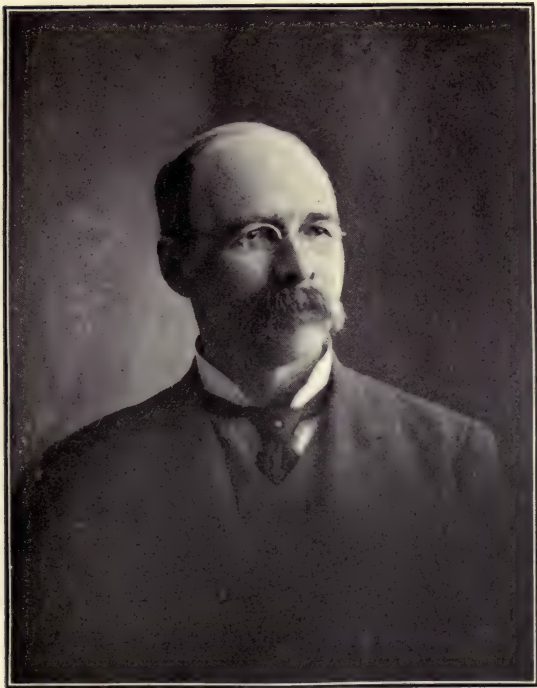
people. All can recognize the importance of any line of inquiry that results, for instance, in cheaper ways of making steel, in giving us increased facilities for travel, in multiplying our manufactures, and in placing us a little ahead of our competitors. Yet these results would not be had if there were not men devoted to science purely and simply for its own sake, men who have no schemes for getting rich quickly, but whose one object is to get at the facts of nature.

If, then, you ask me, what are the universities doing for the people, I might point to the extended and varied courses of instruction now generally adopted, to the nearer approach they are making towards Ezra Cornell's ideal of an institution where any person can find instruction in any study, to their expansion along lines that bring them directly into touch with the felt wants of the community. But, in addition to these, there are other services not less, but rather more important.

The universities are of service in helping to educate and elevate public opinion, by contributing a more highly educated element to the community. It is not merely that they train men for certain professions as they have always done, but through the increasing number of their graduates, who are to be found in many walks of life, they render large assistance in forming the opinion and action of the community. We are a democracy. We believe in, and we possess, government by the people, but government by the people needs to have educated men among the people more than any other form of government. In an absolute monarchy where the people have no controlling voice in national affairs, government may be wisely administered even although the people themselves be sunk in ignorance. But it cannot possibly be so with us. Nothing can be done for us in the way of government, except what we do for ourselves. When questions of public interest are discussed, it is, in the long run, the educated opinion that prevails, if the educated men will only exert themselves to make their influence felt. When the battle of Confederation was being fought in Nova Scotia, one of the leaders opposed to it, the Hon. Woodbury McLellan,

was asked what were the prospects. "We shall win," he said, "this time, but Confederation will carry in the long run." Being asked why he thought so, he replied that in Halifax Archbishop Connolly and G. M. Grant were speaking in favour of it, and he found that when men of ideas, who had no selfish interest to serve, took up a cause, it was pretty sure to triumph in the end.

Not only do the universities help to educate public opinion and to shape the decisions and demands of the people, but they help the community to cherish the higher ideals and standards of life. The university stands for what is lofty in thought, for the pursuit of wisdom and the love of truth as ends in themselves and not as mere means for amassing wealth. We are entering on a period of industrial and material development. This is, as we are often told, our growing time, and the prospect is that our commercial progress will be more rapid than anything we have yet attained or even dreamed of. But there is danger in rapid progress, for when the speed is great, then, in the moral as in the physical world, it may be more difficult to keep one's balance and more disastrous to lose it. We need all the influences that can help us to maintain correct ideas and ideals of national life, and to remember that for neither man nor nation does life consist in the abundance of what we possess. It is part of the duty and privilege of universities to keep the heart of the people true to lofty purposes, as well as to strengthen them in faculty for the achievement of such purposes. In this high endeavour there should be the closest union of all university men, for there should be no envy or jealousy in the fair sisterhood of universities. Ours is a country that may well call forth the most loyal enthusiasm and the most fervent hopes of her sons, and there is laid upon our universities in a special degree the duty of striving so to influence the people that Canada shall stand, as our great mother, Britain, so long has stood, for helpful and successful effort towards the progress and enlightenment of the world.



H. J. PETTYPIECE, M.P.P.

THE QUESTION OF RAILWAY TAXATION.

Address delivered before the Empire Club, at their Luncheon, on March 24th, 1904, by Mr. H. J. Pettypiece, M.P.P.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Let me say that this question of railway taxation is one of only two or three years growth in this Province. Until two or three years ago, in the Legislature, or in Municipalities, or anywhere that taxation is a subject of discussion the question of taxing railways was not considered to any great extent. I brought up the matter, however, and it has proven to be to-day a Provincial subject, being discussed everywhere; and when I was asked two or three weeks ago to address the Canadian Club in this City I thought probably that was the highest point which I could reach in connection with it. Of course the Canadian Club is the Canadian Club, but the Empire Club is something bigger !

Sometimes we are told, and a great many of the opponents of railway taxation say, that you should not tax railways because, being public utilities, deriving all their revenues from the people, if you put any burden of taxation upon them they will increase their rates and shift the burden back on to the people. But let us bear in mind that there is no class of investment in the Dominion of Canada to-day which has been so much favoured by the people as that which we call railway investment. The railways of this country have been bonused or aided by Dominion, Provincial and Municipal grants to the amount of about \$325,000,000, which is equivalent to our National Debt to-day, or, in other words, if we handed to-day back to the people the money and lands and lines that we have built and then given to railway companies we could wipe out our National Debt, principal and interest at once, so that every dollar of interest of the ten or twelve million we are paying practically represents what we have given to the railway companies of this country.

We have here nearly 20,000 miles of railway and these have been aided to the extent of about \$18,000 per mile by the people. They have that special advantage. They have other special advantages that no other class of investment has. The manufacturers of this Province or anywhere in this Dominion are handicapped to a certain extent by an International boundary line, or in other words by two tariff walls, one built up by our people and one by our rivals to the south of us. Under the bonding privilege the railway companies of this country know no International boundary line, and have no tariff walls to contend with. The railway systems of the United States which operate through this country are as free to go across the boundary line at the Detroit River, the St. Clair River, the Niagara River and any other place as they are to cross from one township to another to seek the traffic on which they charge, both passengers and freight.

Our Grand Trunk system or C. P. R. system, which are the two great Canadian systems, are as free to go into Chicago on the west and all of the Western States, and into New York and Boston and the populous cities of the east to seek traffic as they are to go to Montreal or Winnipeg. So that they have all the advantages; whereas if you invest in manufacturing enterprises you are confined to the limited market that we have at home. I say under those conditions our own railway systems and especially the American railway systems that find it to their advantage to utilize our roads that have practically been built by the people for the conveyance of their products from the Western States and Provinces to the sea-board, should bear some of the burden of taxation as well as other people; and if there is any argument to be used I think one of the best is that they bear the burdens elsewhere. In discussing this matter I refer to the States sometimes. We often do. There is hardly an important measure that comes before the Legislature but what somewhere in the debate a comparison will be made with what is done in New York or Michigan or some of the different States of the Union; and in most of the matters under discussion we are in a position to point

out that Ontario is in advance of the States; but in this question we are twenty-five years behind them.

The question of railway taxation became a serious problem in the United States after the Civil War. Their great debt incurred in carrying on that war necessitated the taxing of everything in sight and railways among other classes of property, and the thirty-five years of experience they have had has resolved itself into this: that there is only one proper and satisfactory way by which railway property can be taxed and that is by State Boards of Assessment Commissioners. I did not bring with me, but I received yesterday in reply to an application for its publications to the American Inter-State Commerce Commission at Washington, a volume containing twelve years review of railway taxation in every State in the Union, and I find out of fifty of the States forty-five of them have already adopted the *ad valorem* system of taxation. I want to refer to this briefly. Different systems have been tried and we have now in a small way a system of taxation of railway properties in this country, in fact two of them. We have Municipal assessment of railway property, which means that railway property running through a township or in a city shall be taxed just as the adjoining lands are. There are eight acres of railway land to every mile of right-of-way. Those are taxed. Then we have next the supplementary revenue on the flat rate of \$5 per mile of every mile of railway in the Province.

Neither one of these systems are satisfactory. A flat rate is unsatisfactory because it is unfair to the railroads as between themselves. Take a little line like the Iron-dale, Bancroft and Ottawa, serving a local community and having no other sort of revenue but what comes from the people within a short distance of it, passengers and freight; having a train up in the morning and back in the evening; and to say that that railway should pay the same amount of taxes per mile as the Michigan Central operating between Niagara and Detroit, having the cream of through traffic of all the Western States, the Pullman business, all the Armour and Swift meat business, and all the traffic that Kansas City and the Western

States gives to it, with the traffic back from the Atlantic cities to Chicago, where local traffic is a very secondary consideration and very often a poor second at that, with a double track line; to say that the little line that I refer to serving a local community should be imposed upon to the same amount by taxation is just as unfair as to say that a foot of frontage at the corner of King and Yonge Street should be taxed the same as a foot of frontage at the other end of the street.

Then there are systems of taxation on the earnings. Manitoba is doing that to-day. Quebec is doing it. Every mile of railway subsidized in Quebec pays back on its earnings 5 per cent. every year to repay to the Province the amount of subsidy they got. Manitoba collects from 3 to 4 per cent. according to the earnings of the road, and so on. But that class of taxation of railway property is unfair as between the railway properties and other classes of property. We will say there is a prosperous year; crops are large; manufacturers are booming; wholesale merchants are sending out big orders of goods; and the railway traffic is consequently large and its earnings are large and we assess them say 5 per cent. on their gross earnings and they pay that share into the Provincial or Municipal treasury as the case may be. But it may be that lean years will follow when crops are short, prices are bad and there is a general depression in trade; railway traffic falls off 50, or 25 per cent., or whatever it may be; and of course the taxes we get from them fall off in the same proportion. But the State needs the same amount of money, and when the railway tax has fallen off eventually it turns back on the people to make up the deficiency, and at the very time they are least able to pay it you have to increase the general rate of taxation. So that we must have in this country one system of taxation on all classes of property.

The system of taxation for Municipal purposes all over Ontario is the *ad valorem* system. That is a valuation by an assessment or board of assessors of the property and then a rate of taxation sufficient to meet the requirements of the community. We must apply the

same rate to railways, and if we adopt the *ad valorem* system should it be brought about by Municipalities or by Provinces? As I have said already an experience of thirty-five years in the United States shows it must be done by State Boards. Why? Railway property in its character is different from any other class of property. It extends in many cases from one ocean to the other. The Grand Trunk system operates over this Province; comes in at Montreal and out at the St. Clair tunnel and Windsor; and it operates through some four or five Municipalities. If you allow four or five hundred Municipal Assessors to undertake to assess the railway property within their respective municipalities it will lead to confusion. It has been tried in a great many of the States, such as Michigan and Illinois and particularly in New York—because municipalities there, like men here, are jealous of what they call municipal rights; they do not want any powers taken away from them and concentrated in Provincial or State Governments—they tried that and the result has been confusion, and some most laughable incidents.

For instance, the Assessor in one municipality having ten or twelve miles of railway across his township, in which there was an expensive cutting, an expensive culvert, a bridge or maybe a tunnel, and an expenditure of maybe a million dollars where the average cost of the road might be only fifty or sixty thousand dollars a mile, felt that that was an expenditure which necessitated or was a reason why he should tax it accordingly. Another Assessor having twelve miles of prairie country, where there was no cost in building the road except in turning it up, said, "Well, they have got the roads built so cheaply they can afford to pay more taxes," and he would assess them up on the other hand; and there were instances pointed out where in adjoining townships one Assessor would assess at \$1,000 a mile and another at \$50,000 a mile. So it led to much confusion. The result was that the railways had to appeal to the Courts of Revision and finally to the Judges, and when their appeal would come up in Court and the Judge would say, "Mr. Assessor, on what ground did you fix that valuation?"

He would know nothing about it and the Courts would decide the matter.

The United States Supreme Court decided that if railway property is to be assessed every railway must be assessed as an entire system indivisible in its operation, in its construction, in its responsibility for debt, in its sale, if it be sold under the hammer; the whole system must be considered and every Assessor prepared to say how much the part of the railway in his municipality is to be taxed and ascertain the cost. There are five principal elements of value entering into the cost of a railway: The right-of-way, the cost of building the road, the cost of its rolling stock, the amount of its capital including bonded debt, etc., and its earnings, gross and net. What Municipal Assessor has access or ability to obtain that information? Each Municipal Assessor will have to be provided, as each State Board in the United States is provided, with the machinery to enable him to ascertain all these details. These five elements of value in some States are divided into as many as thirty different other elements of value. In some cases they go so far as to make the railroad return the facts as to the weight of the rails, number of ties to the mile, character of the ballast, whether it is rock or gravel or cinder ballast, and so on. That is utterly impossible for the Municipal Assessor to undertake and, if he did, maybe the next year a new council puts in a new Assessor and he wants to improve on his predecessor's work and he adopts something new. So that the whole thing has led to confusion and utter inability to derive any benefit in the way of assessment or taxation of railway property.

The State of Wisconsin four or five years ago appointed a special Commission to investigate the system of railway taxation all over the United States. It gave them an unlimited amount of money and time to look into the matter thoroughly. They spent four years at the work. Last year, at the Session of 1903, that Commission made its report before the Legislature. I have the Report. They dealt with other matters of taxation, but railway property principally, and they sum up the whole thing in a few words. The Board recommended

that they abandon that principle; that it had been abandoned in nearly every State where it had been tried; and appoint a Board of Commissioners to assess the property, the same as we assess the property on King Street or a farm up in my County, and then impose upon it the average rate of taxation throughout the State. They recommended and they pointed out that that Board of Commissioners must have at their command the expert assistance of, first, a civil engineer and a competent accountant. A civil engineer who can go over a piece of road, if the Board is not satisfied with the report made by the Company, and with his practical knowledge say whether the assessment is right or wrong. A competent accountant to examine their books and say whether in reporting their earnings the figures are being cooked or not. It goes on to say that every railway company on this continent is armed with the best available talent on both these lines regardless of expense and if the State is going to cope with the railroad in the matter of taxation the State Board must be armed with the same talent and just as good. That recommendation was adopted by the State Legislature and last year they made their first assesment under that system. I have not seen it yet.

The State of Michigan two years ago abandoned the earning system. Under the earning system they were collecting from the railways \$1,200,000 upon the percentage basis. And let me say here that the mileage of railroads in Michigan is just about the same as in Ontario, probably a couple of hundred miles more, and their railways in regard to their location are pretty much the same. They have two or three trunk lines running from Chicago to the tunnel and Windsor and the other lines up in the peninsula are local lines. We have just the same. They adopted the *ad valorem* system. The State Board of Assessment in 1902 made their first appraisal or assessment of railway property in that State for the purpose of taxation. I have here a list of them received from the Secretary of the State Board Commission the other day, for 1902 and 1903. Bear in mind that the assessment is made in 1902 for taxes to be collected in July of the following year. The assessment

made in 1903 will be the taxes payable on the 1st of July, 1904. The first year the total amount of assessment of railways made by the Board was \$198,000,000. In Michigan all the revenue from railway taxation goes for educational purposes to the primary schools first, etc. The Detroit Board of Education being interested as they were to receive their share of the revenue from railway taxation felt that the Commission did not assess the railways high enough and they appealed against it.

The Supreme Court of the State sustained their appeal and increased the amount of taxes which they would pay. They were paying originally about \$1,200,000 under the percentage on earnings. The Board made its assessment and increased it to over \$2,000,000. Then under the Supreme Court decision the amount was increased to \$2,800,000. Acting on that, taking a cue I suppose from the Supreme Court's decision, the Assessment Commission in making their assessment in the following year, 1903, increased the assessment of the railways in the State from \$198,000,000 to \$227,000,000, or an average of \$28,000 per mile, which at their present rate of taxation means \$445 per mile for every mile of railway in the State of Michigan. Under that rate of taxation let me refer briefly to the two or three lines which operate through Michigan as well as Ontario, and I think we should take that into consideration. Take the Grand Trunk System, the Michigan Central, the Wabash, the Pere Marquette and the C. P. R. which crosses at the Soo. All the earnings of these roads go into one common treasury. All the expenses, taxes included, are paid out of that fund. Under the Taxation law of Michigan the Grand Trunk is paying to it from the tunnel to Chicago \$700 per mile in taxes in Michigan and \$800 per mile in Indiana; in Ontario they are paying \$56 per mile; in Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire, not to be compared with this Province in wealth, population or anything that goes to make up a country, they are paying \$120 per mile, or more than double what they are paying here. The C.P.R. not quite as much over there.

Now, the Board of Assessment over there increased the assessment on the Grand Trunk proper, the main line

from the tunnel to Chicago, from \$11,000,000 to \$13,000,000. The assessment on the 1½ miles of the St. Clair Tunnel is \$1,800,000. I brought that up in the House the other day and I found to my surprise that an Act had been passed by the Ontario Legislature in 1893 fixing or confirming a by-law of the town of Sarnia under which the tunnel property on this side of the river and all the buildings and yards in connection with it, station, round house and so on was fixed at \$30,000 for twenty years and the Dominion Government had given to the tunnel a subsidy of \$375,000. I sat down and figured that up and found out, I don't know what term to use, how easy we are in this country. That tunnel was going to be built; it was a necessity to the Grand Trunk; they found by building a tunnel under the river it was better than carrying the cars across on ferry boats. They did not get any railway subsidy from the United States or Michigan; they did not get any exemption from taxation, but they got from our people as I say \$375,000 in cash, they got exemption for twenty years, or what practically meant that, because \$30,000 assessment is a mere bagatelle; and the result is that while we gave them that amount of subsidy all we get in taxes is about \$630 a year. That is what we actually got last year. On the other side where they did not get a cent they paid last year \$29,400 in taxes and I find under the increased assessment it will amount to \$30,000 this year; \$30,000 in taxes for twenty years is \$600,000. Add to that the \$375,000 we gave them and the interest on that would have practically given them the best of it by a million dollars; and the rate charged on passenger traffic on the other end of the tunnel is 50 per cent. less than it is on our end of it. It is two cents a mile there and three cents here.

The assessment on the Pere Marquette system, which is now crossing this Province, from Sarnia and out at Buffalo, is \$37,500 in Michigan. The Wabash is assessed over there for \$5,000,000. So that we in this country are practically letting the railways escape taxation. One of the worst features about it is this, while we have built and subsidized these roads to the amount of about \$20,-

ooo a mile the main lines are used to-day principally for carrying across the Province of Ontario to the Atlantic sea-board products of the Western States to enter into competition in the free market of Great Britain with our own product, and they carry the products of Iowa and Michigan at a lower rate than they charge the Ontario manufacturer and Ontario farmer. So that we are handicapped when we reach there by the very means of transportation that we have built up in this country.

I will give you the Grand Trunk figures because it is the line in which we are principally interested and which controls a network of lines over Ontario. The Grand Trunk Railway system has about 4,000 miles of track in round numbers; 3,000 of them are in Canada and 1,000 in the United States; there are 167 miles in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. Their gross earnings last year amounted to \$1,200,000, operating expenses \$1,120,000, leaving net earnings of that whole system of only \$87,000 or \$526 per mile. They paid in taxes in those three eastern States \$52,000, or \$111 per mile. Across in Michigan, Indiana and Illinois they have 870 miles in their system; gross earnings of six million odd; operating expenses five million odd; net earnings of \$1,200,000, or \$1,464 per mile; they pay in taxes \$354,000, or \$454 per mile, exclusive of what the tunnel taxes were.

In Canada there are 3,000 miles; their net earnings were \$2,400 per mile and their taxes only \$56 per mile. So you see the difference. They pay more taxes over there on their 1,000 miles four times over than they do here on their 3,000 miles; and they take the earnings that they have in Canada to help pay the taxes over there. The last Report of the Grand Trunk Company says that they transferred from the earnings in Canada to the credit of the Grand Haven and Milwaukee branch in Michigan the sum of \$80,000 to meet the requirements of that road. Turn up the Michigan State Tax Commission Report and you will find the taxes of the Grand Haven and Milwaukee branch of the Grand Trunk were \$84,000, so they practically took that out of the earnings of this people of Ontario, and we don't get any benefit of

it when we are paying taxes over there instead of here. I think, and I have contended that in the House, that is the essence of my Bill, that the railway companies in this country should bear their fair share of taxation; and I think that probably they will have to do so.

I have not time to enter into the details of what we call Municipal assessment as compared to Provincial. In arguing this before the Committee last fall Mr. Hellmuth, who represented the Grand Trunk there, said: "Oh, yes, you get this information from State Boards and of course they are in favour of State Boards taxing railways." I put myself in communication with the City Boards of Assessment in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Chicago and Milwaukee, six representative and progressive cities in six of the adjoining States, and the replies from all are similar. For instance, the Chairman of the City Board of Assessment in Detroit says, "We have nothing to do with the taxation of railways; the taxation of railways is done by a State Board at Lansing." I asked for certain information. I asked him first: What is the assessed value of railway property in your city? Does that railway property include round-houses, stations, repair shops, and so on? I wanted to ascertain whether they were assessing simply the railway itself or all the property used in connection with the operation of it. Is an assessment made by the State Board Assessors or by the City Boards, or partly by both? Indianapolis' reply was this: We have \$9,800,000 worth of railway property in our city and that includes elevators, round-houses, stations, depots and everything in connection with the operation of the roads. Assessment is made by the State Board of Commissioners. Then I asked how the taxes were divided and the answer was, partly going to the State, partly to the school board and partly to the municipality. Is it satisfactory?" "Yes." There was one mile of railway, a terminal, that was assessed at \$1,200,000 and under their rate of taxation it pays as much as all the railway property in the City of Hamilton and half as much as all the railway property in the City of Toronto pays. They collect two mills on that, on practically \$10,000,000 worth of

railway property, which amounts to \$200,000. The answer of the Board of the City of Chicago was just exactly the same. They have about \$57,000,000 worth of railway property in Chicago and it is all assessed by the Board sitting at Springfield, which is a country town compared with Chicago.

My argument is that if a city like Chicago or Detroit, or Indianapolis does not feel that its municipal machinery is sufficient to cope with and to assess railway property what are the 800 municipalities in Ontario going to do in attempting it? Chicago, no doubt, with its 2,000,000 people has possibly got as good legal counsel and as good expert assessors as can be obtained anywhere and still they hand over to the State Commissioners the taxation of railway property for the simple reason that a railway must be assessed as an entirety. The whole system must be taken into consideration, and then the proceeds of it go to the municipalities through which the road runs to be divided on some equitable basis. In a word, I know that this question is one of the live questions in Ontario to-day. I feel some self gratification about it. I cannot help but do so. I think I have done my share in bringing the public mind to the state it is in. My expectation is, whether I live to see it or not, that the people of this Province will receive in a few years from now, if not immediately, a great source of revenue from the railways of this country.

If the railway companies of this Province should pay into the treasury or into the municipalities their fair share of taxes it would lighten the burden of taxation to every individual in the whole Province of Ontario. From a Report I have, it is shown that in thirty-three States of the Union the principal source of revenue is from railway taxation. Connecticut collects \$1,000 a mile; Massachusetts \$1,400 a mile; they put the principal burden of taxation on the railway for the reason that railways in collecting from people their revenues are collecting it from the people doing the business, sending their products abroad, whether it is the merchant or the manufacturer or the farmer, and the taxes are divided better than probably they could be divided in any other way.

In twenty-two States of the Union railway taxation is practically the whole source of the revenue. So that railroads are made tax collectors.

Of course in this Province it is said if you increase their taxes they will run the rates up. The experience is, and the fact is, that the rates of freight and passengers in this Province are higher than in the adjoining States. They have a two cent a mile rate in Michigan. We don't get it in Ontario. The Grand Trunk has what it calls the Muskoka season, you see it advertised in all the papers. I can go into any station of the Grand Trunk in Michigan and buy a ticket to Gravenhurst or Huntsville, or any point in Muskoka, good for thirty days for \$3.50. When I cross to Sarnia or my own town of Forest the best rate I can get is \$10. In Forest if we want to take our wives or anybody and go up to Muskoka we write over to some friends in Port Huron, U.S.: "Buy me a couple of tickets and send them in a letter," and the conductors don't want to take those tickets because we didn't go to Port Huron and get on. So that if there is any argument in the thing it is that the more you tax railways the better rates you will get from them; and there is something in it. If you make the railways feel that in the contribution of taxes they have a responsibility to the Government of this country you will have a better class of railway rates and everything else. Just as soon as you make the citizen feel in making him pay taxes that he has got some responsibility you make a better citizen of him and the same applies to railways. I thank you very much for the kindly hearing you have given me.

THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF CANADA CONSIDERED GEOGRAPHICALLY.

Address delivered by Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A., Assistant Secretary Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto, and Secretary of the Empire Club, at the Luncheon, March 31st, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

The subject you have given me, "The Manufacturing Industries of Canada Considered Geographically," is a very broad one. It is limited only by the magnificent distance of 3,500 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and by another stretch of 1,400 miles, extending from our cousins on the South, who are also our greatest competitors, to the region of everlasting ice. It gives me an opportunity to consider the manufacturing possibilities of three and three-quarter millions of square miles, within the bounds of which the two greatest manufacturing nations of the world, the United States and Great Britain, could both be comfortably settled, with room enough left to give either Holland or Belgium a quiet resting place.

True, we often see big things with little in them. Size alone does not bespeak greatness, and the superficial view is not the one that convinces. Let us first ask ourselves the question, Is Canada suited for a manufacturing nation? Let us hope the answer will be yes, for can we point, or will history direct us, to any people who ever became great and lasting that lived alone by hunting or fishing, by tending cattle or by tilling the soil.

If our Canada is going to be a manufacturing nation there are three requirements:—We must have an abundance of raw material, easy conveyance of man and goods from place to place, and a suitable population. For raw material, we are dependent principally on our forests, farms and mines. Our forests have not failed us. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia each give to us an abundant supply, the fringe of which has only been touched. In all the Provinces



J. F. M. STEWART, B.A.

the forest industries are extensively carried on. The last returns for the Dominion (1901) show the value of lumber and log products alone to reach the sum of \$63,000,000, and in 1902 we were able to spare \$32,000,000 worth for export.

Then consider our farms; that brings many of us very near home. In Ontario we have the finest in the world. In Nova Scotia and in Manitoba they say the same. Let us hope they have. It is sufficient for us to know that last year Canada produced 100,000,000 bushels of wheat. Three-quarters of this we consumed at home, and how many towns in Ontario are there without a grist mill for manufacturing flour, to say nothing of the large mills that manufacture for export? Of oats, we produced 164,000,000 bushels, and so on with the other grains. These figures are only a shadow of what is to come, but in considering them note also that all the wheat produced last year west of Ontario was not equal in value to the products of the factories of your own city, Toronto. Other figures coming from the farm I will not give you now, but it is on the farm that a great number of our industries depend, *i.e.*, meat-packing, fruit and vegetable canning, butter and cheese, woollens, beet sugar, etc.

Our mines are an unknown quantity. We know that we have some of the most valuable deposits worked by man, and we have reason to believe that Canada's mineral wealth will yet surprise even ourselves. Ontario, the manufacturing centre of the Dominion, lacks the most valuable mineral, coal, and we have not been able to bring it from other Canadian coal fields as cheaply as we can import it from the United States. Last year Nova Scotia yielded five and a half million tons, British Columbia one and three-quarter million tons, Manitoba and the Territories four hundred thousand, and New Brunswick eighteen thousand. This production was almost four-fifths of the coal we consumed. In iron it is difficult to locate the important deposits. We might mention Sydney, C.B., or rather Newfoundland, which I hope will soon be part of us; Woodstock, N.B., Beauce, and near Hull, Quebec; Madoc, Marmora and the Lake Superior district, in Ontario; and different locations in British

Columbia. In 1901 the production in Canada was 313,000 tons. The industries depending on iron are familiar to us all.

Gold is found everywhere but in New Brunswick and Manitoba. The year 1900 saw the greatest production, valued at \$28,000,000. It fell considerably below this in 1901, and in 1902 to about \$21,000,000. Australia and the United States are the only countries producing more gold than Canada. We will pass by the other minerals by mentioning the production for 1902 of copper 20,000 tons, crude petroleum 20,000,000 barrels, silver ore $3\frac{3}{4}$ million tons, and lead 11,500 tons. I think we may rest assured that our raw material is present in such quantities that we need not be anxious for some time to come.

As to railways, we have in Canada 19,000 miles of railway traversing and uniting our Provinces. Last year they carried over forty million tons of freight, over one-third of which was manufactured goods. In Canada, we have a mile of railway for every 282 people. In the United States the figures are a mile for 385 people, and in Great Britain a mile for 1,891. We have one mile of railway for every 166 square miles of territory.

These railways, good as they are, cannot compare with our magnificent water facilities. Our Maritime Provinces are surrounded with the Atlantic, and are nearer than the United States to the great European markets. We have not only Halifax, St. John and Sydney as perfectly safe harbours, but there are in addition no less than eleven other desirable harbours in our Provinces by the sea. From the Pacific Coast, we have open to us the trade of our Australasian colonies and the Oriental nations. There, too, we have the important harbours of Victoria and Vancouver, with a choice of several other safe ones for the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific. Our greatest asset, however, is the Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence outlet. The greatest ocean steamers can now only come as far as Montreal. Some boats have made the trip from England to Fort William, but as our canals will not permit a vessel to pass drawing more than fourteen feet of water, immense sums of

money must be spent in deepening them. Regular lines of steamers are now running from Superior ports to Montreal.

Our transportation problem is gradually being solved. We have spent enormous sums and overcome great difficulties, but we can yet afford more money for transportation purposes. More railways and more water in our canals we must have. Don't let us leave transportation, however, without a hopeful look towards Hudson's Bay, about which the alarm has recently been sounded, not seriously, I hope, that our title may not be a good one. Prince Rupert with his Hudson's Bay Company boats found his way there over two centuries ago, and it is quite within the range of possibility that we will find that outlet an advantageous way to reach the markets of the world.

To digress, for a moment, Canada is blessed as no other nation in the world with numerous rivers that, though not navigable, are going to do much to cheapen production. The Bonnington Falls already supply Rossland and Nelson, and the mines in that vicinity, with all the power they require. The Assiniboia River is being harnessed for the benefit of Winnipeg. Kakabecka Falls will provide all the power necessary for Port Arthur and Fort William. Our own Niagara will be more to Western Ontario than coal is to Pennsylvania. Shawinigan Falls provides power for Montreal, Montmorency Falls for Quebec, and these are only a few of the many that are scattered over the length and breadth of our land.

We have, therefore, the raw material and we have the opportunity for complete transportation facilities.

My third requirement was population. We have not enough people in Canada. We are now drawing some of the best people from the United States and our Motherland is sending us more of her sons than ever before. Our country has only recently become known abroad. It only needs to be known to be attractive. During the last few years we have developed a distinct nationality. It is no credit to a Canadian to-day to say he is an English Canadian, Scotch Canadian, Irish Canadian, or a French Canadian. We are Canadians and let us call our-

selves by our right name. We have a right to be proud of our ancestors and their history, but at the same time we are developing a nation of our own and making a history.

Now, let us ask ourselves what we as Canadians have done to take advantage of our resources, and our facilities for transportation. It is not yet thirty-seven years since the British North America Act was passed. At the close of first year after Confederation our export trade was less than \$58,000,000. During the last fiscal year it amounted to about \$226,000,000. During these thirty-six years our export trade amounted to nearly \$4,000,000,000. This is an enormous sum, but our exports will increase in the future much more quickly than they have done in the past, and the manufacturers will play an important part in that increase. For the first year of Confederation they exported \$15,600,000 worth of goods. In 1903 their exports, including refined oil and lumber products, were nearly \$50,000,000, and including meats, butter, cheese and flour, \$108,000,000, or nearly 50 per cent. of our total exports.

At the present time a conservative estimate of the amount invested in manufacturing in Canada would be \$500,000,000. The Census of 1901, which only takes into account factories employing five hands or over, gives the number of factories in Canada at 14,650, and the value of their output is placed at \$481,000,000. I will try to tell you something in a general way about a few particular branches of industry that help to make up this total.

Butter and Cheese.—This is a manufacturing business that has within the last few years undergone a complete change, both in the place and method of operation. Every farmer's wife in Ontario formerly had a factory of her own, and her products were butter, and very frequently cheese. The latter was the first industry to be given up, and the milk of the farm went to the cheese factory. The butter industry is now being abandoned. Not a few farmers to-day buy butter, and many make at home only sufficient for household requirements. The reason for this is that it pays better to sell milk than to

sell butter. The industry has also become highly specialized and technical.

Our cheese industry has developed wonderfully. In 1873 we exported two and a quarter million dollars' worth. Last year, or thirty years later, we exported nearly \$25,000,000. The United States one would expect would be our greatest competitor, but such is not the case. The reason for this is that the United States farmer cannot or does not manufacture cheese of the same nicety of flavour and quality that the Canadian farmer does. The only country in the world that beats Canadian cheese for quality is Denmark, and that superiority, we believe, is now limited to a matter of time.

The latest statistics available, 1902, give the value of the product of Ontario cheese factories at \$13,000,000. Quebec comes next with about the same, and Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Nova Scotia follow in the order named. The value of butter exported is not nearly as much, amounting in 1903 to \$7,000,000; but this sum is more than double the 1901 exports. The great increase is accounted for by cold storage facilities on board the trans-Atlantic steamers. Of the exports Ontario provided over one-third. Both the cheese and butter industry have become well established in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

Milling.—The industry next closely identified with the farm is milling. The flour mills of Canada to-day are one of our greatest assets. They are equipped with Canadian machinery and operated almost entirely by Canadians. They are supplied with the finest home-grown wheat in the world and produce flour of the first grade. Out of a total of some 2,500 mills scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fully 200 have a capacity of over 200 barrels per day, whilst the largest mills are capable of producing two or three thousand barrels every twenty-four hours. The value of products has increased annually. In 1871 the output aggregated \$39,000,000; ten years later \$41,000,000; 1891, \$52,000,000, and to-day a conservative estimate would be \$70,000,000.

Our export trade in flour is an old established one. As early as 1793 we shipped 10,900 bbls. from the Port

of Quebec to the Old World. Last year we shipped a million and a quarter bbls., to the value of over four and a half million dollars. Do not let us deceive ourselves, however, by thinking we play a very important part in the flour imports of Great Britain. Last year we supplied only 10 per cent. of her imports. Our duty is to grow more wheat, not with the intention of exporting it, but that it may be manufactured into the finest flour the world can produce. I will not touch on the great development of cereal milling—Quaker's and Tillson's oats, and a host of other brands will not let you forget that the "Made in Canada" cereal is the one you should demand for your breakfast.

The Woollen Industry.—Nearly three hundred small towns and villages in Canada have woollen industries which, in many cases, are their mainstay. The first woollen mill in Ontario was built by the Hon. James Crooks in West Flamboro in the year 1827. Between 1835 and 1860 about fifty mills were established in different parts of our Provinces. At the present time three hundred mills in operation give employment to between 10,000 and 12,000 people and the capital invested in the industry approaches \$15,000,000.

Few Canadians to-day are familiar with the products of Canadian woollen mills. There is a decided preference for the imported article, notwithstanding that the home products are very fine. Those of you who saw the exhibit at the Dominion Exhibition last year were without doubt much surprised at the range and quality of the goods. It is a fact, however, that manufacturers and merchants have to display their goods marked imported in order to satisfy the buying public who insist on having the imported article. The question of tariff seems to be very closely identified with the woollen industry to-day. It is true that since the British Preference our woollen industry has suffered greatly. Last year the importations were about \$12,000,000. The imports have grown steadily to that sum since 1897, when they were about \$7,000,000. In 1891 the value of the woollen goods produced in Canada was \$7,800,000. Ten years later (1901), instead of being able to show an in-

crease the production was \$500,000 less. This is a rare exception, as industries generally have shown favourable growth.

Sugar.—Practically all the refined sugar consumed in Canada is manufactured here. Four factories, one in Halifax, two in Montreal, and one in Vancouver, produced in 1901 sugar to the value of \$12,690,000. The raw product for this was raw cane sugar from the West Indies, and other tropical countries, and raw beet sugar from Europe. It will surprise some of us to know that beet sugar is no new thing in Canada. On the contrary considerably over one-half of the sugar used in 1903 was manufactured from beets grown by the farmers of Germany, France and Belgium. We now have four beet sugar factories in Ontario—at Berlin, Wallaceburg, Dresden and Wiarton. Last year 7,183 tons were produced, 3,529 at Berlin, 2,115 at Wallaceburg, 1,047 at Dresden and 490 at Wiarton.

Cottons.—The Canadian cotton industry forms a very important section of our country's industrial constitution. There is invested in plant about \$24,000,000, and employment is given to 13,500 hands. There are 26 mills scattered from Halifax to Hamilton. On an average there is nearly \$1,000,000 invested in each plant, and 500 hands employed. The Dominion Cotton Mills Co., Limited, at Valleyfield, Que., has \$4,000,000 invested and employs 3,000 hands. The industry began in Dundas, Ontario, in 1856, but up till 1878 the bulk of our cottons were imported, and only the coarsest grades made at home. In 1878 the output was about \$2,000,000. Last year it was nearly \$15,000,000. The amount paid annually in wages is \$4,000,000. Three-quarters of a million is spent on coal. Mill supplies cost \$1,500,000. Nearly \$700,000 is spent in railway freights and \$5,500,000 of raw cotton is imported.

Agricultural Implements.—This is an industry that does not depend on the farm for its raw material, but does depend on it for its market. To show its importance would be to give the history of the source of its raw material, which is taken from the forest, the iron mine, the coal mine, the blast furnace, rolling mill and many

other places. These different articles are gathered together in our own factories and manufactured into the finest implements in the world to the value of \$10,000,000 annually. Notwithstanding this production, which could easily be increased, implements to the value of over three millions were imported from the United States last year. How can we account for this? Are they better? The answer can only be "No," because in England and Australia, Canada's implements were preferred to those of the United States. Are they cheaper? No, the United States binder sells in Canada for more than the Canadian binder. The immense value of the imports is hard to explain. Much of it can be attributed to the same cause that makes some of us prefer imported woollens. The bulk of Canadian implements are manufactured in Ontario. They are sold all over Canada and in Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, South Africa, South America, etc., etc.

Wood Pulp.—Let us now turn from the farm to the forest, and our first consideration will be wood pulp. Dr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, estimates that there are 4,500,000,000 tons of wood pulp in sight in Canada. This means that at the present rate of consumption in Great Britain and the United States, it would take 5,000 years to use up Canada's visible supply. In developing the pulp industry, Canada has been particularly favoured by Providence. No other country on the face of the globe has been blessed with so many advantages for the production of wood pulp. Her forests are filled with the particular species of trees that make the best pulp. Water-power, which is almost an absolute necessity for the successful operation of pulp mills, has been lavishly bestowed at the requisite points, and her geographical position midway between Europe and Asia, and next door to the United States, gives her a powerful advantage in the markets of the world.

Thirty years ago not a single pulp mill was to be found throughout the length and breadth of the country. In fact, the industry is entirely modern in every respect. Referring to the Census of 1881 it is found that five mills were in existence at that date, employing some

sixty-eight men and producing pulp to the value of \$63,000. By 1891 the number of mills had increased to twenty-four, 1,025 men were employed, and the output aggregated a value of \$1,057,810. To-day there are thirty-five mills in operation, producing pulp to the value of \$4,383,182 per annum, while several new mills are under construction.

During 1902 Canada exported about 57 per cent. of her total production of pulp, or in value \$2,511,664. Of this quantity the United States took the major portion, namely, \$1,598,139, while the United Kingdom imported \$976,192. As the latter was only sufficient to supply 8½ per cent. of the needs of Great Britain, it is apparent that a splendid market awaits the Canadian manufacturer of pulp in the Old Land. Wood pulp is the raw material for our paper factories. At the present time the paper mills of Canada can produce in the neighbourhood of 1,300,000 pounds of paper every twenty-four hours. This total will include not only news print, book paper and ledger, bond and writing paper, but the coarser grades of product as well, such as wrapping, felt, building and manilla.

In a thousand different directions the demand for paper is observable, varying from its use in the manufacture of car wheels to its use as a medium of exchange. With truth it may be said that not only has the advance of civilization been marked by the increasing and more varied use to which iron has been put, but it has also been distinguished by the increased demand for paper. Paper was first made in Canada in 1825. To-day there are about forty mills in operation, principally in Ontario and Quebec. The value of their product is about \$4,500,000. We export \$850,000 worth, \$332,000 of this to Great Britain and \$320,000 to Australia.

Iron and Steel.—I am going to sacrifice the lumbering operations, the furniture factory and many other important industries to spend a few minutes with the iron and steel. After a struggle of more than a century it can be said that the iron and steel industry of Canada has both an existence and a future. When the first furnace was established about 170 years ago, the industry secured

a foothold in the country, but up to ten or twelve years ago the only future that was generally credited for Canadian iron concerns was bankruptcy. Of course, there were successful ventures as the history of the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co., Limited, will show, but general confidence in the industry was wanting.

For a long time our iron ore resources were regarded as treasures of no value, because ore and coal were not in juxtaposition. But investigation has shown that in all the four districts in Canada that can boast of iron ore supplies, the assemblage of the raw material for iron and steel furnaces can be made at a lower cost than at Pittsburg, the cheapest centre in the United States. That is a fact not fully realized yet. The number of blast furnaces in Canada for the production of pig iron is 18, with a capacity of 1,090,300 tons. The production last year was 321,190 tons. In addition to the pig iron produced, we have to our credit 232,641 tons of steel ingots, 175,394 tons of which were produced at Sydney, C.B.

The works at Sydney have a capacity for 500,000 tons of pig iron and 425,000 tons of steel ingots per annum. It is claimed that the raw material can be assembled there cheaper than at any other place in the world. The cost of assembling material for each ton of pig iron at Pittsburg is \$3.25, while at Sydney it is only 79½ cents. In addition to this Sydney is 1,000 miles nearer the markets of the world than Pittsburg. The plant of the Algoma Steel Company at Sault Ste. Marie, now closed down, has a pig iron capacity of 380,000 tons, and a capacity for steel ingots of 200,000 tons per annum.* The Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co., Limited, New Glasgow, has grown from a company organized in 1872 and capitalized at \$4,000 to its present proud position. Its annual capacity at the present time is 33,000 tons of pig iron and 110,000 tons of steel ingots. The other important companies in Canada are the Canada Iron Furnace Co., Radnor Forges, Quebec and Midland, Ont.; Hamilton Steel and Iron Co., Hamilton; Cramp Steel

* These works have since resumed operations.

Co., Limited, Collingwood, and the Deseronto Iron Co., Limited, Deseronto.

I am not going to look into the figures of any other industries. There are hundreds of them and in almost every line the products are of such a quality that we may be proud of them. Each of us should do our part to assist manufacturing in Canada. Our efforts will not go unrewarded. It is to our advantage to ship wheat to Great Britain when we might as well ship flour? By shipping flour we give employment to labour, invest capital in plant and machinery, provide a home market for our farmers and for other manufacturers and the benefits flow directly or indirectly to every class of our population. There are 1,120 paper mills in the United States, and last year we sent them 65 per cent of their pulp wood. This is robbing us of our resources. If the United States paper makers must have our pulp wood I submit that we should have their factories and not send them our raw material, and later send our money to buy the finished product, and in the transaction give employment to United States workmen, a profit to the United States manufacturer and a home market to the United States farmer.

Then, again, we must encourage manufacturing to keep our population. Every son born on a farm will not be a farmer. He must have a choice of occupation, and if he cannot get it at home he will go abroad. This is one reason why there are nearly 1,500,000 Canadians in the United States to-day. Climatic conditions, too, must be considered. During our severe winters navigation closes, builders are without employment, there is no work on the farm, and all these unemployed come to the cities. They have not been noticed the last few years, because the manufacturers have been able to absorb the surplus. The important point to note is that for the thousands of immigrants that are pouring into Canada at the present time we must provide employment to keep them busy during the winter months. Unless we do this they will go south like the robin, but will not be so likely to return.

In Canada we have about 5,500,000 people, and we

can safely say that they are all loyal and patriotic. Each year we import upwards of \$100,000,000 worth of manufactured goods, the greater part coming from the United States. If each Canadian would spend 5 cents per week for "Made in Canada" goods in preference to imported goods, in a year it would amount to \$14,300,000, or if each of us would spend 5 cents per day we would do away entirely with our imports of manufactured goods and create a demand that would increase the output of our factories by 20 per cent. Each of us can help in this by demanding "Made in Canada" shoes when the imported are offered; the "Made in Canada" suiting or dress goods when the imported is offered and the "Made in Canada" breakfast cereal, canned meat or other food when our retailer tries to sell us what is brought from abroad.

It is the duty of all of us to study the importance of supporting the home manufacturer in a practical way. When we have done that, we will not hesitate to demand the goods that every Canadian should be proud of—those that float the banner "Made in Canada." This would be practical patriotism.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

Address delivered by Professor James Mavor, of the University of Toronto, before the Empire Club, at its Weekly Luncheon, on April 7th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

The subject is so very extensive that I feel obliged to confine myself to two or three points. I shall try to convey to you some idea as it appears to me, of the situation, economical and financial, of Russia, and of the situation, economical and financial, of Japan, and then I shall endeavour to suggest inquiry as to how far Great Britain and her Colonies are interested in the outcome of the struggle.

In the first place, as regards Russia, it is impossible to go into the details of a history so long as that of Russia; we must assume some knowledge of it, of how the Grand Dukes of Muscovy waged war with the Tartars on the one side and with the Poles on the other, and how after centuries of struggling, at a comparatively late period the Muscovites subdued the Cossacks, conquered their traditional enemies, the Tartars, and then at a later date succeeded in the partition of Poland with Germany and Austria. It is necessary to recall these remote events in order that one may realize how a nation that has been pent up in a small area and has then, not suddenly, but by long military campaigns, succeeded in extending its frontiers, is very apt to continue this extension by a kind of irresistible influence for which nobody in particular is to blame. Russia must develop her frontiers, she must extend them just as all nations in the particular stage of civilization in which she is at present, have found it necessary to extend their frontiers when they could. Let me endeavour to explain what has occurred since Russia became a great nation. In the first place, one must not consider Russia as a unit. She consists of a vast number of races. Ethnologists tell us there are two hun-

dred in Caucasia alone, and additional divergent races in other parts of Russia.

The feudal system is not a primitive system in Russia; it was established only in the seventeenth century, but it acquired very speedily authority over the whole country as it then was; I mean that the various constituents of the Russian Empire settled down under feudalism in a very remarkable way and probably that was the only system which would have consolidated the people so effectively and so rapidly. The feudal system was abolished in 1860. In 1860 the serfs were emancipated; they had been attached to the land. The proprietors of the land, the Barins, had complete power over the serfs. They had no power to put them to death as was the case in Normandy, but they had complete powers otherwise. They could punish them and they could send them into the penal battalions of the army for the rest of their lives if they chose to do so. That was done away with and the rights of the Barins over the serfs were bought by the Government, a very substantial compensation being paid for these rights, and then the Barins were left in possession of their properties with peasants as tenants, under this condition, however, that the tenants could not be dispossessed of the land.

The land does not belong to the tenants; it cannot be sold by them; it belongs to the Barins, but the Barins cannot dispossess the peasants. That left this peculiar condition of matters, that the old system was destroyed without any very definite or positive system being put in its place. The only point was that the peasants were not actually disinherited. The result of that has been on the whole, I should not say disastrous, but has resulted in a situation which has been extremely difficult to manage, because the peasants deprived of the authority of the Barins and unaccustomed to organize their own labour, have not cultivated the land, even perhaps so well as they did before their emancipation. The result has been in many cases the peasants have sunk into poverty, while the Barins who got the compensation from the Government on the deprivation of the feudal rights went to Ems, Homburg and Paris, and spent the money in

gambling there, and thus had no money left to improve their estates. That is practically the situation at the moment. The Barin is poor, the peasant is very poor, and in spite of the enormous natural resources of the country these are only in places being seriously developed. The governments of Russia in which, on the whole, the best economical conditions are to be found, are those governments under the control of a disinterested and honest military authority. This statement I make on the authority of the most experienced people in Russia, who are not in sympathy with the military regime. Where there is a thoroughly honest and able military administrator who takes the law into his own hands and manages things in the way he thinks best for the people, there, on the whole, the best results come out.

Now, one word so far as the industrial situation is concerned. Russia has been developing with tremendous rapidity, especially during the past twenty years; her industries, particularly in cotton and iron, are growing very rapidly, and the same may be said to a smaller extent in regard to other industries. The largest cotton mills in the world are near Moscow. The output of cotton in Russia is enormous. The development of the cotton and wool industry has resulted in drawing the peasants into the towns. Owing to the peasant having the right to occupy his land he retains an interest in his lands, even when he goes into the town. This practice places him in an extremely strong economical position. He does not require to strike for higher wages. Should anything occur he takes his pack and goes home to his farm and lives with his family. This causes very often serious disturbance in business; yet the population is so great and there are always so many men seeking employment that the industries continually increase.

Since the Crimean War, Russia has extended her borders tremendously in Central and Eastern Asia especially. Forty-four years ago she took over maritime Manchuria from China. She has developed that country with very great energy and has poured a great deal of capital into it. She has developed it to such an extent that the country has been gradually filling with Coreans

for some time. Schools have been established for them and she is educating the Coreans, on the whole, rather better than she is educating large numbers of her own people in Europe. Since 1860 Russia, of course, has had her mind upon continental Manchuria. Some years ago, before the present difficulties arose at all, a Russian officer drew for me on a map the course of the preliminary surveys of the railways which have since been made in Manchuria. These preliminary surveys had been made about 1874. So that thirty years ago Russia had made up her mind to build these railways into Manchuria before a single mile of the Trans-Siberian Railway was laid, and when the Chinese Government was, of course, totally unaware she had any intention of taking any more than maritime Manchuria.

You must realize that although the Russian Government has the reputation abroad of being persistently aggressive, that is hardly the case. There is no Russian Government in the same sense in which there is a Dominion Government or a British Government. The Czar is supreme; all the rest are equal, and the Czar being supreme can select any persons he chooses to aid him in the government of the country. He has what is called a Council of State, but that is not a Cabinet; it sits, and no doubt occasionally as a whole, but it is not in our sense of the word a Cabinet; it does not result in any collective action. Each individual minister is responsible for his own department alone. There is never a ministerial crisis. When a minister becomes dissatisfied with his position he resigns, and when the Czar becomes dissatisfied with a minister he dismisses him, and thus there can never be any collective Cabinet crisis.

The Council of State, or what we may call the Government of Russia is sometimes dominated by one faction and sometimes by another. At times, Mr. Pobiedonostsoff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, controls everything, because he has the ear of the Czar and he obtains Imperial mandates to do this, that and the other. At times, Mr. Witte, who represents the mercantile interests, has the ear of the Czar, and at times that strange and curious personage who is now at the head of the affairs

in Manchuria, Admiral Alexieff, who is the son of an Armenian father and Russian mother. The fluctuation of these and other influences prevent any continuity of policy. Now the clerical party, now the military party, and now the commercial interests of the Empire attempt to control the Czar. The personality of the men about the Czar counts for a great deal. The Government of Russia is thus an extremely uncertain government. This must always be remembered in diplomatic correspondence with Russia. No diplomatist ever expects that two documents, of different dates, will entirely cohere with one another. It is not that Russia is treacherous, it is not that the nation means to betray; that is not the case at all.

The reason is simply that at one moment a despatch will be determined by one set of peculiar influences and at another moment by another. There is no continuity in the foreign policy of Russia, and that is true in spite of the irresistible tendency which I have spoken of to increase her borders and increase her influence. Why does she want to increase her sphere of influence in Manchuria? Remember, in the first place, that as she organized eastern Siberia, she came gradually down the Amur, and when ultimately she occupied the port of Vladivostock, on the Pacific, she found what she knew before,—because her engineers are extremely intelligent,—that Vladivostock was not a good winter port, and she determined that some time or other the rest of Manchuria should be under her control.

China is a very difficult country to deal with because in many ways she is like Russia. She has no strong central government which may be depended upon; the Viceroy of the different Provinces are practically independent potentates, and it is a dangerous thing to raise some questions because one never knows exactly what will happen. In 1860 when the allies, France and England, were occupying Peking, the Russian Ambassador, knowing very well that it had been arranged between England and France that they were to evacuate Peking at a certain time, went very cunningly to the Chinese Imperial authorities and told them that if they gave certain concessions to the Russians, Russia would see that the Allies

would evacuate by a certain date. It fell out exactly as was expected. The Russian Ambassador secured the concession of maritime Manchuria and that was how that part of Manchuria fell into the hands of Russia. Following upon that there came the organization of that part of the country and the industrial development of the rest of Russia. Russia is a great wheat-producing country, especially in the south, but there are as yet no wheat fields in eastern Siberia, and Manchuria is a great wheat field. The vast central plain of Manchuria, which is very densely populated—there are about ten million people in it—is a wheat country, and Russia wanted that wheat for the development of eastern Siberia, and also wanted to send to Manchuria—and this was really more important than the wheat consideration—the cottons which she was making in vast quantities in Moscow and for which she had inadequate outlets among her own population.

You see it was very necessary for trade reasons for Russia not necessarily to possess Manchuria, but to possess such a control over it as to be able to introduce her cottons and get out the wheat, and in addition to provide a route for tea and silk importations from China. I need not say very much more about the Russian side of it, excepting that during the past few years, while the Trans-Siberian Railway was being built, and in consequence of the very great industrial development which Russia has been engaged in, which has been to some extent assisted by the Government, she has incurred an enormous national debt, approaching that of Great Britain. When you consider the different stages of development of the two countries you can see that Russia can very ill afford to carry an enormous debt. The people are ground down by taxation; they are extremely poor; there are widespread diseases which are not merely epidemics, which are more or less chronic diseases over a great part of her frontier population, probably the result of contact between different races widely divergent in ethnical character. These diseases keep the people in a depressed condition, and are responsible for a large

part of the loss of life during those periodical famines which occur in Russia.

Now, let us look at the other side—at Japan. Japan as you know up till 1868 was also a feudal country, and about ten years later than Russia she also threw off feudalism. Japanese feudalism was very much more ancient than that of Russia and was very much more deeply impressed in the character of the people. I need not go into the details of the results of the revolution. From 1860 till 1880 the Japanese authorities devoted themselves to the study of European affairs. They sent a number of Commissions to England, France and Germany and to other countries for the purpose of discovering which was the best kind of constitution they could adopt and for the purpose of discovering also which was the best kind of religion, and the best educational and military systems. The study of these questions was made with very great intelligence. The upshot was that in 1889 the Japanese adopted a new system of government, a constitutional system, which was closely modelled upon that of Prussia. They rejected the English system and adopted the quasi-constitutional system of Prussia. The Emperor of Japan is in very much the same position as the Emperor of Germany and has very similar powers. A number of curious experiments have been tried in Japan in imitation of European methods. They have thought they could mingle American, English, German and Japanese ideas altogether. They developed a kind of party system which did not work at all and they have recently practically abandoned it.

Japan is in a very serious economical condition. Those of you who are familiar with English economic history will recall the situation of England about 1830. For about thirty years after a series of exhausting wars taxes were very high and the necessity for increase of production was very urgent. Under these circumstances the employers were more or less remorseless. Women and children worked in factories for long hours, which seriously injured not only their individual health, but the future of the working people. The end of that came with the Factory Acts. It came gradually. The Factory Acts

gradually diminished the hours of labour and an upward movement in the standard of comfort of the people was one of the results. England still inherits the consequences of the human exploitation of those first thirty years of the century. Japan is in the position now in which England was in 1830. It is in a position with regard to human labour that is more serious than has perhaps been experienced by any other country. The system is almost too atrocious for full description, and I hardly venture to give it to you because I have not seen it for myself. I rely for my information upon French correspondents of very great intelligence and insight.

The general upshot of it is that the country population is being denuded, not of its grown up people, but of its children. The young girls are enticed into Tokio for the purpose of being put into the factories and worked at extremely low wages. In the country districts in Japan they never see any money at all, so that the mere mention of money is a particular attraction for them. They are at the same time relieved from the rather irksome parental control and they are brought into the cities with promises of wages. They come in and they are put into the factories and receive wages which are quite incredibly low. I mean that children of six years of age are working in the factories of Osako at a wage which would be represented in our money by one and one-half cents a day. I do not mean to say that the whole system is characterized by that extreme of exploitation. That is a detail in a particular case; but wages have been extremely low, work has been extremely hard, the number of hours has been very great, the cost of living has been steadily advancing, taxes have been increasing, and the whole situation is very grave indeed.

The fundamental reason for the war between China and Japan in 1895 was that Japan wished to interpose a serious check upon Russia. The Japanese statesmen thought that it was necessary for Japan to fight China first and then afterwards to fight Russia. About ten years ago they looked forward to a war with Russia about this time, and that is one very quaint and curious reason for the war occurring now, because they had more or less

looked for it for so long. In 1894 Russia had been exhibiting symptoms of a desire to get continental Manchuria, although she had not got it at that time, and Japan wished to check any possible advance by Russia upon Corea. In fact, Japan was rather more anxious at that time for Corea than Manchuria, because Corea lies immediately to the south of maritime Manchuria; it constituted a buffer state between Russia and Japan. The Japanese determined to foment disturbance with China. They knew perfectly well that China was absolutely unprepared for war. They knew they could easily defeat her and they did defeat her. As you know Japan was deprived of the fruits of her victory by the intervention of the European powers. The Powers were extremely afraid of the history of China being completely altered and of China following under the tutelage of Japan a course exactly the same as Japan. Under these influences China might modernize herself, and might speedily become a great eastern power. These points were impressed very strongly by Russia upon the European Governments, and the Powers forced Japan to submit to the abandonment of Port Arthur.

Then followed, after a number of discussions with China, an ultimate lease of Manchuria, including Port Arthur to Russia. The situation in Japan, in brief, is this: industrially, she is in a very precarious state; financially her condition is equally precarious, because after the close of the war between Japan and China the Chinese indemnity was paid and expended chiefly for military purposes; indeed what is known as the post bellum programme has cost more than the Chinese indemnity. The cost of living rose very rapidly during the Chinese War and it has remained relatively high since; wages have in general increased, but not in proportion to the cost of living, with the result that a large number of people are more or less on the verge of poverty, and in addition to this there were and are increased taxes for further military expenditure.

Japan has developed, industrially, very much in the same way as Russia. Japan, like Russia, is obliged to get an outlet for her cotton. It is also necessary for her to import wheat, and advisable that she should import Manchurian wheat. Owing partly to governmental influence

arising from reports of medical inquiries into the effects of rice as a diet, the Japanese people have increased the consumption of wheat very largely. They have been importing to a considerable extent from the United States. I noticed that last year a considerable quantity of wheat had gone from the United States, both into Japan, and even into Wiju, a port in the north of Corea,* which is now familiar to everybody. The United States farmers have been able to send their wheat over there, because, upon the Russian occupation, Manchuria was practically closed as a supply area for Japan. Japan had been buying wheat in Manchuria for a great many years. Of course it was very provoking to have her trade impeded, especially because she cannot pay for her wheat excepting by exports. Japan is in that condition. If you look at the balance between her exports and imports, and into her currency conditions, you will see she cannot pay for her wheat excepting by exports, and she must export practically to the same countries she imports from. So that to shut Manchuria to her was to shut the door at once against the supply of wheat and against the consumption of cotton.

Then Japan also feared, although this was a less important matter, further Russian encroachment in Corea when the Trans-Siberian Railway should be completed. From an European point of view I am bound to say it would look as if it would have been better policy for Japan, if she were ready—and she really was ready within a very short period after the close of the Chinese war—for her to have attacked Russia then before the Siberian Railway was completed, when there was a considerable gap and when it would have been somewhat difficult for Russia to get her supplies. But Russia temporized and afforded no excuse for war. Japan could not find any reasonable excuse and she was afraid if she attacked Russia that European powers might be embroiled in the struggle and that Japan would, as she did before, suffer. That, perhaps, explains why it was that

* See Mr. James J. Hill's remarkable address in St. Paul reported in *St. Paul Globe*, January 14th, 1904.

Japan did not force the situation at an earlier period. She could not have done it without very serious risks.

Now, as to the effect of all this upon our Empire. It appears to me, and I can only state it as a conclusion without giving you the detailed argument to support it, as though the interests of the Empire, and indeed the interests of the civilized world, were best likely to be promoted if the result of this war is a draw. That is to say that it would be, on the whole, very dangerous to England if Japan should win, because it would mean an immense stimulus to the ambitions of all the Oriental peoples, in China, in India and elsewhere. France would certainly have trouble in Indo-China. She is apparently already strengthening her position there in anticipation. England might very likely have serious trouble in India, because, after all, the Asiatic has a certain common interest against the white races. You must remember that Japan in spite of a thin veneer of western civilization is fundamentally Oriental, and one cannot be misled by superficial appearances into believing that there is any real sympathy either intellectually or morally between Japan and England. There can never be in the nature of things.

On the other hand, should Russia win it would be also rather dangerous to Imperial interests, because the Chinese governing class being peculiarly susceptible to the effects of victory, Russia would then acquire diplomatic predominance in China. That would be a dangerous situation. I should say also that it appears as though it would be well alike for England and for Europe and America that the war should not be a prolonged one. Russia may prolong the war indefinitely—Japan is in rather a different position, because she will be in the market requiring money immediately; but if the war should be prolonged indefinitely it would cost both countries a huge amount of money. Russia has not been an indiscriminate borrower. She is a concentrated borrower. At this moment she owes about two-thirds of her national debt in France, or through French bankers. If there were to be even a temporary default in the payment of Russian interest, or if there should be any breath of suspicion upon Russia's credit it would not only be a

serious thing for France, but for the rest of the world. Those who are familiar with financial affairs can follow the effects of it much better than I can; but I may make some suggestions. What would be likely to occur would be the immediate sale or hypothecation in other European centres of American securities, which are just now very largely held in Paris; or the money which Paris has on loan in America would be called upon in order to make up the loss incurred by a possible Russian defalcation. In either event the value of American securities would fall sharply in Paris and in London, and, of course, in New York, with very widespread effects, including financial panics and industrial dislocation.

On the whole, then, it seems to me that the general interest of the world lies in not only restricting the war to its existing area, but in restricting the war, if possible, to a very short period of time. As to military possibilities, I leave them to those who are more competent to speak upon such matters. It would appear, however, that we can trust very little we see in the newspapers, for Russian cruisers, which are said to be sunk in deep water, appear patrolling the Gulf of Pe-chile in a few days; and battleships that have been pounded to pieces find they are still able to fight.

I should say that one has a good deal of confidence in the very remarkable man who is now at the head of naval affairs at Port Arthur, Admiral Makaroff; he is an extremely able little man. He is a small man with tremendously long beard and enormous head. He is a man full of ideas and full of ingenious resources as he has shown by his energy and activity when he arrived in Port Arthur.* Some of the military men whom Russia has sent to the east are also men of very great capacity, such as Generals Stoessel and Jalinsky, and others whose names have not yet appeared in the papers. When the military campaign begins seriously, intelligent and capable as the Japanese are, it will be very difficult to say on which side victory is likely to lie. I should say, of

* The *Petrovavlovsk*, with Admiral Makaroff on board, was blown up, apparently by accident, April 13th, 1904.

course, what everybody now realizes, that the land fighting must take place in extremely mountainous country; that the whole of Corea is more or less mountainous and that Manchuria is defended by enormous ranges of mountains which may turn out to be almost impregnable. As to cutting the Railway, those who followed the war in South Africa know that that does not amount to very much. Railway lines can be repaired rapidly and temporary bridges can be constructed. So far, apparently, the Russians have been able to keep even expeditionary parties from making any very serious inroads upon Manchuria.

NAVIGATION OF HUDSON'S BAY AND STRAITS.

Address delivered by Mr. R. F. Stupart, F.R.S.C., Director of the Meteorological Survey of the Dominion of Canada, at the Empire Club Luncheon, Thursday, April 14th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

Hudson's Bay, as you know, is an immense inland sea lying in Northern Canada. It is a vast expanse of salt water, surrounded almost wholly by lands which form part and parcel of our great Canadian Dominion. It is connected with the Atlantic by a strait 450 miles in length. As yet we know very little as to the wealth that these waters contain. We know that they contain the whale, the porpoise or white whale, the seal, the walrus, the salmon, the cod and trout and many smaller fishes. So far the only fishing industry that has been to any extent developed is the whale fishery, and that by the Americans. The whale fishing grounds of Hudson's Bay are in the north-western part of the Bay; and for the past fifty years whalers from Massachusetts and Connecticut have been annually visiting the Bay and taking out oil and bone to the value of about \$100,000 per annum.

Some years ago the Hudson's Bay Company conducted quite a successful business in oil by the purchase or killing of a large number of white whales and seals and erecting oil refineries at their northern posts, and, after refining the oil, sent it to Great Britain in their ships. This industry, I am told, has been discontinued of late owing to the low commercial value of the oil. The rivers which run into Ungava Bay, which, as most of you are aware, is on the southern side of Hudson Straits, abound in salmon—of a flavour quite equal to that killed in New Brunswick. This fish was so abundant that for a great many years the Hudson's Bay Company sent out a ship for the purpose of taking home



R. F. STUPART, F.R.S.C.

a cargo of salmon in cold storage. This ship, I believe, has not visited Ungava during the past few years. I cannot think, however, that this is owing to the failure of the fisheries, but is probably owing to some other causes. The walrus, which is hunted by the Eskimo in kayak and from ice flow, is also sought after by the Hudson's Bay Company, and is hunted by the Company's employees in small vessels sailing out of Churchill.

Were there no reason other than the development of the resources of Hudson's Bay, Canadians must take an interest in that region. But other considerations have arisen to induce our Government to use every endeavour to find out as to the term and period in each year when the outlet from the Bay to the Atlantic is open for navigation. We Canadians have taken a long time to find out the wonderful productiveness of our Canadian North-West Territories, but we now know that in the North-West and in Manitoba we have the finest wheat-growing country on the globe. Last night I was reading an article by Dr. Saunders, of the Central Experimental Farms at Ottawa, in which he says that in the Canadian North-West we have 171,000,000 acres suitable for cultivation. This being the case what wonder that the Manitoban and the North-West farmer has been inquiring as to the possibilities for making Hudson Straits the chief outlet for Canadian grain to the markets of Europe. Certainly if Hudson Straits are navigable it would be the best and cheapest outlet to those markets.

Edmonton is but 830 miles from Churchill; Prince Albert 620 miles and Winnipeg 640 miles; and Churchill is but 3,380 miles from Liverpool. This being the case it has been worth inquiring as to the possibilities of navigation; and certainly if the obstacles imposed by nature could be overcome, then the Straits would be the best outlet from the North-West Territories. But I shall show you that Nature for nearly three parts of the year does place a barrier in the way. The Federal Government has been in no way remiss in its endeavour to find out the truth as to this route, and I am convinced that the Reports made by the Government officers sent

out in the years 1884-1885 and 1886, and again in 1897 are in every way to be relied upon. Both the officers in question were capable and efficient, and in addition to using their utmost efforts to arrive at the truth from personal experiences, they both sought further information in such quarters as it might be obtained.

The navigation of Hudson Straits is not a new thing. Vessels had ploughed those northern waters before Champlain had crossed Lake Ontario in a canoe, and ships were plying backwards and forwards between the Hudson's Bay posts and Europe, while the birch bark canoe was still the only means of transportation across the Great Lakes. It was in Hudson's fourth voyage to America that he entered Hudson Straits and went down into James Bay. He wintered in the Bay, and you all know the result of that expedition. We have from the mate, who brought the vessel home to England, the account of the difficulties which had been experienced in the ice in passing into the Bay. We are told of the horrors of scurvy and the terrors of mutiny, and how in the spring of 1611 the villainous crew placed the Captain and several others in a boat and cast them adrift. Hudson's idea in visiting the straits was, of course, not to determine or find out anything about the resources of Hudson's Bay; it was rather to find a new route to Cathay—to China; and such was also the object of most of the navigators who followed him during the next one hundred years. But a new territory had been discovered, and almost year by year, after Hudson's voyage, the Straits were navigated by various hardy navigators who were searching for the route to China.

The original Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company was granted in 1668, and in that year Prince Rupert sent an expedition to the Bay and built a fort at the mouth of the Rupert River. Since that date the Hudson's Bay vessels have been passing to and fro through the Straits from Europe across to the posts; and during that time, as far as we can find, they have not met with an unusual percentage of loss or disaster. Of course, it must be borne in mind that these ships have been wooden ships; they have simply had to make one trip

per annum, and have timed themselves so as to arrive at the entrance to the Straits about the first of August. This leaves them lots of time to go through the Straits across to the Hudson's Bay Posts, on the other side of the Bay, and in returning be well clear of the Straits, and homeward bound before the end of September. Hence their experiences in the Straits have been during such times as, without doubt in nearly every year, the waters are fairly clear of ice.

Now, what has the Federal Government done to inquire into the navigation of these Straits? Let me tell you something of the two expeditions which have been sent out to that region. The first was an expedition of most elaborate conception. A Dundee whaler, or perhaps I should say, a Newfoundland sealing ship, was chartered; she was fitted out in Halifax in 1884, and about the end of July started for Hudson Straits taking aboard her six observers, who were to be left at various points along the Straits, spend the winter there and watch every movement of the ice and take meteorological observations. Each observer had a small house built for him ashore. The ship returned to Halifax in the month of October. In the following year the ship again left Halifax in the beginning of June taking observers who were to relieve those who had spent the last winter in the Straits. This ship arrived at the mouth of the Straits early in June, and I will tell you in a moment or so of some of her experiences in endeavouring to get into the Straits. The new observers spent the winter of 1885-6 there, and when, in 1886, the ship again visited Hudson Straits the observers were taken away and the expedition was completed. The whole thing was conducted with great thoroughness and with perfect success.

The other expedition was sent out in 1897, and was of a somewhat different character. A Newfoundland sealing ship, the *Diana*, was secured from Newfoundland and was placed in charge of Commander Wakeham, of the Canadian Fishery Protection Service. While he had command of the expedition, the ship was in command of a very experienced sealing captain of Newfoundland, whose instructions were to get to the entrance to the

Straits as early as possible in the season, and force his way through to the Bay at the very earliest moment, come out again, and return and go through again as often as he thought he could learn anything from his passages to and fro. This expedition, I may say, was also most thorough, and the officer in command most efficient.

Now, I will read you a few of the memoranda that I have taken from the reports of the officers of these two expeditions. The *Neptune*, which was the first ship that went out in 1884, entered the Straits on the 4th August and passed through considerable loose scrub ice between Cape Chudleigh and the Upper Savage Island. I might tell you that the Upper Savage Island is about half way through the Straits. During the last week of the month—and this was the month of August, bear in mind—when near the western end of the Straits the ship met such heavy pack ice that she could make no progress; some of it was forty feet thick, solid blue ice. In speaking of the ice in the Straits, Capt. Gordon says: "It is only fair to state that had I been making the passage direct from Cape Chudleigh to Churchill I do not consider that I would have been delayed more than forty-eight hours, but no ordinary iron steamship built, as the modern freight-carrier is, could have got through the heavier ice that we met without incurring serious risks, if not actual disaster."

I take the following from my own book of observations made by me during the autumn of 1884. My own ice report in October of that year says: "Ice began to form in the Straits on the 22nd, and by the 28th was from three to five inches thick, with very little water in any direction." In 1885 the ship again returned to Hudson Straits. She was fast in the heavy ice field from June 15th till July 6th. I have told you that in that year Capt. Gordon was instructed to get into the Straits at the earliest possible date, and he started from Halifax; I think it was about the first day of June. He got into the ice fields and was in the heavy ice fields from June 15th to July 6th. Some of the plates were knocked off the bows of the ship, and he returned to St. John's for repairs, and it was not until August 4th

that he again entered the Straits, and even at that date met considerable ice. Capt. Gordon states that if he had simply been trying to force his way through the Straits—this was in August, remember—he thought it probable that he would not have been detained more than five days. That is in the month of August and on his second trip into the Straits.

In 1886, Gordon entered the Straits on the 9th July, and the ice being very much packed down to the southward at that time, he reached the Upper Savage Island, at which Island was placed one of the regular observing stations, on the 11th, but was unable to visit the station on the other side of the Strait, there being a solid field of ice occupying the whole southern half of the Strait. He therefore decided to go into the Bay without visiting the station to the southward, but it took him over a fortnight, between the 14th and the end of the month before he got into Hudson's Bay. In his journal, written on the 14th July, we find the following: "No ordinary ship that could be used as a freight-carrier, even if strengthened to meet the ice, could have stood the pounding this ship had this afternoon." Now in summing up his ideas as to the navigation of Hudson Straits, Gordon wrote as follows:

"In considering the question of the navigability of the Straits by steamships for the ordinary purposes of commerce, I am of the opinion that steam will lengthen the season at the beginning more than a month to five weeks, so that our own experience, and that of the Hudson's Bay ships, points to the first half of July as being the earliest date at which the Straits may be considered navigable for the purposes of commerce, by steamships fortified for ice navigation, and at the same time capable of being profitable as freight-carriers. I give the following as the season during which navigation may, in ordinary years be regarded as practicable for the purposes of commerce; not, indeed, to the cheaply built freight steamer, commonly known as the ocean tramp, but to vessels of about 2,000 tons gross, fortified for meeting the ice, and of such construction as to enable them to be fair freight carriers. These vessels must be well

strengthened forward; should have wooden sheathing, and be very full under the counter; the propeller should be of small diameter and be well down in the water. I place the limit of size at about 2,000 tons, because a larger ship would be somewhat unwieldy, could not make such good way through the loose ice; and being unable to turn so sharply she would get many a heavy blow that the smaller ship would escape. I consider that the season for the opening of navigation to such vessels as the above will, on the average, fall between 1st and 10th July. The position and movements of the ice I have already discussed and need not here repeat. The closing of the season would be about the first week in October, partly on account of the descent of old ice from Fox Channel into the western end of the Straits; this old ice being rapidly cemented into solid floe by the formation of young ice between the pans; in such ice, no ship, however powerful, could do anything to free herself. At this time, too, the days are rapidly shortening, and snowstorms are frequent though not of great duration."

Capt. Wakeham, in the Dundee whaler *Diana*, entered Hudson Straits in 1897, on June 22nd, and from the 24th June to July 10th the ship was jammed hard and fast in the solid ice flow, and on July 4th the ship was so badly squeezed that the crew were all ordered out on to the ice with provisions, thinking that they would have to go on shore; the decks bulged and the rigging was all hanging loose. This shows the character of the ice which vessels must be prepared to meet in Hudson Straits even in early July. Having got clear of this ice flow on the 10th July, however, she passed westward and was comparatively free of ice and did not meet ice flows to anything like the same extent at the west end of the Straits that Gordon had met in 1884 and 1885.

Wakeham says: "From the 23rd June to the 8th July, when the ice began to go abroad slightly, the Strait was blocked from a line running from about Icy Cove over to Cape Hope's Advance—Cape Hope's Advance is the north-west point of Ungava Bay—on the eastward, right up to Salisbury Island to the westward,

a distance of nearly 250 miles." This you will see is an enormous area of ice flow. "This ice jam consisted of heavy ice, mostly in rafted pans, running from three to thirty feet in thickness. Through this jam no ship could have penetrated any faster than the *Diana* did. A large and more powerful vessel, such as the *Arctic*, or the *Terra Nova*, might have made more headway in light, close, brashy ice, but among the large pans, of which the jam was mostly made up, the *Diana*, owing to her handiness and ability to turn quickly, possessed an advantage which was worth more than weight. Into such a jam it would not be safe to put a deeply-laden vessel or to allow her to be caught."

He further says: "I now conclude this part of the Report by saying that I absolutely agree with Captain Gordon in fixing the date for the opening of navigation in Hudson Straits, for commercial purposes, by suitable vessels, at from 1st to the 10th July. I do not consider that the Strait can be successfully navigated in June. Such ships as the *Diana* might force a passage through, but these vessels would be useless for commercial purposes. They have to be so braced and strengthened that they would be impossible freight carriers. Therefore, for all the reasons I have enumerated, I consider the 20th of October as the extreme limit of safe navigation in the fall."

I might add to this in the year 1900 a Hudson's Bay Company's steamer left England on the 6th June, and, I think, speaking from memory, arrived at the mouth of Hudson Straits probably at the end of a fortnight, and spent nearly two months in the ice trying to get through Hudson Straits, and did not arrive at York Factory until the 28th August. This shows what the ordinary ship, even if she is going to Churchill to bring out a cargo of Manitoba No. 1 hard, must expect to meet. She must be prepared for the same experience as the Hudson's Bay ship going for a cargo of furs. In judging of the suitability of Hudson Straits as a commercial trade route we have not to consider during what period of each year a Dundee whaler or a specially constructed ice crusher can navigate the Straits, but rather

during what period an ordinary well found iron ship, with a master of the usual experience, can navigate them with an ordinary degree of safety. The result of investigation is not uncertain—such a ship may with safety enter the Straits early in July, and should she have good luck, she may get through to the Bay with but a few days' delay in the ice; but delays of a week or ten days will not be infrequent. At the close of the season ships should not leave Churchill later than the middle of October, because at that date winter has set in, and being caught in the icefields is a serious matter when the flows become cemented together by the increasing cold.

I feel sure that the Straits will be one of the outlets from the Canadian North-West. The facts regarding its navigation being known it is for men of commerce to say when the time shall have arrived for utilizing the route. There are other points that I might speak upon. For instance of the tremendous tidal currents caused by the tide, which rises and falls thirty-two feet in the Strait, of snowstorms, and so on, but I see that the hour of two o'clock has just arrived. I will simply add to what I have said, the fact that the good whaler *Neptune*, the ship which went out in 1884, is again in Hudson Straits in charge of one of the best and most experienced ice captains that sail out of Newfoundland; and in command of the expedition itself is Mr. A. P. Low, than whom no better man could have been obtained in the whole Dominion of Canada to conduct an expedition successfully. This expedition is in Hudson's Bay for the purpose of investigating into its resources and asserting the sovereignty of Great Britain.



HENRY C. OSBORNE.

THREE IMPERIAL TOPICS.

Speeches delivered at the Evening Luncheon of the Empire Club, on Thursday, April 21st, 1904, by Mr. H. C. Osborne, Dr. John Ferguson and Mr. Barlow Cumberland.

MR. H. C. OSBORNE:

As you have seen from the printed notifications which have been put into your hands, my duty is to introduce "Imperial Topics." I rise to make this very important presentation to such a very select audience with mingled feelings. In the first place, I may be allowed to express my appreciation of the compliment that has been paid me by the invitation to speak to-night. In the second place I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the feelings of almost terror with which I approach the task. At least I have one satisfaction and that is in knowing that these evening meetings, of which this is the first and which is somewhat in the nature of an experiment, are said to be somewhat more friendly in their nature than the meetings which are held in the middle of the day, and, therefore, I may possibly expect that you will be a little more indulgent with the speaker than you are when gentlemen who are pre-eminent as orators are invited to address the Club on more or less recondite topics.

This is an Empire Club which, I take it, means a club that is devoted to the interests of Canada as part of the British Empire; that is to say, a club whose principle is that not only the material requirements of our country, but also the highest interests of our national existence demand that we shall develop in one way only, that is, as part of the British Empire. In choosing an Imperial topic to which to address myself this evening I have decided to speak on the subject of "Imperial Ignorance," and I trust that nobody will be unkind enough to suggest that that is a precise and accurate description of my speech. The reason I chose this subject was simply because I have always been given to understand that the

worst charge that could be brought against a speaker would be that he knew nothing about his subject. I felt that this at least was a subject on which I was thoroughly qualified to speak, because the more I thought of it the more I became convinced of my own ignorance; not only in that there were many things I knew nothing about, but also because with respect to many things which I thought I knew, I felt compelled to say with Josh Billings, "I would rather not know anything at all than know so many things that ain't so."

The phrase "Imperial Ignorance" is usually employed to designate that most severe irritant to every good Canadian which is described as lamentable lack of knowledge on the part of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain of us, our aspirations, our local conditions and our point of view. I have never been able to understand why it is that Canadians are possessed of such a refined sensitiveness on this point, but it is a fact that there is a very great sensitiveness on the part of Canadians with respect to the ignorance which is said to exist in the Old Country with regard to us and our affairs. In thinking the matter over I was somewhat led to the conclusion that this is a thing which we have in some sense inherited. We are accustomed in considering Imperial matters always to refer back to matters that have long since become history, to troubles that are now happily ended, to ghosts that have long been buried. We pass in review various matters connected with our history, and in particular the ghost which stalked the earth during the early part of the last century under the name of Colonial Misrule; and we remember instances where British statesmen have quite failed to grasp and to understand the ideals of the Colonial people.

The result of this attitude on the part of Imperial statesmen towards Canada, being exemplified in later days by certain diplomatic missions which ended as we thought unfortunately, has been to leave an impression that we are very much misunderstood, that nobody takes the trouble to understand us, and that nobody cares anything about us anyway and never will learn anything about us. While I am quite open to admit that, to some extent, this is the case, yet on the other hand I think that, while this ignor-

ance is being very rapidly dissipated, good loyal Canadians and good loyal subjects of the British Empire might be better employed in considering their own ignorance on Imperial matters. I would like to ask the members of the Club to consider the relative positions of Canada and Great Britain. Canada extends over the greater half of the North American Continent, covering an area of three and three-quarter million square miles. The British Isles are a mere speck on the bosom of the broad Atlantic, covering an area of not more than possibly one hundred and twenty-five thousand square miles.

But it is a fact that the importance of these two countries is in inverse ratio to their territorial extent, which means that it takes more than acreage to make a nation. Canada is yet but a great leggy boy awakening to a sense of his own potentialities; Great Britain is the greatest civilizing and colonizing power, the greatest genius in the art of nation-building, that the world has ever seen. Canada is yet in her exuberant youth; Great Britain is the Old Mother-land from whose womb have come mighty peoples. From those little Isles in the broad Atlantic the hands holding the rod of empire have been stretched forth and under them 430,000,000 people of the world enjoy a rule that is both just and beneficent. On whom then, Gentlemen, is the onus of acquiring knowledge? Surely I am right in saying it lies upon us. We are loyal Canadians; we love our country, and, as every citizen ought to do, we take an interest in the affairs of our country, but we also allow our vision to range over a wider field—the British Empire—which is so vast, as a matter of actual fact, that the sun never sets on it and it has perfect alternation of night and day and heat and cold.

A Club of this kind, therefore, has a mission to fulfil as an educative force, and my object in choosing the term "Imperial Ignorance" for these few remarks to-night was to indicate some directions in which I thought the Empire Club might be an educative force; some directions in which every member of this Club might be a missionary and spread the doctrines to support which this Club has been founded. For example, how many members even of this highly intelligent gathering know very much about

the latest great Imperial achievement, the Australian Commonwealth? I can imagine the attitude of horror assumed by some of us if a stranger were to come here and not only not know who Sir Wilfrid Laurier is, but all about him. Yet how many men in the streets of Toronto can tell you to-day who is the Premier of Australia? What do we know of New Zealand, British Guiana, the Malay Peninsula and all the outlying parts of the British Empire?

And, furthermore, when we consider the many parts of which the Empire is composed, and reflect upon the varying conditions of their existence, the influence of climate, environment, heredity, history, and so on, how many of us are competent to give a precise definition of the ideas to which these widely different peoples give concrete expression? And yet these people are all under the influence of the British Empire and British ideas of government; they are all affected, those who are not of our own race, by the influence of Anglo-Saxon character; they are developing slowly towards the realization of the great Imperial ideal. And my view, in my humble capacity, is that every member of the British Empire should strive by a sympathetic study of other parts to place himself in a position to form a more just understanding of the various questions which arise from time to time and which affect more nearly or more remotely, every member of the Imperial family.

Now, Sir, an Imperial topic and one which I think is very much neglected in these days of adventurous propagandism is the question of what Great Britain has done for Canada. We hear a great deal about what Great Britain has not done, and I am not insensible of the other side of this question, of the sins of omission and commission, of the sometimes maladroit diplomacy which has resulted unfortunately for us. But at the same time we must remember, first, that Great Britain won this land and won it after a severe struggle lasting over many years and paid a very heavy price for it. That price was not only paid at Louisbourg and Quebec, but it was paid during the seven years of warfare which extended over many parts of the globe; and at the same time that the Colonial

Empire of Great Empire was placed on a solid foundation in America; Clive in India, by his victory over the hordes of Surajah Dowlah, in 1757, had laid the foundation of the great British Indian Empire.

And after England had won this continent, what happened? The rule of Louis XV., who, it has been said, was a prince who was deservedly despised not only because of his personal debauchery, but also because of his inattention to the wants of his people and his lavish expenditures of public moneys on profligates and favourites, was succeeded by that of George III. of England, and sixty years later Papineau, the French Canadian orator, pronounced these words, speaking of the change of government: "From that day the reign of authority succeeds to that of violence. From that day the treasures, the navy and the armies of Great Britain, are mustered to afford us an invincible protection against external danger." And, furthermore, whereas, the French had never looked upon this country as territory wherein by reason of its excellent climate and its great resources a people might be built up who should live happily and contentedly under the French rule, but rather had considered the country as a place for the exploitation of political favourites and debauched Intendants, the English Government, on the contrary, introduced to this country the constitutional liberty of a free people; trial by jury; the writ of Habeas Corpus; religious liberty and all the ideas which go to make up a free, contented and prosperous people, and crowned all by conceding to us the gift of responsible government.

I am well aware that I am talking platitudes. These are subjects which have been much canvassed, much spoken of, much read, much thought of by every member of this Club, but we must remember one thing: there is a feeling of unrest in the air to-day and much speculation; political nostrums for fancied national ills are advanced by self-appointed physicians, and we hear all sorts of proposals advanced by speakers who are sometimes ill qualified to deal with them, and we are offered, from day to day, different destinies from which we are permitted to

choose one to be the ultimate destiny of this country. Therefore, I say that in order to view these questions as they arise in their proper perspective it is absolutely necessary that we should sometimes go back and consider the history which we are invited to break with if we change the position of Canada as an integral part of the British Empire. More than that, the early settlers who came to this country from Great Britain, who came here to compel the land to yield up its treasure to them, transplanted a great body of English public opinion. This included all the ideas of a free people, judicial and legal forms, high standards of those personal qualities which are the backbone of every nation; respect for personal honour, business honour, truth and fair dealing; and these have become the most valuable possessions of our people.

And I must not neglect to say that these people also transplanted to this country a personal attachment to a Sovereign. This is something about which one hesitates to speak; to exactly define the value of which it would require somebody much more skilled than I am; but at all events I can say this, that personal attachment to a Sovereign is a thing the value of which is most thoroughly realized by those who have it not. It has been my fortune frequently to be present at great public occasions when a vast concourse of people have risen at the first note of the National Anthem to pay a tribute of respect to a Sovereign who reigned, indeed, in the hearts of the people; and I shall never forget the feeling of mental exaltation which I experienced on every occasion of that sort; and on each occasion I revised again my idea of the great value which this possession is to us all. And all these years since that time we have been able to peacefully develop along sound economic lines under the protection of the British Government.

It is true we had a loss in 1842. Daniel Webster was a little too astute for Mr. Baring (afterwards Lord Ashburton), and we most certainly lost territory which we thought we ought to have; but at the same time the careful student of history will hesitate before he charges that to the ignorance or incompetence of British statesmen.

In 1846 when the Oregon Boundary was settled the cry of the Americans was "54° 40' or fight," and while we thought that they got more than they were entitled to, it was not 54° 40', but 49°, as far as the Pacific Ocean. The fact is, without our great partner we should never have had a chance to try any diplomacy, and that has been exemplified on more occasions than one. We are apt to forget these things. We speak about the Maine Boundary in tones of high indignation. We never hear anything or say anything about the Behring Sea seal fisheries; we never hear anybody tell how, in Cleveland's Administration, when the question was up, Lord Salisbury, through Lord Pauncefoote, conveyed to the Government of the United States the message that Her Britannic Majesty's Government would hold the United States Government responsible for depredations on the high seas. We never hear anything about the \$5,000,000 Halifax award which we never should have got if it were not for Great Britain; which the States were firmly determined not to pay if they were not forced to do so.

And, even in the case of Alaska, while not expressing any opinion about the merits of it, there is this one thing I am perfectly convinced of, that, had we been alone and single-handed, there never would have been any arbitration at all, and we should have got nothing. Again, in the case of Newfoundland, we hear now that the French shore difficulties are in process of settlement. If that is the case I ask you what we could have given the French in order that we might be relieved of the disability under which we suffered? The fact of the matter is, as Prof. Clark said to me one day, "When you have a headache you forget to be thankful for having a head." That is the case in all these diplomatic controversies, when things do not go in our favour. We are very ready to complain about our headache, but we never stop to be thankful we have a head at all in order that it may ache. I say for my part I consider it both ungracious and ungrateful to magnify every little thing that occurs to our disadvantage and to throw the fault upon Great Britain with respect to it, and at the same time never to express feelings of

proper gratitude and loyalty for all that Great Britain has done for us from the very moment of our existence as a country.

Now we hear a great deal about the destiny of Canada; about every week we are offered new changes, one day Independence, another day annexation to the United States, another day that we remain as we are. I observe that quite recently a speaker before our sister Club, the Canadian Club, announced a fourth—that we go on within the British Empire to greater and greater liberty. About that I have nothing whatever to say. I have no quarrel whatever with that, but I want to ask you how we are to solve these questions, of such magnitude and complexity, without a thorough knowledge of them? After-dinner oratory is not going to do it, nor the windy harangue of every peripatetic agitator. There is only one thing, and that is careful, intelligent study on the part of the great body of the people, so that they may not only have a clear idea for themselves, but may also force the leaders of government into a position in line with public sentiment. Mr. Ewart, in his excellent address before the Canadian Club, found fault with the fact that we were not a self-governing people. He said we were in a state of political semi-servitude, because we were not a sovereign state, autonomous and self-existing, had no extra-territorial jurisdiction and were not able to settle our disputes with other countries.

I must confess, that I had always thought we had certain legislative independence. Mr. Ewart said, "If I were asked, 'Are you in favour of Independence?' I would say, 'If you mean legislative independence, yes; if you mean separation from the British Empire, No!'" This brings up, of course, the question of treaty-making powers. We do not want extra-territorial jurisdiction; we have enough to do on our own farm without that. There are certain matters of procedure with which we cannot meddle, but we are quite contented with them as the procedure is very good. And I think, Sir, that we ought not rashly to claim the settlement of our own disputes. This cannot be. We cannot settle single-handed our own disputes unless we are prepared to defend them

single-handed. Nations self-existing must also be self-protecting. How anybody could have the hardihood to advance such a proposition as that when Canadians do not contribute one cent to the defence of the Empire passes beyond my comprehension. I read a very interesting article the other day by Mr. W. Beach Thomas, written over a year ago, and curiously enough called "Imperial Ignorance" also, and he pointed out that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had expressed the opinion that the millions that were spent on railway building in this country were of greater strategic value than any contribution we could make to Imperial defence. But, as Mr. Beach Thomas very sensibly pointed out, it may be true that the special business of Canada is to build railways, but if we are really part of the British Empire it is necessary that everyone should do his part. Of course the hand must write, the feet must walk, but the nervous system is the care of the whole business; without the nervous system our hands and feet are not very much good; and Canada ought to make at least a reasonable contribution towards keeping the nervous system in a state of perfect health. Altogether I think this destiny of Canada business has been very much overdone. We are in as happy a position as any people under the sun, and all we have to do is to attend to our own business, to develop our own resources and not trouble over academic questions about our status.

I should like at this point to make a protest against the Americanization of this country. Canada has a boundary of 3,000 miles, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which is merely imaginary; there is no actual boundary line between two peoples of the same creed and language. Consequently the lesser is bound to be affected more or less by the greater, and, therefore, we find that this country is gradually assimilating American ideas with regard to almost everything. Some things we cannot avoid. We do not object to the invasion of American capital, because it helps us develop our country, but our press should surely be independent of the American press. It is no advantage to Canadians, when cable despatches

are received by our daily newspapers every morning of what has happened in the capital of the Empire to be told that Mr. Choate and certain American Duchesses were present at such and such a function. That is not a matter of national importance to us. Again, the American people in private life have certain characteristics which are not characteristic of the British people, and it is against those I wish to enter a very emphatic protest. I could not attempt to do more than simply indicate what I mean, because every member here can supply the balance better than I can express it.

In England there is a more definite cleavage or division between classes, but there each class respects the other, and it is recognized that respect is as much due to inferiors and equals as to superiors. In that historical document, the Declaration of Independence there is a fallacious and also meretricious statement that all men are born free and equal. While it is true that in the eyes of the law all men are equal at the same time the result of this statement has been to encourage an absolute lack of respect for everybody else. Every man is not only as good as his neighbour, but a little better; and this has resulted in an irreverence for age and a contempt of authority; and that is one of the most ominous situations that you can find in any country. It is merely a question of standards. In sport the American rule seems to be that a man should win because of the personal distinction which it brings him. Under British standards a man indulges in sport because he likes it, and for the joy of the contest, and when you have said that you have said everything.

In a Club such as this every man ought to be a missionary, and every man ought to be able to give reasons why he considers it a privilege to be a member of the British Empire, and why the principles on which British people have been brought up are better principles than those of other countries. How is it in public affairs, and how can I provide myself with hands delicate enough to touch this subject? At all events in Great Britain a statesman is supposed to have a certain high-minded

regard for his country's welfare. A man, after an honourable career, goes into politics because he wishes to serve his country, or to provide an honourable occupation for his closing years of life and to give his ripened experience to the service of his country. Under the American principle, to be a successful public man, you must predicate something else than that, and that is something which I can only describe as subtlety or smartness. The book of Genesis says, "Now the serpent was the most subtle of all the beasts of the field that the Lord has made." But we are not a nation of serpents. There is nothing high-minded about the serpent, but there is something very subtle about it and I protest against that standard of public life.

If I might be permitted to tell an old favourite story of mine that I once heard an American Senator tell in the course of an after-dinner speech in the city of Brantford, it was this: "I was one day rounding up a herd of steers when I was ranching in the West and by some mischance the flap of my saddle flew up exposing the red saddle pad underneath," and he went on to finish the story in his own way as follows: "With a remarkable unanimity of purpose the whole herd lowered their heads and came at me, and in a moment I found myself heading the grandest cavalry charge in American history. If a man is to be judged by the enthusiasm of his following I was at that moment the most popular man in the United States." Then he went on to describe how he galloped along until he came to a river fringed with a very thick undergrowth and, discovering a little path through the bushes, he dashed down and through and up the other bank just as the whole herd came thundering along and got entangled in the bushes. He said, "I stopped my horse and turned around and I could hear them threshing about, and I could hear their bovine profanity as they said one to the other, 'Damn him, where is he?'" Now that is exactly what I want to know about a great many of our public men. It would have been very interesting to all the members of this Club and to all the men who are interested in the development of Canada as part of the

British Empire to have had some expression of opinion from our leading men at Ottawa during the early days of the Chamberlain campaign as to the Imperial question. We never had any such expression, notwithstanding the fact that we deliberately invited the English people to enter on that controversy.

I say that this principle that public men should deceive their constituents and should try to evade explaining where they stand on public questions is one of the most lamentable characteristics of our public life. I need not speak about conditions which are not very far removed from us here in the City of Toronto either in provincial or municipal affairs; but I will say this, in spite of what anybody may say, and I state it here unhesitatingly, that the condition of public affairs at the present time is both degrading and ignoble. I should like to know where we get all this ballot stuffing and ballot switching and bribing, and so on. I do not claim that England is absolutely faultless, but I must say that from all I can learn, such things are not very well known there, and I think we must get them—let us say we get them—from our close proximity to our neighbours to the south. If that is not too self-righteous a thing to say, let us not say so; but at the same time let us make a resolution with respect to the matter. Why should not this Club be a power in the land in connection with purity in public life? There is no reason why a man should not have a right to demand the suffrages of this Province simply because he loves his country, but that is the last thing any man thinks of advancing as a claim to election; and I am firmly convinced that this Club could do a great public service if it would take a strong position on the question of purity in public life.

I should like to have said a word in conclusion about the picturesque aspect of the British Empire. We have an interest in common with all the members of this world-wide Empire. Whatever happens on the St. Lawrence, on the Ganges or Nile, we can say, "*Quorum magna pars fui*,"—"I had a part in those events." Furthermore, this Empire offers a great field for careers, a great, broad and

interesting life for a man to lead. Mr. Blake is transferred without violence from Ottawa to Westminster. Sir Percy Girouard is transferred to South Africa and there establishes a world-wide name for himself. Our barristers are privileged to plead before the Privy Council—that most interesting of judicial bodies, that one day considers a question of Cyprus or Malta, another day a point of Brahminism in India and another day a line fence in Ontario. And all these things point to the fact that life is broader and more interesting inside this Empire of ours, and that there are more fields of interest and honourable attainment to be found than outside of the British Empire.

With regard to the destiny of Canada, I should like to say before sitting down that it may seem strange to see a young man take a backward attitude when any Canada Forward movement is suggested, but one who truly loves his country must act as his conscience dictates, and personally I hate to see a fine sentiment spoiled by ill-advised agitation. As regards Imperial Ignorance—there is one thing to be said, that ignorance is the most fruitful source of misunderstanding, and if through some small misconception the loyalty of a body of people belonging to the Empire should be affected it would not be because of the slight misconception, but because of the ignorance which occasioned that misconception. In other words, seditions arise from small occasions, but never from small causes; and the slight misconception would be the small occasion, but the ignorance which lay behind it would be the great cause. Therefore, I venture to say, in conclusion, that I trust that the members of this Club having borne with me so kindly in these disjointed and somewhat clumsy remarks will also try, if they can, to exert an educating influence in this country, because, while we are perfectly aware of all these platitudes of which I have spoken, the fact is that new generations are springing up and the events of to-day are history to-morrow, and it is our duty to continue the task of educating our own generation and so strengthening the chain which had its beginning at the commencement of our own history.

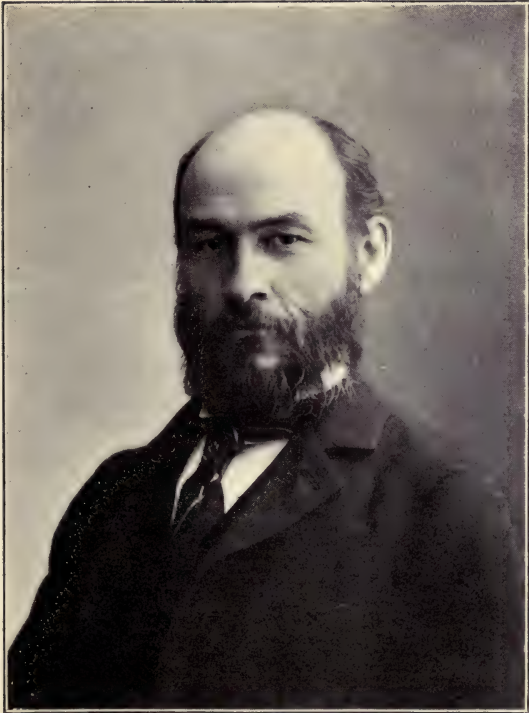
DR. JOHN FERGUSON :

To be a member of the Empire Club brings with it great responsibilities—responsibilities for what we say and what we do. But responsibility also brings pleasure. On not a few occasions it has been my pleasure to sit and listen to the learned and eloquent addresses that have proceeded from where I now stand. On the present occasion it is my responsibility and pleasure combined to address to you a few words. Pleasure, indeed, it is; for, no son of the Empire should regard the discharge of a duty for the Empire in any other sense than as a pleasure. Of the severest of all tests—to die for one's country—it has been beautifully said, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*"—

What joys, what glories, round him wait,
Who bravely for his country dies.

My task on the present occasion is not an easy one. To follow such speakers as Mr. George E. Foster, Chancellor Burwash, Principal Gordon, Mr. Monro Grier, K.C., Mr. Sulte, Sir Sandford Fleming, Chancellor Wallace, Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C., Hon. L. P. Brodeur, Mr. H. J. Pettypiece, M.P.P., and the wide range of subjects which they have covered is no easy task, and, I fear, my courage might fail me were it not for two things: The feeling that I shall carry with me your kind indulgence, and the love I have for the cause which is common to us all. I therefore crave from you that indulgence, and, if I cannot hope to be as learned and eloquent as those who have preceded me, I shall make bold in claiming that I yield to none of them in devotion to that Empire whose welfare this Club is so ably promoting.

There is a certain sort of individual who sneers at the love of country, and particularly at the recent development of Imperialism. He says that it is only a sentiment. We grant that it is a sentiment, but, at the same time, we boast that sentiment has built up and maintained great nations, and to-day is ruling the world. Edmund Burke, one of the master minds of the human race, in speaking of sentiment said that though it was as light as the air



DR. JOHN FERGUSON.

we breathe, yet it was as strong as steel to bind a nation together, and Sir Walter Scott, in his rich poetic imagery, gives us the lines :

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land ?

It is a splendid augury for the success of this Club that it is founded largely upon a sentiment, and for the spread of that sentiment, the love of the British Empire. It must appeal to every reasonable person that we are thus building upon a foundation as broad as the human race and that can carry a superstructure as lofty as the human desires. I use the word sentiment as embodying the noblest and purest aspirations for self, society and Empire. "Where liberty is, there is my country," was the sentiment of that great apostle of freedom, Benjamin Franklin. Let it be our sentiment to love the British Empire, for within its vast domains there is to be found the greatest degree of freedom known to the history of civilization. If you wish to realize the power of sentiment, read the following lines from one of the songs of the American Civil War, when the country was passing through one of the most titanic struggles ever recorded :

For the birthright yet unsold,
For the history yet untold,
For the future yet unrolled,
Put it through.

In attempting to address you to-day on "Imperial Sentiment, Its Evolution and Value," I shall ask you to bear with me while I dip a little into the history of the past. In the case of the Roman Empire, we meet with an example of a military state. It conquered other states, but only to levy tribute from them. The Roman subject had nothing of which he was truly proud; there was no deep national sentiment in his life, and he fell into indolent and corrupt habits. He soon became a prey to the hardy barbarian. The Roman system of colonization was a system of oppression, and had no other result than

that of educating the oppressed in due time to become the oppressor. On the other hand, Greece was considerate towards her Colonies and the Athenian Empire had attained much maritime strength. In this respect there is much to learn from her, and Britain has profited by the model of Ancient Greece. But the people of Greece were never a coherent whole. Though proud of their literature, their learning, and their Athens, they never were a nation. They were a group of units; but that rare cement was wanting which binds the individual into the family and the family into the state. The Golden Age of Greece came as a bright sunrise in the east, speedily ascended to its zenith, and rapidly set behind the hills of eternal night. She, too, like Rome, was wanting in a true national sentiment. She had not before her gaze that star of liberty and the freedom and equal rights of all, and she soon went to pieces on the rocks of discord and schism. Let us hear how Lord Byron tells the story of her fall:

Chime of the unforgotten brave !
 Whose land from plain to mountain cave
 Was Freedom's home, or Glory's grave !
 Shrine of the mighty, can it be
 That this is all remains of thee ?

'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace,
 Each step from splendour to disgrace :
 Enough—no foreign foe could quell
 Thy soul, till from itself it fell ;
 Yes ; self-abasement paved the way
 To villain bonds and despot sway.

Neither Greece nor Rome knew how to adapt themselves to the conditions of the conquered states, nor how to induce the conquering invaders to become Greek and Roman citizens, imbued with a love of what was good in either and with a desire to perpetuate these empires. Despite the splendid attainments of the Greeks in poetry, history, philosophy, science, and art, and the high achievements in these and also the military greatness of Rome, neither fostered nor created a national sentiment. There was wanting to them that greatest of all national assets,

the patriotism which makes for self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control. In the language of Milton, they know not that "to be free is the same thing as to be pious, to be temperate, to be magnanimous." Their freedom was not of that type which restrains oneself, and in so doing, restrains others. They taught not the great lesson of individual liberty that the nation might be free. They knew not that—

He is a freeman whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides.

From the history of Spain there is much to learn. At one time it looked as if there was a great future for her. The passage round the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered and Columbus had brought home the news of a Western Continent. During the sixteenth century Spain was the foremost sea power, and had planted many colonies. Her expeditions were led by daring spirits, such as Pizzaro, Cortez, and Las Casas. Daily her ships were returning laden with gold from the Western Hemisphere. She had also the glory of Granada to look back to. But the whole energy of Spain was directed towards the acquisition of gold, and to do this she laid her colonies under heavy tribute, oppressing them often into open rebellion which sometimes proved successful. But every phase of national life was neglected. Her people were not educated, and her industrial development entirely overlooked.

The gold which she had strained every nerve to possess became to her the curse of Midas. The gold was held in the hands of a few, while the necessities of life were scarce, high-priced, and almost unattainable, except to these few. But worse still, the enormous stores of gold that Spain had acquired, through the oppression of her colonies, were squandered with lavish profusion by Charles V. and Philip II. on fruitless wars. Thus it soon came about that Spain was poor, with all the conditions that make for the welfare of the people wholly wanting. True to her character as the oppressor, she drove

from the country the Jews who were her principal financiers and merchants; she expelled the Moors, and thereby banished her best agriculturists, leaving much of her lands waste; she fitted out, at enormous cost, the Armada to crush England, and by its destruction, lost control of the sea; and by wars and persecutions in the Netherlands ending in her defeat, she lost prestige, and created a strong rival. So we see that because Spain possessed no true national sentiment, her prosperity was speedily eclipsed. Spain at home was not a nation in the real sense, her wealth had failed to raise the people, and her colonies were disloyal. Lecky, the historian, tells us: "At a time when she seemed on the highway to an almost boundless wealth, she sank into the most abject poverty. Her glory was withered, her power was shattered, her fanaticism alone remained." In the midst of all her efforts for Empire she had failed to create that essential of Empire an Imperial Sentiment. Behind the throne the hearts of the people beat not in unison with the notes of a national song.

In the case of Germany and France there is a strong patriotic sentiment at home. They love their respective countries, but here the resemblance to Britain ceases. These countries have never in the past, nor are they now, establishing colonies in the true sense. They have, it is true, some foreign possessions, but these possessions have no self-governing powers. They are subject to the will of the Home Governments, and kept in subjection by a system of military rule. In the past, France had some colonies of French blood, but these were lost to France, either by war or sale. When people from France or Germany go abroad they lose themselves among the peoples under other flags. These countries have no colonies of their own race to which their people can migrate. Thus it becomes apparent that the strength of these empires are seriously retarded in their growth and power, because of this lack of colonizing foresight. Their sons, when they go abroad, are lost to their flags and soon to their language and national sentiments. In the race for empire these countries must fall behind Britain. Goethe,

the eminent German philosopher and poet, who saw deeply into things, has told us :

Stand not idly, fixed and rooted,
Briskly venture, briskly roam ;
Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,
And stout heart, are still at home.

Of this spirit but little is found in the French and German character. They are not by nature explorers, adventurers, or advance settlers. They wait the reclamation of the wilds before they migrate. They allow others to do the pioneer work, when they follow and help to fill up. But this has two important results so far as empire-building is concerned: It does not make colonies for either of these countries, and it loses to them vast numbers of their best citizens. But in this there is an entire absence of the Imperial sentiment as it is manifested in the British character. France is now and Germany will soon be carrying practically stationary populations and their overflow, instead of going to their own colonies, which are uncivilized military dependencies, will be absorbed by the English-speaking countries—the various portions of the British Empire and the United States.

The history of England, of England and Scotland as Great Britain; then of these and Ireland; and finally of Great Britain and her colonies and dependencies as the British Empire; is a vast book whose pages are of silver and whose letters are of gold. A family of note prides itself upon its ancestry, and yet the study of heredity is but the study of the results of yesterday, and yesterday a long succession of units of time and events, and so the study of British history is the study of a long succession of yesterdays, each with a brilliant sunrise and a glorious sunset, without a night, except in the sense of a period of rest for renewed labours and increased achievements. Of the earliest inhabitants of Britain we know but little, or of the influences they may have left upon their successors, other than that they were savages, that their utensils of peace and their implements of war were made of stones and flints, and that they erected rude stone structures of which some remain, as interesting sepulchres.

Following these primitive inhabitants, came the Celtic migrations which laid the foundation of Britain's future greatness. The Gaelic branch came first, but was at a later period forced to the north and west by the hordes of Cymric Celts that occupied the south and east. From these we have inherited much of what has made Britain such a marvellous military power. From the Romans we inherit our love for government, municipal and national; to the Saxons we owe our love of liberty and the great law of the brotherhood of man; from the Norman we derive our love of the rights of property; from the Norsemen our love of the sea. *Mirabile dictu!* Far more wonderful than the story of Cresna, as told in Virgil's "Æneid," is the fact that Britain has always conquered her conquerors, has absorbed into herself those who sought to be her masters, and has strengthened her own national life out of those who sought to destroy it. Thus it is that the various invasions of the British Isles by the Romans, the Saxons, the Angles, the Danes, the Normans, but had the effect of bringing to the sea-girt isles the bravest and most adventurous of these races, all being branches of the great Aryan family, and bringing them together into one common people.

How could it be otherwise than that a great future must be in store for a country so peopled? The sea-faring instinct, the military spirit, the literary genius came from all these various streams and, blending together, produced that great river which has expanded and swept over the world as the British Empire, on whose domains the sun never sets, which covers one-fourth of the earth's surface, and sways its beneficent rule over one-third of the human race. Britain is the only instance known to history with a just colonial system. As a wise parent allows his children reasonable liberties, so has Britain granted her colonies a large measure of freedom. In the case of her dependencies, she has ruled with such a spirit of justice, that hundreds of millions, as in India, have been made loyal and devoted citizens of the Empire. No other country could have accomplished such a task.

In the language of an eminent historian, "Britain has become the greatest and most highly civilized country that

the world ever saw, has spread her dominion over every quarter of the globe, has scattered the seeds of mighty empires and republics over vast continents of which no dim inspiration had ever reached the old geographers, Ptolemy and Strabo. She has created a maritime power which would annihilate in a quarter of an hour the navies of Tyre, Athens, Carthage, Venice, and Genoa together; has carried the sciences of healing, the means of locomotion and correspondence, every mechanical art, every manufacture, everything that promotes the convenience of life, to a perfection which our ancestors would have thought magical. She has provided a literature which may boast of works not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed us; she has discovered the laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies; has speculated with exquisite subtlety on the operations of the human mind; has been the acknowledged leader of the human race in the career of political improvement. The history of Britain is the history of this great moral, intellectual, and physical change." In the face of these facts, he would be a bold man, indeed, who would say that there is not a solid foundation for our Imperial sentiment, or that it is not of real national value. I make haste to say that it could repel more invaders than the Empire's vessels; could conquer more foes than all her battalions, and is more precious and enduring than her gold.

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield, who was one of the first of Imperialists, said, "The strength of this nation depends on the unity of feeling which should pervade the United Kingdom and its widespread dependencies. The first duty of an English Minister should be to consolidate that co-operation which renders irresistible a community educated as our own, in an equal love of liberty and law." With the Imperial sentiment as we now know it, grant that by some great catastrophe Britain should lose her ships and her wealth, then in the words of Shelley, in his song to the cloud, the people, "Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb, would arise and up-build them again."

Time would fail me to recount more than a few of the many great deeds that have evolved the strong Im-

perial sentiment of to-day. Britain, like the fabled Atlas of old, has often been called upon to bear the weight of the whole world upon her own shoulders. In the days of Philip II., Spain was a mighty power, with a large fleet, bidding for the control of the seas and the mastery over Europe. The Invincible Armada was sent against Britain, but Howard, Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, Frobisher, Fenner were not wanting in their skill and devotion to duty. The Armada was annihilated and the command of the seas passed to Britain, where it has ever since remained. When Louis XIV. of France, with his vast hordes was over-running Europe, Marlborough was sent to cope with them; and at Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramilies, and Malplaquet, the power of France was overthrown and the British power established. During the twenty years that Napoleon devastated Europe in his thundering career, in Egypt, in the Peninsula, on the seas, and in Belgium, the British held him in check, and finally crushed him at Waterloo. Again, when that great tyrant, Russia, sought to dominate Turkey and the Mediterranean, Britain, with uplifted and outstretched arm at Alma, at Balaclava, at Inkerman, at Sebastopol, said "No." The great Indian Mutiny came and was suppressed, that vast region being made truly loyal. As it were but yesterday a dark plot was laid to destroy British rule in another continent. This time, however, the Colonies took a hand in the struggle, and South Africa was saved and the Empire consolidated as it had never been before.

Turning to our own country as a portion of the British Empire, just one word or two. There is much in her young life to create a true national pride and sentiment, and to make us feel that we are destined to play a great part in the future history of the world. It is now recognized and admitted on all hands that Canada is the most favoured country on the face of the earth. She has a salubrious, invigorating, varied and glorious climate. There are within her borders an endless wealth of forest, stream and lake; vast possibilities of farm, orchard and garden; a manufacturing and artizan future second to none; and a growth of literature, science and the fine arts of which the older countries might well be envious. But

Canada's greatest wealth is in her people. As a loyal, law-abiding, intelligent and industrious people they are surpassed by none. Their courage has had a fair share of baptism by blood. During the American War, in the struggles of 1812, when discord rent the land in 1837, at the time of the Fenian Raid in 1866, during the first and second Riel Rebellions, far up the River Nile, and just recently in South Africa, Canadians have abundantly proven to the world of what splendid material they are made.

Judging the future by the past, and, in history, this is a proper method of reasoning, Canada has in her people the powers that made an Imperial Rome, added to the staying, colonizing, civilizing qualities of an Imperial Britain. In her loyalty to the Throne, in her love of liberty, civil and religious, in her aspirations after all that is elevating, may Canada never tune her life to a lower key than that set by the traditions of the Motherland. As the centuries roll past may she ever remain a priceless jewel in the British Crown; for no finer setting could there be for so precious a gem. May the future generations of this country be able to sing with the same fervor of heart as those I see before me, "Rule Britannia," and "The Maple Leaf Forever." It will thus be seen that the Imperial Sentiment in which we take such pride—and we are proud of that pride—is not a creation, but a slow growth, and has been bought at an enormous price in blood and treasure. The ancient Britains, the Celts, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, have all mingled their best in the building up of the British Empire, which thus comes to be of the best pure gold from the furnace of stress and storm, "a gem of purest ray serene." If all else were taken from us but this sentiment, we would still be invincible—the Britain of the past and the Empire of the future. Let us all pray that for the British Empire the words of Tennyson's "In Memoriam" may ever be true:

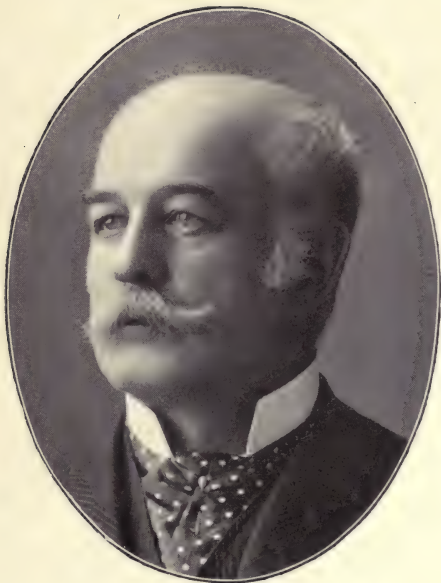
O Father, touch the East, and light
The light that shone when hope was born.

MR. BARLOW CUMBERLAND:

The members of the Club who are not here will have missed greatly the excellent introductory speech which has been made by our friend, Mr. Osborne. It was one not at all surprising to some of us who have had the opportunity of watching his career, believing as we did that he would be one of the bright examples that Trinity can add to those who have preceded him in literary and accurate mental methods. I quite think that in your own memories myself and my good friend who has preceded me may well be entered in sporting phrase, as being included amongst those who "also ran." However, I am very glad to have the opportunity of speaking a few words to the Empire Club, especially as I believe there is much to be done in this line of dispelling the Imperial ignorance which exists among ourselves.

I can say, from my own experience during the somewhat lengthened visit which I recently made to England, that although I had considered myself in some degree versed in Imperial matters, I found how much larger was the field, how much greater was the Empire, how much ignorance there was on my own part when I came to compare myself with many of those who were sitting at the centre of affairs. We, in this land, as has been most appropriately pointed out, are somewhat restricted in our view. For this I think we may in some degree blame our newspapers. The contrast between the Imperial information in the British papers and the Imperial information—although there is a good deal of it—in our own Canadian papers is so marvellous that we must not wonder that our general public are not so fully versed as they should be upon matters in other portions of the globe which concern us as members of the Empire. In this I cheerfully accord with all that Mr. Osborne has said, and would say, too, that we must not wonder that there may not be that particularity of information amongst all the people of England, massed as they are in so small an area and so much engrossed in their own affairs.

And we must pardon them if they do not know all the particular details of our "line fence" disputes. I am glad to be able to say that while at first there was a feeling of



F. BARLOW CUMBERLAND, M.A.

almost horror at the upheaval which was created in Canadian circles upon the subject of the Alaskan Decision, yet it very soon dispelled when they came to understand that it was not so much with the result, but with the method of the decision that the Canadian people were most aggrieved; that the Canadian people had no animosity against the British Government nor any feeling of a want of sympathy on the part of the British people, but were rather upset by the manner in which the decision was arrived at without their consent. I think that has been dispelled, but a lesson has been learned, and that diplomatic methods applied to judicial decisions will have passed out of the administration of Colonial matters in Imperial councils. There is only one thing I think left to be done and that is that the United States should change the names of those two little rocky islets upon which there has been so much discussion from the archaic names which are now attached to them and call them "Ashburton" and "Alverstone," in honour of the two men who have added more to their territories than any of the heroes of their own people. In finding myself in this position of summing up, I may possibly add a few more thoughts which have come from my recent experience in the United Kingdom.

One thing I felt, in constant conversation with all classes of people, was the inferior position which we Canadians occupy in the Empire by being so slight contributors towards its maintenance and its defence. It pains one when in conversation with men with whom you are speaking upon Imperial subjects to have them say to you, not with any acerbity, but in the most kindly and courteous manner, "But you don't contribute to the maintenance of our navy." It hurts one to find that while we glory in the Empire we do, comparatively, so little for it; and if I have learned anything while over there it is to respect the tax-paying Englishman and the British subject in the Old Land who pays for the care virtually of a world; who even now is about to contribute out of his taxes for the payment of the settlement of the Newfoundland dispute, while we sit by, only, and enjoy. It is time I think that we should look upon some of these matters

from a different point of view. Take, for instance, one, that of our militia and defence. I think every one will admit we have been niggardly even towards our own militia. I think it will be admitted that what we have done has not been such as we ought to have done. If it were not for the men in the ranks and for the officers who hold them together, whose expenditures have been more comparatively than those of us who did not fill the ranks or hold the position of officers, there would be far less of militia or defence in this country. We must learn to look at this duty from the point of view of being, not so much as something for ourselves, but as our contribution towards, what I might call, the conflagration hazard of the Empire. We in supporting and creating our militia should look upon it not solely as being for the method of our own personal defence, because certainly it is not in animosity to our neighbours that we maintain our militia, but that we shall provide the means and methods whereby we may, when a time comes, when necessity compels, take up our share as British subjects in the warfare of the British Empire.

That we have the spirit to do it has been shown by what Canada and the other colonies have done in the South African War. Having the spirit let us provide the means and let us see that this militia establishment in this country of ours for the maintenance of the sacredness of our homes, for the defence of our own soil, for our capacity to take our share with our brother subjects wherever they may be, is maintained at such a standard as shall enable us to put that spirit into absolute action and to take up our share in the defence of the Empire. Now, it is quite true, that we as living on the land have all our thoughts, or our main thoughts, turned towards defence on land, while in Great Britain, living face to face with the sea, their thoughts are turned more towards defence at sea. It is a natural thing, therefore, that we shall have been slow at the task of taking up our position in naval matters. Yet there are, and they are now admitted by many in England to be, points which may be fairly and properly taken as contributions by us towards naval defence. The war now going on has taught the British

people more than ever the value of the Siberian Railway to the Russian nation. While they have looked upon that as being the wonderful work of a great nation which has attracted their attention and whose value they now appreciate from the point of strategic warfare, they did not give so much thought to the extension of our Canadian Pacific Railway and the other railways we are building across our own continent. Perhaps it was because the enterprises paid; perhaps it was because those railways which at first were not to pay for the axle grease to run them, have become favourable investments for people in all portions of the world. But now the strategic value of the Canadian Pacific Railway is being more completely understood, and it is seen to be, as the Siberian Railway is worth to Russia, many battleships and many steamships; so the rail communication across this continent is worth a great deal to the Empire.

Now that is a contribution which has not been direct, yet we are also stepping onwards a little on our way, and I think when we consider that we have already established fishery protection cruisers and are now proposing to maintain training ships upon our own sea frontiers, bye and bye, in the fruition of time, we shall come to a more complete understanding of our duty for the protection of trade upon the wider seas. When the day comes that the British carrying trade, which up to this time has been cosmopolitan, shall come to be Imperial, when there are products being carried upon Imperial traffic lines in which the Old Land is building up the new, and the new is interchanging with the old, then there will be more distinct lines of sea command in which we ought to take up our distinct lines of assistance. So long as it remains in its present position there may be some reason why we should not understand or see where it is that we should contribute towards protecting British sea traffic; but let us fructify upon the knowledge that is gradually growing, let us educate ourselves and through this Club and other clubs educate our people, to the duty of taking our share in the care of sea communications between us and the heart of the Empire.

Now that point brings us to Imperial Reciprocity,

which really means, I think, as we may say from our own experience, first, the cultivation and preservation of home industries. Then after having created these comes the interchange between Imperial centres. Let us apply this to ourselves. Under modern trade conditions no country can be self-contained; yet contiguity of territory is no longer a requisite for the union of interests. The oceans which once separated us have become the cheapest and quickest methods of union, and thus has come the unity of the British Empire, for by this means the farthest portions of it and each of its units have been brought into absolute contact. The conflagration in Toronto is read in the British papers next morning; and the merchants of Toronto are repeating their orders for goods by cable on the same afternoon. Modern methods have brought us into absolute touch and contiguity. We are nearer together in all parts of the world than we were with places in our immediate vicinity twenty years ago. That, then, I say, shows that we must look upon this Imperial subject, not merely as has been pressed upon us by some that it needs physical contiguity to create a union of interests, but that modern methods have brought the outer realms of the Empire into absolute and integral contact with each other.

Now I think in building up this Imperial Reciprocity each unit must judge what is best for itself. I may say that I always took that line in speaking to any of the English audiences that I had the opportunity of addressing, that they must judge for themselves what was first best for themselves; that we in Canada were giving a preference to British goods as a free gift and not as a bargain. It was for them to say whether it would suit them in some way or other to recognize that free gift by a free gift of their own, and that it must be done in such a way as would be of no harm to themselves, while at the same time it would give benefit to us; that it was to be done out of a sense of the unity of the Empire, of a preference for eating or wearing in British countries that which was created or grown in British countries, so that the brotherhood of the Empire should be one, in fact as much as in sentiment. With this comes the question of the

dominant thought which we should have for the welfare and advancement of the whole Empire. I take it that here in Canada we have to build up ourselves and we have to help to build up those who built us. Canada's interests, both local and Imperial, lie entirely east and west. You may say we are interested in our east and west traffic for our own purposes. We are as much interested in the open door in China and in the welfare of Japan as is the man who lives in the United Kingdom. Perhaps more so, because the products of our growth and production are those which are mainly and mostly needed in those countries in the far east. Do we appreciate it? Do we think of it? Is our mind turned towards the open door in China and the alliance with Japan, with the same point, or to the same extent as that of any one in the British Empire? Let us think of it, let us see how the British power exerted as it is in the far east is for our benefit just as much as it is for theirs, although we make so little contribution towards its maintenance.

Now, seeing that we are interested east and west, we should be guided exactly as they have been in the United States. Their west was built up by their east and their east is built up by their west. The progress that there has been in the United States has been due to the expansion which we are only now entering on. Let us hold it for ourselves. Let us keep it on the east and west lines upon which they built theirs, so we, too, shall build up our east and west. But that brings us on still further. While our own personal and local interest is built upon that line so is the interest of our Empire. If we lower the doors at the east to the Old Land and to the far west we not only contribute towards the building up of our own country, but we contribute also to the progress of those in whom we are interested. Every ship that comes out from one of the Colonies, or from the Old Land and comes loaded to either our Pacific or our Atlantic shores, carries back at lower rates the products of this land, and increases our own local advantage and helps to build our brothers across the seas. East and west is the line that we should develop—east and west it is our duty to develop. For this Canada

of ours is not all our own ; it has been a gift to us from the others who preceded us.

We in Canada are trustees for the British race. We hold this land in allegiance, we hold it in development, for our brothers, who are the sons of those who won it for us. Therefore it is that we stand in such happy shape that by preference to our British brothers across the sea and by increasing our east and west lines of traffic we build up ourselves and at the same time we help them. If we can lay aside all thoughts of entering into absolute and sole ownership of this magnificent portion of the continent which has been given to our hands, as we recognize the brotherhood of British men, British trade and British interests, then we shall have a higher view of the work we may do for the upgrowth of our country, then we shall open up a wider horizon than we have ever looked upon. But we must be patient with our old friends across the seas. It is about thirty years since we started in upon the idea of taking care of home industries, but it is sixty years since they opened all their shores to all the world. It takes time for them to learn the changes in world trade conditions, but let me say that the increase of knowledge and thought for the Colonies, and particularly for Canada grows apace. A man has but to introduce himself as a Canadian, or to bring a Canadian matter before a British audience, to receive the heartiest welcome, and to be taken fully to their hearts as a true member of the British Empire.

PRACTICAL IMPERIALISM.

An address delivered on April 28th, 1904, at the Empire Club Luncheon, by Mr. Byron E. Walker, D.C.L., General Manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I shall not hesitate to express at once my thanks to the members of this Club for the opportunity of addressing them. Indeed, I am quite willing to admit that it should be a pleasure to every Canadian to have the opportunity of discussing such a subject as "Imperialism." I only regret that the time is so short and that this complicated and truly great subject can be dealt with but in outline. I had occasion at a meeting of a body in this city, of which I have recently become a member, and where differences of opinion often exist, to recall a saying, I think, by Carlyle, to the effect that the sound basis of a conversation or a discussion is identity in sentiment, but difference of opinion. I am not a member of any Imperial club or league, and yet I hope there is no better Imperialist in Canada.

I fancy I differ somewhat in opinion from most members of Imperial clubs, and, indeed, if I did not think that I might have something to present to-day a little different from arguments which have already been made, there would be no reason whatever for my addressing you. Many of us can say what I also am able to say, that my children are all descended from the people of the one little Island which contains England and Scotland and Wales. They have not a drop of any other kind of blood in them. I wish they had a little of the other Island alongside, but they have not, and with only this blood in our veins, what could we be but Imperialists? There is not now and there never has been in the history of this country any other course open except Independence, and I think that is an alternative we shall never have to adopt. It is, however, absolutely the only future that is possible to Canadians,

except that of remaining in the Empire. We are, indeed, by nature so British that we all have the same splendid vanity about our race that Stevenson describes so delightfully when he makes his British child say:

You must dwell beyond the foam,
But I am safe and live at home,
Little Indian, Sioux or Crow,
Little dusky Eskimo,
Little Turk, or Japaneese,
Don't you wish that you were me?

We Canadians have the feeling just as strongly as those at home, that we belong to the Imperial race, and that for some reason or other, not simply the "little Turk or Japanese," but all the other people in the world are different in their physical and mental fibre from us. But to the Englishman I fear we are only a kind of half-breed between the truly British man and the dusky Eskimo. We are not exactly Britons, all wool and a yard wide, in their estimation, and that is really one of the things we have to reckon with. You will hear after-dinner speeches in England at which Imperialism is beautifully talked about, and in which our consanguinity is certainly not denied, but as a matter of fact we are just a little different from a Briton born in the Islands in their estimation. That is why the boast of our loyalty is so often regarded cynically in England. The Englishman feels about our loyalty as Audrey did about the fantastical thing, poetry, when she asks Touchstone, "Is it a *true* thing?" Are you Canadians really so patriotic and loyal as you pretend, he says, and if so, why are you so? Now, we know that the people in the dependent parts of the Empire and certainly in Canada are as unselfishly loyal as the people in Great Britain. There is no doubt about that whatever, but it is not an easy thing to make an Englishman believe it. Therefore I think it is rather a pity that Mr. Chamberlain's proposals entangle together, as it were, two very different things: One, the binding together of different parts of the Empire, in which, I am sure, he is unselfish and really taking a statesmanlike view, and in the other a kind of

trade bargain between Great Britain and the different parts of the Empire.

I am not discussing now, and I shall not hereafter, the question of whether it would be wise for England to make that bargain. I merely intend to state the views of certain British people; but I do now say that to me it seems unfortunate that we come before England, through Mr. Chamberlain, urging, on the one hand, our racial instincts, our love and affection for the British Empire, and our desire because of heredity and a hundred other proper motives, to be held together in the British Empire, and, on the other hand, proposing that we shall get something for our adherence. Now I am sure that as the Executive Officer of a great Bank, and one who is constantly studying the interests of Canada, no one will for a moment doubt that I would be very glad, indeed, if we should get a preference on foodstuffs, or any kind of preferential tariff arrangement with England, but I wish to point out that in this present emergency if anybody's trade is suffering it is the trade of England itself and not Canada, and this is really a question for them more than for us. It is for them to make up their minds as to what is in the interest of England rather than for us. If this involves a concession to the Colonies in the matter of foodstuffs, it will be an excellent thing for us; but we cannot pretend that the progress or future of Canada requires anything of the sort.

I would like to point out to you the conditions in Great Britain, Canada and the United States as they appear to me, and to consider the points of view of Great Britain regarding these conditions, and the reasons why she may conclude to do something different in the way of Imperialism from the proposals of Mr. Chamberlain. If you study the fiscal question in England to-day you will find that at least four very able pronouncements have already been made: one by Mr. Chamberlain in his speeches, where with a perfectly splendid magnetism he easily succeeds in holding together the people he talks to, and in making them believe almost all he says; one, a collection of arguments by himself and others brought together by Lord Brassey, in which he uses the statistics of the blue books accur-

ately and demonstrates quite to his satisfaction that free trade has been an entire success, that England does not need to do anything whatever along tariff lines, and that Mr. Chamberlain's arguments are entirely fallacious.

Then we have that of Mr. Felix Schuster, one of the ablest bankers in London, in which he takes up the subject from the point of view of London being not merely a free trade centre for merchandise, but for money and gold, and points out what might happen to Great Britain if she lost the position of being the clearing house of the world, which might follow, in his opinion, if she were to give preference to us and defy other nations. But Mr. Schuster has been followed in the Bankers' Institute with an address by Mr. Inglis-Palgrave, a country banker in England, and a gentleman prominent in the leading Society of British Economists. He also uses blue book figures as does Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Brassey and Mr. Felix Schuster, and demonstrates absolutely to his satisfaction that nothing can save Great Britain but the following out of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals.

Some of these writers and many other practical, able and intelligent men, urge that we need a Royal Commission, composed of unprejudiced men who will get together the precise facts as to British trade during the last twenty-five or thirty years and tell us authoritatively what is the matter with it, or if there is anything the matter with it. I think the intelligence of Great Britain will really wait until such a report has been made; but the tendency of thoughtful and able people over there is to believe that it will take an overpowering mass of evidence to induce them to depart from the trade traditions of the last thirty or forty years. When you say to them, What is the matter with your trade? Why have you lost in certain directions? You will now get a frank admission, which was not made very readily three or four years ago, that in the matter of technical skill, not simply of the ordinary workmen, but of the foremen and superintendents, and the sons of wealthy manufacturers who have gone to Oxford and Cambridge, and who do not know anything about their father's business, Great Britain, perhaps because of her prosperity during the

last thirty or forty years, has gone behind. If Mr. Chamberlain does nothing more than to convince the people of Great Britain of this, and to get them to enlarge the scope of their universities and schools, and fill the nation full of the idea that they must get into line, great good will be done.

And, again, they will admit that the British working-man, whether because of the Trade Unions or because of his large pay—because he has been well paid and has been a prosperous individual in the last quarter of a century—not only does not do anything like a full day's work, but does not do an intelligent day's work, and drinks a third of what he earns. Many people in Great Britain think if these two things were made right there would be nothing the matter with the trade of Great Britain, and certainly these are two things which must be remedied whether a tariff wall is built around Great Britain, or whether anything is done in the way of preferring the Colonies.

In a place like London most people have one idea at a time, and no particular idea for any length of time, and at the present moment they are a great deal more interested in certain practical conditions in front of them than they are in such discussions as Mr. Chamberlain's, which to some of them may seem to have almost an academic character and not to be as urgent as they seem to us. Only in the last four or five months have they felt the full effect of the cost of the war, and Great Britain has had to bear a great deal more than the mere cost of the war. She has had to bear the loss during the same period of the entire output of the Rand gold mines, and immediately before the war she had been at an enormous expenditure of capital to very greatly increase the output of those mines, so that while before the war she had an income sometimes of a million and a half sterling a month of new gold from South Africa, she has not more than about two-thirds of that, and she ought to have much more than a million and a half in order to get a return on the capital expenditure made before the war. If that gold were coming to London and if you found Great Britain rapidly falling into line in the matter of technical

skill, I think we should in a very short time find Great Britain absolutely in the van again, as against Germany and the rest of the world.

I could take up certain lines of trade and show where England has already come again to the front, where Americans have gone over there and shown that they had better machinery, and then England has taken her lesson as submissively as an Englishman sometimes does, and has bought the same machinery and established factories and is already doing as well as they are in the United States. The object I have in making these statements regarding Great Britain is to point out that they are not really thinking of Mr. Chamberlain's preferences and of their trade situation in the way we are thinking of it. They may be wrong; perhaps they ought to think as we do, but the point is that Great Britain is not thinking as we are.

When we turn to our own country and the United States—I would like to take them both together—what do we find? The United States is still the great food supplier of Great Britain and Europe. I do not think Englishmen realize—I know I have tried to point it out wherever I have had the opportunity—that the United States now sells foodstuffs, mainly in four or five articles, wheat, Indian corn, oats to some extent, beef and pork, and some pork products. She does not sell in very large quantities much else in foodstuffs. She raises these articles in such huge quantities that she still has a great surplus to sell. These products may in the aggregate increase for a time, but the proportion that is raised to be sold to Europe, relatively to that consumed at home, must from this time forward steadily decline, and it must decline until the time is reached when Canada is helping to feed the United States as well as Europe. I believe that is as true as the statement I ventured to make in 1890 that our North-West would be peopled largely from the United States. But is this an argument for helping out a people who are already so fortunate and so prosperous as to own the best wheat land left in the world?

The Englishman says, Why do you ask for a preference when everything is already going your way? We

have to buy from you in any event. What I have said in reply is this: The matter of finding a satisfactory market for our foodstuffs is not the main point. It is necessary to recognize that the United States are after all only buying with what they have to sell; that the purchasing power of the United States, as expressed in what they have to sell, must decline as the exportation of foodstuffs declines. What is going to take the place of that power of purchasing in Europe, which will be lost to the United States by not having foodstuffs to sell? Canada, the Argentine, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, beyond a peradventure, unless the world opens up some new areas. What I say to the Englishman is that it is his business to see that he does not lose that trade of the newer food-supplying nations. Thirty-five years ago we bought 50 cent. of all we imported from Great Britain. We had not then a quarter of the purchasing power we have now. Now we buy 50 per cent. of all our imports from the United States. We have never wished to displace the trade we had with you, and give it to the United States or to any other country. It cannot be our fault that it has been displaced. It must be your fault. Your business is not only to get back that 50 per cent., or more, but to get it back as quickly as possible, because as the purchasing power of Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Argentine and such countries increases, it will probably take the place of a declining purchasing power in the United States. This line of argument has not been made very often in England. We have talked a great deal about feeding England in case some other nation would not sell her foodstuffs during a time of war. I do not see anything to fear for England in that. I do not believe the time will ever come when the United States will both fight England and not sell wheat to England directly or indirectly, because if she is prevented by war from selling wheat she will stop fighting.

But the main point of all I have been saying is that whether our own arguments are right or wrong we may not succeed in convincing England, and if we do convince her it may take a long time; it may not be a matter of a year or two; it may be a matter of five or six or ten years.

I think this plan of Mr. Chamberlain's is too startling. It is offered to a public of thirty or forty millions, who have not been thinking along the same lines, and very little has been done in a preparatory way, and leading up to such far-reaching proposals. I want to engage your attention for a few minutes along another line of Imperialism, a line that to my mind would lead much more naturally to an Imperial condition than such a proposal as Mr. Chamberlain has made. It seems to me that our own system of government makes the proposals I am about to offer natural and practical. The federations of Canada and Australia are planned upon the idea that there is a Sovereign in Britain who retains certain powers; that the balance of the powers of government are divided between the Federal Governments and the Governments of the Provinces, which comprise such federations, the main idea being the largest measure of home rule which is compatible with the safety and effective government of the Empire. We, of course, hope that South Africa will soon be such a federation. There can surely be no reason under this system why Canada, Australia and South Africa should not surrender to an Imperial Council point by point certain things that do not interfere with their desire for home rule in other things.

Let me take up the question of a Supreme Court. We have our own Supreme Court, but we still go to the feet of the King when we are dissatisfied, although we are only allowed to go for very important matters in dispute. Why cannot we begin with an Imperial Supreme Court having in it representative judges from Canada and Australia sitting alongside of the English law lords and gradually building up a set of Imperial precedents and thus make us feel in going to the feet of the King, the King being represented in this case by his Committee, that we have a part in that Committee. This would be a most important initial step towards that final Imperialism which we must have some day. I am not an Imperialist unless some day there is to be a parliament in which we shall take our share. I feel certain that when an Imperial Council or Parliament, or whatever it may be, is established

sometime in the distant future, which shall guide the destinies of the Empire, we shall have our representatives there and by force of the fact that we shall be sure to know what we want shall take our full share in ruling. We should begin with something that is practical and that is an initial step leading on to that, even if it takes fifty years—I do not expect to see it—but leading inevitably to the time when Great Britain will not be an *Imperium in Imperio* in the British Empire, but part of a real empire.

Then if we could get the House of Lords to get over its peculiar crochets about the deceased wife's sister why could we not have a universal marriage and divorce law throughout the whole Empire? There is no home rule meaning in that; that is a subject which could safely be given to such an Imperial Council. Then take the question of capital punishment. Is there any reason why the laws with regard to capital punishment should not be the same throughout the British Empire? Could there not be uniformity in judicial systems wherever in the Empire we are dealing with the Anglo-Saxon race? And might this not prevent that decline in the quality of the judiciary which may result from the unwillingness of democracy to pay high salaries for high-class services. If we could build up in the British Empire a common idea of the administration of justice, a common notion of what justice is, a common faith that justice is certain to be administered whether you are in the Yukon or in Australia, in Toronto or in London, surely that of itself would be a power towards a greater Imperialism.

Then we learn that about a year ago representatives of universities in the different parts of the British Empire met in England, and for what purpose? To see if they could not conform their curricula and various regulations so that post-graduates from the different universities would be accepted at once in other universities. This did not mean only that the graduates of universities throughout the British Empire should be allowed to enter Oxford and Cambridge, or other universities in Great Britain. It meant the reverse process in some cases where scientific

and technical education was more advanced in certain outer parts of the British Empire than in Great Britain. What a great advance that would be; what a move it would be towards making us all think along similar lines and appreciate that we have a common history and a common literature.

Then I ventured to say three or four years ago that I thought we ought to imitate the United States in one thing. We ought to have for the Empire coasting laws similar to those of the United States. We ought to have laws under which no goods could be carried from one port to another of the British Empire except in bottoms owned in the British Empire. I was asked at that time if this was really a practical and useful question? If as a matter of fact almost all goods carried from one port of the British Empire to another were not now carried in British bottoms? But a very able gentleman, Mr. Thomson, of Dundee, now takes up that subject and points out how France by subsidizing not only iron and steel, but wooden vessels, is gradually taking England's trade; that she is going out to San Francisco and if she cannot get a cargo there she will run to Adelaide and get it and bring the goods to England, and at the same time take a subsidy from France for doing it. What a great conservator of our present trade position, and of Imperialism, it would be if we should start now and do the same thing as the United States before France and Germany and other countries cut largely into our shipping trade. Why shouldn't we have that simple form of retaliation? Only it is so foolish to use the word "retaliation" at all.

And why can we not have a load line for the whole British Empire which shall apply not only to our own ships, but to all ships loading in British ports? Could we not unite and say that what is good enough for Great Britain is good enough for every port in the British Empire? That is eminently a thing for an Imperial Council to take up. We should also have Imperial laws on other points connected with shipping. I am speaking advisedly now; I spend a large part of my life in dealing with foreign

exchange and the shipment of goods. If we could have a uniform bill of lading, a uniform system of marine insurance and a uniform adjustment of marine losses we would have a tremendous advantage against the rest of the world. In both of these things, the shipping and insurance, we would keep up the pre-eminence in the trade of the world that Great Britain has now. She has that pre-eminence now ; she does most of the marine insurance and owns most of the ships. What we want to-day is that all the growth of the British Empire hereafter shall lead in the same direction and that the other countries shall not make in that part of her business the same depredations they have made in her manufactures.

It is, of course, very desirable that all the reciprocal trade arrangements between one Colony and another, or with the Mother Country, that are possible should be made. Success in this respect will naturally lead to a condition in which Mr. Chamberlain's wider proposals would probably be adopted,

I think Great Britain would help in Imperial steamship lines and Imperial cable services even more than she has in the past, and if we could reach a point where the different parts of the British Empire are better connected together in the matter of cable services and steamship lines than all the rest of the world, that would be another great advantage we would have which would be very difficult for the rest of the world to compete with.

Why cannot we have an Imperial penny post and the low rates applying to newspapers? Why is it when we arrange to send our newspapers to Great Britain, with the least possible restriction, that some high clerk in the British Post Office has power enough to say it is not expedient for Great Britain to send her papers to Canada on the same terms. Do we not complain every day that we get our information about passing events through the United States? And yet when we make the proposal which would deliberately result in our having the *London Times* on our table instead of or along with the American papers, the answer of some officer in the British Post Office can balk us in our efforts towards Imperialism.

But there remains the question of Imperial Defence. You know, gentlemen, if that question was settled it would be a great deal easier for a Canadian in England to discuss these other questions. It is not pleasant to have nearly every other Englishman, either jocularly or in some less pleasant manner, say that we do not pay our share of the cost of the game. I do not think there is one Englishman in a hundred who has ever considered in detail as to what our share of the cost of the game is. There are a lot of things to be considered before any one can say what our share is. Certainly the long line between us and the United States which we would have to defend ourselves, if the necessity ever arose, should not count. Certainly the fact that we have built and are building trans-continental railways should. Certainly the fact that England's constant wars are not caused by the Colonial federations should be considered. But in any event let us ascertain what our fair share of the cost of Imperial defence is, and having ascertained it let us see whether we can pay it or not. If we cannot pay it let us be a little more humble until the time comes when we can.

There is another matter to which I wish to draw your attention. Perhaps it does not seem to relate to Imperialism and yet I think it does. I wish when the British gentleman's son is through his course at the University he would go, as he does now, on a "grand tour." But that his grand tour would not necessarily be to the south of Europe. I have met a great many Englishmen and Scotchmen, sons of wealthy families, who have gone through the dependent parts of the British Empire, and I have never met one who has not admitted that it is the greatest possible loss to Great Britain, especially to the immediate generation that is coming now, that the young men who are going to have to do with the affairs of Great Britain, whether they be high officials in the state, or men going into various departments of the civil service, or manufacturers or merchants, do not end their university course—and the old idea very properly was that part of a university course was to go and see the world before they settled down—by travelling through the major parts

of the British Empire and learning, to some extent, what their heritage is.

As we know, there are no end of misconceptions besides these. We have our hands full before we can make the average Briton a real Imperialist. He talks about it after dinner. There are lots of Imperialists in the newspapers, and in the army and navy, and among writers and publicists, but when you talk to the British manufacturer or merchant or banker he is only an Imperialist after dinner. He is not much of an Imperialist down in the counting-house. They would just as soon deal with Belgium as with us. Indeed, to make them understand that we do not want any favour, but that we do want them to deal with us, all things being equal, is very difficult. It is our business to as far as possible remove these misconceptions. We are apt to blame them, however, for a kind of ignorance that we possess in a large degree ourselves. For instance, we speak of their lack of knowledge of the geography of Canada, but how many of us know much about the geography of Australia. We might be puzzled to say just where Melbourne is, or as to the geography of the Cape. We ourselves want to study all the complicated questions connected with the British Empire and study Great Britain's difficulties; if we are going to be of any help in this great question we want to realize what a terribly complicated question for Great Britain this is; and that education and time for education will inevitably be required.

Finally, what is our goal? Our goal is one flag. I do not take any interest in a special flag for Canada; nor do I desire merely a British flag put up over a dependency, but one flag belonging absolutely to all of us in the British Empire. Then I think we want to feel that some day there will be an Imperial Parliament in which we will take part. I do not care whether this takes ten, twenty-five or fifty years to accomplish. I only care that we shall begin Imperialism so that it shall gradually end in that, because to my mind it means nothing to us if it does not end in that. I would go in for Independence to-morrow if I thought we were simply to have an *Imperium in Im-*

perio over in Great Britain, forever. Then we want that kind of coherence throughout the Empire which does not exist as yet; that the fact that we sprung at once to the front and did our best to help in the South African trouble will not be a strange thing for which the Englishman feels that he must thank us. We want that kind of coherence that will make everybody in the Empire instinctively feel that while we do not wish to quarrel with the rest of the world, if the emergency arises we shall be found standing back to back absolutely and indefeasibly against the world.

TWO PILLARS OF THE EMPIRE.

Address delivered by the Right Rev. J. Philip DuMoulin, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Niagara, at the Empire Club Luncheon, on May 5th, 1904.

MR. PRESIDENT,—

I am sure it is a great pleasure to me to find myself among so many loyal laymen and, although just now under the command of the gallant Colonel, I do not find myself under fire, I do find myself under considerable smoke. I do not strongly object to it, however, though I do not indulge in it myself; and I am sorry to say smoke is an atmosphere that I am afraid you have been painfully acquainted with in this part of Toronto quite recently.

I think you will agree with me, Gentlemen, that the verdict of history and the verdict of the people generally has been recorded in favour of constructive statesmanship. Men pay very little regard to those whose office and mission amongst them seems to be to level and to pull down. The men whose names are emblazoned to-day upon the pages of history, and will be had in everlasting remembrance, are the great Empire builders from Alexander downwards, through Caesar, and Charlemagne, and Napoleon, and even to the great names that our fathers and ourselves remember, Clive and Hastings and Beaconsfield and, last, but not least, Cecil Rhodes. It is a very remarkable thing that to this day in England the name of Lord Beaconsfield is had in a brighter and stronger remembrance, though he is longer dead, than the name of his great rival, Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone was a man of great purity of character and life, of noble disinterestedness; was self-denying, was deep in his religious thought and life, was great and commanding in his labours and in his eloquence; but to this day it would be impossible in England to evoke enthusiasm and gather it around the name and memory of William

Ewart Gladstone as, voluntarily, it springs up and burns brightly around the name of Lord Beaconsfield. Whenever the anniversary of his death-day comes around in England you will meet on the crowded streets, from the highest to the lowest, people wearing on their breast the primrose in honour of that great man whose life-work it was to build up and to strengthen and not to give away or to lower the great Empire to which it is our pride to belong.

I have to say, or try to say, a few words to you now briefly, so as not to encroach upon your valuable time, upon what I have ventured to call "Two Pillars of the Empire." One of these, I think, unmistakably and unquestionably, is the strong pillar of Commerce. That insolent taunt that Napoleon in the days of his power hurled against England that she was a nation of shop keepers was notwithstanding eminently true. A commercial people undoubtedly the English always have been. And this is deeply written in their history, that in great movements commerce seems to have come first, and when troubles and difficulties arose the sword of England was unsheathed to protect the great empire of commerce she had previously built up and established. Now, you will have no difficulty whatever in tracing and recognizing this very distinctly and very vividly in the story of the three great Chartered Companies whose history is so identified with the progress and upbuilding of the Empire. These work out the idea that I have just expressed. They arose in that intensely commercial spirit of the Anglo-Saxon people, and when they were pushed in their progress into collision with great powers and great oppositions then came in the military spirit that conquered, and improved and retained what previously had been gained in a commercial way. These three chartered corporations that have built up the commercial empire of the Anglo-Saxon race have given her three-quarters of her territory and nine-tenths of her population. My young friends, if I may venture so to address the younger members of this Club, you could hardly employ your leisure hours in a more interesting

and fascinating study than the history of those three corporations.*

That of the East India Company in point of order comes first. It is a magnificent romance. They say that truth is stranger than fiction, and so here that saying is wrought out and exhibited. If one sat down with all the brilliancy of his imagination to write a thrilling story he could not have done so in a way superior to that in which the literal story of the East India Company has been written indirectly by the pen of Lord Macaulay. And whenever we go back to the history of that wonderful company that added to England the brightest gem in the Crown, its most valuable possessions and the greatest number of its subjects—whenever, I say, we revert to that history we are forcibly reminded that it did not begin with dreams of ambition as to conquest and subjugation. It was not set on foot for the acquisition of territory; it was not set agoing to put down foreign races and take possession of their lands, and make them our slaves. No such thing. It originated in the commercial idea of the nation of shop-keepers. Men who had done well, merchant princes, bankers and capitalists—men who had money at command and were filled with the dream of profitable investment—looked across the seas, listened to the stories, the romantic stories, that came to them of rubies and rupees, and furs and silks, and cashmere and ivory, and splendid works; all the riches of the Indies, as it were, within their grasp.

They did not organize armies to attack those people and to wrench those possessions from them. They employed the army of their money, of their golden pounds; they sent out their capital; they obtained a charter for a company? That Company went out and traded; did well; did famously; sent home good returns; and as these increased and the East India Company became renowned for its success and its almost fabulous wealth, then arose, as will generally arise under such conditions, oppositions and difficulties which led to subsequent and more im-

* Articles by Professor Seeley, H. Davis, and Essays by Lord Macaulay on Clive and Hastings.

portant events. Collision with the native princes was inevitable; their traditions could not go down silently before the influence and march of the Anglo-Saxon race. Three of their greatest cities, indeed, owed their building up, if not their origin, to that great English enterprise, but the mind of the Oriental is not attracted by commercial success and, therefore, great and dreadful oppositions commenced. The Indian potentates opposed themselves, and it was in this condition of things, as every one will remember, that that most wonderful hero of history arose, whose name shines like a star, but like a star going down behind a cloud, Lord Clive—a young man who was sent out to India as a worthless fellow to save him from idleness. He, in those circumstances, developed a military genius second only, perhaps, to that of Napoleon. He conquered the opposition; he avenged the horrible wrongs and outrages that had been committed upon his race. He wrote his name in letters of glory on the history of that country, and it has been said by Lord Macaulay, in tracing in his wonderful way his life and works, that if he had lived till the American Revolution he would in all probability have been placed in command of the British forces and George Washington might not have had the easy triumph that he obtained.

I need not detain you with details and particulars with which you are well acquainted. I have only to remind you in passing that Warren Hastings completed what Lord Clive began; that he organized what Clive had founded. It is true that these men did well for themselves, and well for the capitalists and the Company that they represented, and, as subsequent events have shown, well for the Great Empire. It is a very wonderful thing, gentlemen, as we recall the pages of history, that the greatest achievements of heroes and mighty men of old, in those times whereof I speak, as well as in our own, were obtained despite the opposition of the very people that should have stood by them and encouraged them. Lord Clive had to give account of himself before a Commission. Warren Hastings, as you know, was impeached by all the eloquence of Burke, and the whole array of orators that composed the Parliamentary Party

of the closing years of George III.'s reign. The little man, small and insignificant as he appeared, but towering head and shoulders above other men with superior advantages, won the victory and was restored to the confidence of the English people. Then followed years of trouble and wars with which were identified the name of Wellesley. These names are connected with the rise and progress and the years of trouble and decay of the East India Company, and then came the days when the great statesman that our glorious Queen loved, and who loved her with a devoted and unswerving loyalty, was able to call upon Parliament to recognize her as the Empress of India.

The commercial triumphs and the commercial prosperity were accomplished, the military glory was established. Millions upon millions were added to England's empire, and a mighty empire, grand and rich, was placed under the Imperial Crown and Government. This was not only a great commercial triumph, this was not only a great State acquisition, but this was the very best thing that in the government of God Almighty, and in the minds of all reasonable and thinking men could have befallen that ancient portion of the earth. For hundreds of years it had been rent by war, bloodshed and misrule; its treasures unknown, and when known, wasted or thrown away with prodigality unexampled; all such prolonged disasters happily ended with the reign of Her Majesty over that vast country, bringing to it peace and prosperity, and the best government under the sun. As we read this history and recall the other Powers of the world that had the opportunity of doing these things and mark their failure, can you and I, gentlemen, for a single moment withhold our sober conviction that we are now the subjects of an empire that God Almighty in his Providential rule over this world has raised up and advanced and strengthened to be the greatest boon for the people of the world that has yet appeared. One can only touch the outer fringe of this great chapter of history and commend it to your careful consideration. It is enough to fill the breasts of the Anglo-Saxon race with a pride

which should energize them to noble deeds and purposes high and great and lofty.

From this we pass to another chartered company, "The Hudson's Bay Company." This is prosaic after the glitter of the East India Company's story; but comparatively dull, as it may be, you will mark in it this feature that dominates the whole history and career of the Anglo-Saxon race. There is in the Hudson's Bay Company, manifestly put forth, the same indomitable enterprise that led men in the century before to wrestle with the jungle and with the tropical heat and fire; the same spirit which sends them now alike to strive with eternal snows and everlasting ice and all the basts, blizzards and storms of the frigid and inhospitable regions of the great North-West. They, too, saw in that unknown land so far away, the same prospects of good investments; as yet they knew not the mineral treasures that lay beneath those mountains and rolled through those rivers and rested in immeasurable lands, but they sent out their capital and their men and the dashing Prince Rupert and Marlborough the Grand, and after that you may read such names as McTavish and MacKenzie and Simpson, names that give you to understand that where people bearing them take a grip they do not easily let it go.

We come down through the usual sliding scale. The poor Indian was a poor competitor with such men who were sucking the riches of his country and taking his forests, prairies and rivers. Little wonder that he tried to roll back this tide and to keep his possessions. Little wonder that there were troubles and rebellions to be quelled. And, then, we meet with another renowned name, that of Donald Smith. They call him, as well he deserves to be called, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, but I venture to say there are some here to-day who would prefer the resounding name of Donald Smith. In these times when the troubles there were great as they had been in the East India Territory, the arms of England were brought in, the military force, not to crush those people, not to make them serfs, not to drive them out, not to treat them cruelly, as so often has been done by the

troops of the United States, bayonet in hand, but to give them every blessing that good government and Christianity could bring to their doors. There was nothing that could have been devised, nothing that could have been done for the aboriginal inhabitants of that continent that the British Government in its generosity did not undertake and strive to do. If Indians are not the people they ought to be it is their own fault. Some people say the only good Indian is a dead Indian. But, however that may be, he is destined to disappear before the advance of that race that must conquer. And so came the day as it was in India, when the Company having prospered commercially and made all it could well have made, handed over the territory to the great Crown and to the flag which is the insignia of Liberty and Prosperity wherever it waves.

Now we come to the last chartered Company, the South African, and here all the romance of your souls may gather around that name, of which every Englishman ought to be everlastingly proud, Cecil Rhodes. If ever there was an unselfish patriot, if ever there was a broad-minded man, it was the man who lies there amid the lofty hills and sleeps in the land that he did so much to make great. He understood the riches of that country, its diamonds and all its resources. He induced the capitalists to obtain the charter and founded the Company. But though he was commercially interested in this, as he said himself, "I have joined commerce and imagination," he had other, and, may I say, wider and nobler dreams. You have heard the story that as he sat one evening after dinner with his friends, and a map of South Africa was lying open on the table, he said, "I want to see it all red." That was his dream. And for that he laboured, beginning at the beginning with the commercial basis and establishing the Company, that the capitalists of England are ever ready to establish, for the promotion not merely of the selfish, but of the higher ends of humanity. I need not pursue the history of that Company, or the difficulties with which that splendid man had to contend; the traitorous plans of the meanest enemy, Paul Kruger; the weakness and vacillation of him who was called by

a vast number the "Grand Old Man," and of whom I desire to say nothing harsh or unkind, but of whom all Englishmen must say this, that at Majuba Hill he gave up the cause and buried the flag.

Then came the days of internal struggles and threatening wars; the days of conspiracy and the blunder of the Jameson Raid which dethroned Cecil Rhodes from his position at Cape Town and obliged him to retire from the Presidency of the Company that he had organized and established. But he lived long enough to foresee what the issue would be in that case, as in the other two, that the whole land should be ours, not for purposes of vain-glorious display, not for the covetous, but for the best interests and the highest good and the greatest happiness of the people of South Africa, and all the people who shall make that country their home. Here we have one great pillar of empire, Commerce. As has been said, the French were a military people; the Dutch a commercial people. The English are both, and by combining the two have established in the world the greatest Empire "that has been." How we are to hold this commercial supremacy, how best to steer the ship through the waves that now seem to begin beating against her, it is not my office to tell you, Gentlemen, here to-day. You are more familiar with these subjects than I could pretend to be. Only let us all make up our minds to this that as far as our individual and collective efforts go we will not suffer the great inheritance that has descended to us to be impaired by our incompetency, or negligence, or ignorance.

I must now for a moment turn to another pillar of our Empire upon which, as you see, a few moments alone can be bestowed. The other pillar of our Empire is its language. Wherever in this world you find a great man he must have a language in which to pour out his greatness and make other peoples and nations feel it. If he were a dummy his influence would be contracted and limited beyond the power of description. And so it is with our great Empire. If she is to spread herself, if she is to leaven the world, if she is to be a teacher as great as her power, she must have a language and speech

in which to express all the noble treasures laid up in her bosom. And so the English language is another pillar of the Empire upon which I would say a few words to-day. It is one of our noblest inheritances, one of our grandest possessions, and it comes down to us through the long roll and sweep of the centuries, beginning with the rugged old Anglo-Saxon tongue, so strong and striking, so honest, unequivocal and unmistakable in its assertions and propositions; onwards it flows through the stream and mixes with the Norman, French, and then with the Latin and Teutonic tongues, and in this progress, gathering as it goes, building itself up into the greatest tongue, as distinguished linguists say, in this world to-day.

The English language, Mr. Weisse says, is better fitted than any other to be the universal language; it has in it all the advantages of its predecessors, and all the milk and cream of its contemporaries. For all the purposes of life, he declares, after years of study, that it is the most usable and most useful of languages. The late President of the Great North-Western Telegraph Company said that for telegraphic purposes the English tongue saved 25 per cent. in expense. And it has been proved that three-fifths of all the railway and steamboat tickets that are used by travellers in the world to-day are used by the Anglo-Saxon race. These people have earned for themselves the name of "globe trotters." They go up and down through the world. They have made it necessary for all peoples and nations to respect and to speak the English tongue. Fifteen years ago when I was better able to accomplish it than I am now, I did a little globe-trotting, and when I came home I made a calculation that I had stayed in some fifty hotels; I had travelled most of the European continent over in various railways and steamboat communications; and there was only one hotel in my list in which English was not spoken. The railway officials, the conductors and sometimes even the inferior officers can speak enough of English to make the traveller understand, and to aid him in his inquiries, and in all the hotels, whatever he

wants, he can ask for in that great tongue and have an answer.

English is spoken now as the first language in the world. The tables that were compiled at the beginning of the nineteenth century gave the English tongue the fifth place; the tables recently compiled at the beginning of the present century have pushed this language of ours up to first place. Years ago it was said that one million natives in India could speak the English tongue. The Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston, went out there and addressed immense assemblies of Brahmins without the aid of an interpreter. This language is spoken to-day in the world by 150,000,000 people. It is a noble tongue not only for all purposes of commerce and business and hard transactions between man and man, downright logic and mathematical reasoning and accuracy of mind with mind, but it lends itself as well to all that is gentle and poetic and sentimental and sweet in our nature; for purposes of war, for purposes of making love, or for poetry or romance, the English language is just as useful and as beautiful as it is for all the harder and more stern realities of this great life that you and I have to live. I have only to remind you that it is the language of Shakespeare, of Milton, of the English Bible, of the glorious literature of Queen Anne, and of the nineteenth century, of the Victorian Era, of Tennyson, and, I may say it without exciting a smile, it is the language of Kipling, in which he has not only warbled the ballads that meet with the approbation of Tommy Atkins, but the incomparable *Recessional*, that lifts the soul to the very highest pinnacle of glorious communion and worshipful acknowledgment of the Great God of all.

This is another pillar of the Empire. In a sense it is committed to the keeping of every one of us. Let us not debase it, let us not corrupt it, let us not sanction the slang by which sometimes its involuntary enemies would pull it down and degrade it. Above all, men and brethren, never employ this speech, which is fit for the gods and the angels and superlative powers, to utter an impure word, or a blasphemous word, or an infidel word, or an unbrotherly word, or a disloyal word. God bless the

Empire, which rests upon these two great pillars and upon many another. I am old enough to remember when in social gatherings it was customary to sing:

Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves ;
Britons never, never shall be slaves.

But we have got beyond that. Who would dream of being a slave now that lives under the flag that serves the Empire? Not slaves, but princes and masters and kings of the world in a noble and benevolent loyalty are we. And this great rule never visited any part of the world yet that it did not drive out tyranny and barbarism and illiberality of every sort, planting instead liberty and truth and righteousness, making peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, the benediction of all the people.

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