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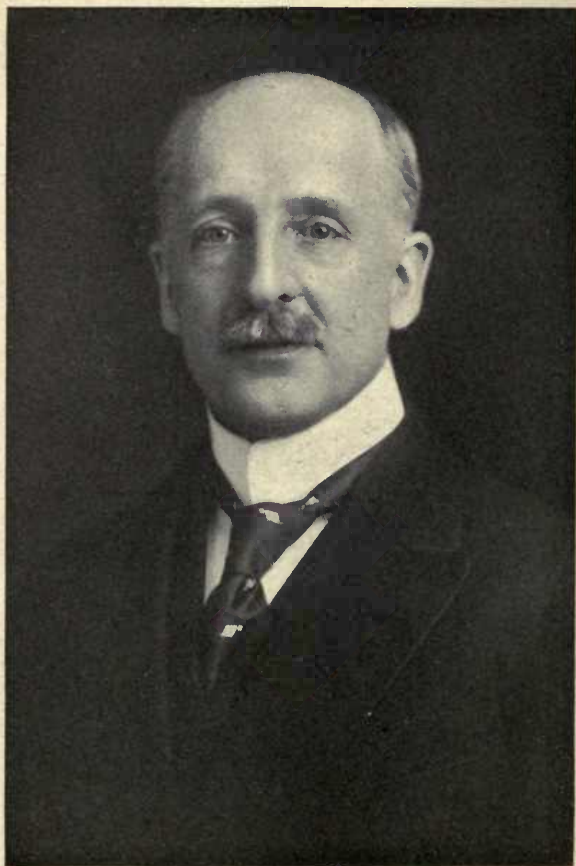
# EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA



ARTHUR HEWITT
PRESIDENT OF THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, 1920.

# EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

## ADDRESSES DELIVERED TO THE MEMBERS DURING THE YEAR 1920.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF ISSUE

v. 18

GOD SAVE THE KING

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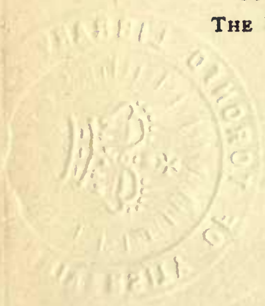

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# CONTENTS

PAGE

OFFICERS, 1920 . . . . . . . . . viii

CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM . . . . . . ix

AFFILIATION WITH THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE . xv

S. R. PARSONS, . . . . . . . . . . 1
International Labour Conference at Washington.

VEN. ARCHDEACON CODY AND J. H. GUNDY, ESQ. . . 20
The Forward Movement.

SIR GEORGE PAISH . . . . . . . . 36
The World's Financial Situation.

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE . . . . . . . . 53
Recent Developments in University Education in Great Britain.

ULSTER UNIONIST DELEGATION . . . . . 64
The Irish Problem.

DR. JOHN A. STEWART . . . . . . . 89
World Conspiracy Against Anglo-American Friendship.

SIR ANDREW MACPHAIL, M.D., KT. . . . . . 109
The Farmer.

GEO. EDGAR VINCENT, PH.D., LL.D. . . . . . 126
The Work of the Rockefeller Foundation: Health as an International Bond.

DR. MICHAEL CLARK, M.P. . . . . . . 146
The British Empire, its Growth and Power.

DR. THOMAS CARTER . . . . . . . . 158
India and the Empire.

PAGE

MARK SHELDON . . . . . . . . . . 169
The Commonwealth of Australia To-day.

JOHN KENDRICK BANGS . . . . . . . . 180
Salubrities I Have Met.

BRIG.-GEN. DAVEY . . . . . . . . . 217
Gallipoli.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHAS. TOWNSEND . . . . . 231
Imperial Strategy.

HON. DUNCAN MACLEAN MARSHALL . . . . . 247
The Future of Agriculture in Alberta.

LEOPOLD S. AMERY, M.P., (LIEUT.-COL.) . . . 259
The British League of Nations.

ROBERT DONALD . . . . . . . . . 271
After War, Peace Complications.

ELLIS T. POWELL, LL.B., D.Sc. . . . . . . 290
Scientific Imperialism from the Viewpoint of Europe.

RIGHT HON. LORD DESBOROUGH, K.C., V.O. . . . . 304
Empire Sport.

RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT CAVE . . . . . . . 312
The Meaning of "Empire" To-day.

MAJOR-GEN. J. E. B. SEELY, C.B., D.S.O., M.P. . . . 324
My Experiences with The Canadian Cavalry.

GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE . . . . . . 344
The Influence of Canadian Universities in Canadian Development.

HON. LOUIS ATHANASE DAVID, K.C., LL.B. . . . . 356
Quebec of Yesterday and Tomorrow.

LEO WEINTHAL, O.B.E., F.R.G.S. . . . . . . 374
The Cape to Cairo Railway and River Route.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE . . . . 407
Citizenship.

PAGE

LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, K.C., LL.B. . . . . . . 417
The Quebec Code as a Canadian Asset.

RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER . . . . . . . . 431
Social Progress Through Social Service.

EDWARD E. BARNARD, A.M., D.Sc. . . . . . . . 441
Photographing the Sky. (Illustrated)

ANNUAL MEETING . . . . . . . . . . . 463

MISS MAGDA COE . . . . . . . . 470
A Message.

MONRO GRIER, K.C. . . . . . . . . 475
The Empire's Christmas.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB . . . . . 491

# OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE
## YEAR 1920.

*Patron and Honorary President*

FIELD-MARSHALL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARN, K.G., G.C.M.G.

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*First Vice President*: A. E. GILVERSON
*Second Vice-President*: BRIG. GEN. C. H. MITCHELL, C.B,. C.M.G., D.S.O.
*Third Vice-President*: R. E. PATTERSON

*Secretary-Treasurer*: D.J.GOGGIN, M.A., D.C.L., 3 North Street.

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WILLIAM BROOKS.
DR. W. A. BLACK.
LT.-COL. R. C. LEVESCONTE.
A. H. MACFARLANE.
PROF. D. R. KEYS.
LT.-COL. W. G. MACKENDRICK.
S. R. PARSONS.
W. J. DARBY.
J. B. SUTHERLAND.
PERCY HAYWARD.
H. J. COLEBROOK.
A. S. CRIGHTON.
REV. W. R. R. ARMITAGE (CAPT.)
FRANK BETHEL.
DR. J. MURRAY CLARK, K.C.

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J. F. M. STEWART, B.A.
*D. J. GOGGIN, M.A. D.C.L.
ELIAS CLOUSE, M.D.
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*F. B. FETHERSTONHAUGH, K.C.
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LT.-COL. R. J. STUART.
ALBERT HAM, MUS. DOC.
J. B. PERRY
NORMAN SOMMERVILLE, M.A.
*F. J. COOMBS.

*Ex-Officio members of the Executive Committee

# CONSTITUTION AND PLATFORM

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

*Organization of the Club and Branches*

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the Club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed, under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

*Classes of Members*

Art. 2.—The membership of the Club shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject and shall consist of

(*a*) Active Resident Members.
(*b*) Non-Resident Members.
(*c*) Life Members.
(*d*) Honorary Members.

*Active Resident Members and Non-Resident Members*

Art. 3.—(1) 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.

(3) Active resident members shall pay an annual fee of $3.00 and non-resident members $2.00, this fee to include membership, obtained after October fifteenth in any year, till December thirty-first of the following year.

No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or to be eligible for office.

### *Life Members*

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election as Life Members at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $50.00 in one sum.

### *Honorary Members*

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

### *Officers to be Elected*

Art. 6.—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; a Treasurer, a Secretary, or a Secretary-Treasurer; and seventeen other members, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. These members together with the officers before mentioned, shall constitute the Executive Committee, and shall hold office throughout the calendar year. All Past Presidents of the Club shall constitute an Advisory Council under the Chairmanship of the immediate Past President, and such Advisory Council shall elect annually three members, who, together with the retiring President, shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

*Election of Officers*

(2) The Election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members to be held not later than December 15th of 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, due notice of such meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such committee shall report to the Annual Meeting; provided that no member shall be nominated to any office unless and until he has given notice in writing that he consents to such nomination and will act if elected to the position for which he has been nominated.

(3) Two Auditors shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

*Standing Committees*

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:—

(*a*) Finance Committee.
(*b*) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(*e*) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(*f*) Publicity Committee.
(*g*) Royal Colonial Institute Committee.

*Filling of Vacancies among Officers*

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

*Duties of Officers*

Art. 8.—The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

### *Holding of Meetings*

Art. 9.—(1) 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.

(2) 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 an interim report from the Treasurer. As the financial year does not end until December 31st, the Treasurer shall, in addition to the interim report presented at the Annual Meeting, present an audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year at any regular meeting of the Club held during the month of January.

### *Notice of Meetings*

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

### *Quorum at Meetings*

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual, or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

### *Limitation of Business at General Meetings*

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the address and notice of motions shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

### *Calling of Special Meetings*

Art. 13.—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 by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

*Financial Year*

Art. 14.—The Financial Year shall be the same as the calendar year, viz.: January first to December thirty-first.

*Amendments to Constitution*

Art. 15.—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.

# EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA
## TORONTO

*Amended Platform of Principles and Objects for which the Empire Club of Canada stands*

1. That, as hitherto, the main object of the Empire Club of Canada is the advancement of the interests of Canada, and a United Empire.

2. That the term British should apply to all citizens of the Empire.

3. That the Empire should be so organized that Canada and the other self-governing Dominions should be given a share in the control of its destinies, particularly in matters of peace and war.

4. That the different parts of the Empire should contribute to the cost of its defence, in such manner and amount as may be properly determined by a Convention called by the Parliaments of the Empire.

5. That in Imperial organization there should be preserved to the several self-governing Dominions their autonomy and the control of all local as distinguished from Imperial matters.

6. That Canadian public Lands should be given free to citizens who have fought, or enlisted to fight, in the armies, navies and air forces of the Empire and who express a desire for farm life—a condition of such grant to be actual settlement and cultivation by the donee; and that an equivalent recognition should be given to such soldiers as desire to follow other occupations.

7. That all articles of growth, produce or manufacture within the component parts of the Empire should be given preferential advantages in the respective markets of the Empire, and that measures should be adopted to prevent any of the Empire's resources being utilized to injure British interests.

8. That a proper system of physical and military training should be introduced in the schools, colleges and universities throughout the Dominion of Canada.

# MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

GOVERNING THE AFFILIATION OF

## THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

AND

## THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

1. That the Royal Colonial Institute and the Empire Club of Canada be affiliated with a view to mutually promoting the object for which both were founded, namely, the Unity of the Empire.

2. That members of the Empire Club of Canada introduced by the Secretary of the Club, on recording their arrival in England, to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, be made Honorary Fellows for one month.

3. That residents in the Dominion of Canada may become non-resident Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute and Members of the Empire Club of Canada on being duly proposed and seconded, and on payment of an Entrance Fee of One Guinea (Five Dollars) and an Annual Subscription of Twenty-five Shillings, (Six Dollars) for which they will receive the Journal of the Institute "United Empire" free of charge, and, when in London, have the use of the Institute Building as a Standing Address. This subscription will cover membership of both the Club and the Institute, and shall be allotted to the Institute and the Club in the proportion of three dollars and fifty cents to the former, and two dollars and fifty cents to the latter.

4. That all publications of the Empire Club of Canada shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute as soon as published, and each Member of the Institute, so desiring, shall be entitled to a copy of the annual volume of the Empire Club Proceedings and Addresses for the sum of seventy-five cents, or three shillings.

5. That the Monthly Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, "United Empire," shall be supplied to the Members of the Empire Club of Canada who are *not* Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute at an Annual Subscription of One Dollar, including postage, the ordinary subscription being one shilling per copy or twelve shillings a year exclusive of postage.

6. That the Financial Year of the Empire Club be the same as the Calendar Year, viz.—January first to December thirty-first.

7. That the Joint-Life-Subscription for new Non-Resident Fellows of the Institute and Members of the Empire Club be $65 (£13.1.0) ; $45 (£9.1.0) of which is payable to the Institute and includes an entrance fee of $5 (£1.1.0) ; and $20 (£4.) payable to the Empire Club.

*Received and adopted by the Empire Club of Canada, October 17, 1918.*

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## JOINT FEES

**AS IN ARTICLES 3 AND 7 ABOVE**

| ANNUAL FEE | | | LIFE FEE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | DISTRIBUTION | | TOTAL | DISTRIBUTION | | |
| | E. C. | R. C. I. | | E. C. | R. C. I. | |
| Dollars $6 | $2.50 | $3.50 | $65.00 | $20 | $45 | Includes $5.00 (£1 1s.) Initiation Fee for R. C. I. |
| Sterling £1 5s. | £0 10s. | £0 15s. | £13 1s. | £4 | £9 1s. | |
| | | | $60.00 | $20 | $40 | For present members who have already paid R. C. I. Initiation. |
| | | | £12 | £4 | £8 | |

The Object of the Club is the Advancement of the Interests of Canada and a United Empire

# THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY S. R. PARSONS, ESQ.

*Before the Empire Club, of Canada Toronto, Wednesday, January 7,* **1920**

The President, MR. ARTHUR HEWITT, in introducing the speaker, said,—Those of you who had the privilege of attending the annual meeting some weeks ago are quite agreed, I think, that nothing could possibly be more encouraging. The meeting was full of good fellowship, and at this opening meeting of the new year I want to express to the members of the Club my sincere appreciation of the great honour you have done me in making me your President for the coming year. I am very thankful for that; but I am going to be far more thankful for the help and good fellowship of the Empire Club, and particularly for the promised co-operation of Mr. Stapells. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, I want this Club to be a brotherhood; I want it to be a fellowship; I want you to come here if it is only to meet the other fellow. Comradeship is one of the greatest blessings we can enjoy on earth. We are out to advocate and support a united Empire. We must first advocate and support a united Empire Club. (Applause) Mr. Marriott once told a little story of a pilot on whose ship there was a sailor not quite in harmony with the views of the pilot as to how the ship should be run. This poor fellow didn't know any better than to go down and try to scuttle the ship. I do not care how much fault you find with the pilot—there will doubtless be lots of room for it—but, Gentlemen, don't go down below and try to scuttle the ship. All the tributes that could possibly be paid to a President and Executive for last year's splendid work were presented at the annual

meeting. All that words could be found to express was said there, and yet there was not a word said too much. In the first few days of my entering upon the duties of this office, I realised what a human dynamo your last year's President was. And there is something that pleases me and will please you very much; Mr. Stapells has undertaken to do this year as much work as he did last year, and more (hear, hear and applause), so that unless your new President is a minus quantity, you are going to have as great a success this year as you had last year, and that, to me, on the night of the annual meeting appeared to be an impossible proposition.

I think Mr. Stapells said he took twelve minutes at the opening meeting last year. I am not going to take that long, but I do want to remind you that there is a very definite object in our gathering, aside from the good fellowship and the camaraderie of which I have spoken. As citizens of a great City, a great Country, and a great Empire, we are all anxious to learn something new that will be helpful to us in the discharge of our responsibility for this great citizenship. (Applause) I can conceive of nothing that would be more helpful to this end than our gathering together from week to week, listening to men who have a particular message or a particular theme that is adaptable to and usable in our daily life. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, this is not intended to be a talk-fest; it is intended to be, if you will, a bureau of information from which we can sift out for ourselves useful facts, and apply them to our needs. Life is too short for us to be absorbed these days in anything but the essential things. There is no time, and in my judgment it constitutes an economic waste, if time that can be well spent on the gathering and disseminating of information for the public welfare is spent in idle uselessness instead of active usefulness. I want also, on the first opportunity I have, to express what I have observed and appreciated during the past year, namely, the general sympathetic and intelligent interest taken by the press in the affairs of the Club, and the publicity given to the Club through the

newspapers. (Hear, hear and applause) The usefulness of this Club can be multiplied a thousand-fold by the hearty and sympathetic co-operation of the members and whenever they find a message that is of special public value, if they will cause it to be circulated among all the people, they will be multiplying the influence of the Empire Club and discharging a responsibility resting upon them. (Hear, hear)

I want to tell you of an incident that looked like a disappointment for our first meeting. On Tuesday morning the Chairman of our Speaker's Committee received a telegram from Mr. Radcliffe, who was to speak to us today, saying that he had assumed that the vaccination regulations would not interfere with his getting out of Toronto without being vaccinated. Well, that was a good deal to assume. (Laughter) I have not been able to assume it, and I have wanted to go across the line for several months, but it could not be done. We tried to persuade Mr. Radcliffe to come, and told him we had a number of clever Doctors in our midst who would vaccinate him very successfully. However, he did not like the vaccine needle and decided not to come. That disappointment was of very short duration because in looking over the membership of the new Executive Committee, we remembered that we had one gentleman there who could be depended upon, not only to fill the vacant position but to do it very effectively; he not only could, but we were quite sure he would. (Applause)

Mr. S. R. Parsons is among the most respected citizens of this City, (hear, hear) and from my knowledge of his activities and his work it is a great pleasure for me to-day to be able to tell you that in place of Mr. Radcliffe, Mr. Parsons has promised to tell us something about the Conference held in Washington recently, which continued for a whole month, and was attended by Mr. Parsons. It was the first International Conference authorized by the Treaty of Peace. It is most important to us as citizens that we should be informed upon such an important Conference, better informed than we could be from the more or less general references in the public

press, and Mr. Parsons brings to us at first-hand the report of that International Conference. I have now much pleasure in calling upon him, and I want you to join in a hearty welcome, because Mr. Parsons has come to us at almost a moment's notice to take the place of one who has had to fail us.

## MR. S. R. PARSONS

*Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Empire Club,*—The warmth of your reception to-day overwhelms me. I was asked to come and speak on account of your disappointment in connection with Mr. Radcliffe, whom we were all looking forward to hearing with very great pleasure and profit. Whatever I may say this afternoon, whether you agree with it or not, we will make common cause in our disappointment that Mr. Radcliffe is not here. (Applause)

When I was asked to say something about the International Labour Conference which has just been concluded in Washington, I stated that I had already spoken to a meeting of employers a couple of weeks ago, and had given them a report in connection with that Conference, and that I would prefer, perhaps, to take another subject, such as the eight-hour day, and speak in some off-hand fashion about it. However, it was thought that as but few of those here to-day would have heard me the other day, and as many have said that from newspapers and magazines they have obtained but an imperfect view of that Conference and its work, it was thought that it would be better for me to deal with that question.

I think that possibly my attitude in connection with the chief matter which came up at the Conference has been misunderstood—that of the eight-hour day. Let me say at the outset, therefore, that in the plant with which I am connected we have in large measure the eight-hour day, and that in no section of the plant do workers work longer than forty-nine and a half hours a week; so you will see I have not spoken in any selfish manner or because of interests with which I was connected. I believe, first and foremost of all, that the welfare of the

worker is the chief consideration. (Hear. hear) I believe that the time has come when we can all say, with that great novelist, Charles Dickens, "When men and women seem by one consent to open their shut-up hearts freely and to think of people around them as though they really were fellow passengers to the grave, and not another race of creatures bound on other journeys," this is a rational view of the relations which should be sustained between employer and employee. (Applause) However, I fear that in these days, if we followed all that was said by certain labour leaders, many of them extremists, we would feel that we were reaching a point rather rapidly when men felt that there was no longer any necessity to toil or to spin.

Of course the eight-hour day in itself is not the great question. We all believe, fully and completely, that where men work hard, where the duties are arduous and take out of a man a great deal of his physical and mental vigour, the hours should not be as long as in other occupations; otherwise the welfare of the worker is bound to suffer. It is the universal eight-hour day that is objected to—I was going to say particularly by employers of labour; but I think many of us will feel that the universal eight-hour day, as it is sought to be applied in certain quarters, is a thing that is going to bring the world into a condition of far greater need than it is in at present.

In the month of September, in Ottawa, we had a national Industrial Conference. At that Conference there were represented first of all the workers, the so-called workers of the country. I do not like that term "workers," because it separates certain classes of people who work, and I claim to be just as much of a worker as any man living—(hear, hear and applause)—and I hope I shall always be a worker until the time comes to shuffle off, because I think I shall have a better time right up to that event, and possibly thereafter, if I do my work as well as I can. (Laughter and applause) At that Conference we had represented the so-called workers, the employers of all classes including manufacturers, build-

ers, miners, even some farmers, though they were not very much in evidence then. Lumbermen and other seasonal industries were also represented. Then we had a third class composed of representatives of governments, municipalities, and others. At that Conference we studied very carefully the eight-hour day question, and all the employers' representatives agreed that they could not vote for the eight-hour day without giving it greater consideration. What they did was to join in a motion asking the Government to appoint a Royal Commission that would give thorough and earnest study to this question to see how it would apply to all our industries in Canada from sea to sea, and to the workers themselves; on this Commission should be represented an equal number of employees and employers, and then, when its report was brought before the Government, we would have something to work on rather than dealing with the question in any haphazard manner. I was therefore fully fortified in taking the position I did in Washington, on account of the Conference at Ottawa.

People say, "We have pretty much an eight-hour day in Toronto and other places; what difference does it make?" I do not know that we have any figures that are actually available covering statistics in Canada as to the eight-hour day, but we are very much as the United States are in such matters, and the United States census of 1914 shows that 11.8% of the seven million industrial workers there worked forty-eight hours per week. That is, less than 12% of all the industrial workers of the United States, in 1914, worked forty-eight hours a week and less. It is supposed by those who have followed this matter very carefully that this proportion has increased, and that to-day probably 20% of the industrial workers of the United States work forty-eight hours a week—I speak of workers, not "I won't workers" (I.W. W.) (Laughter)

It is sometimes said that there are two million railroad workers alone in the United States, but in a report issued since the Washington Conference by Director-General Hynes of the United States Railways, the statistics for

July—the latest that there are—shows that while the running trades in the railroads are supposed to have an eight-hour day, the average time actually worked was forty-three hours. Now, what does this mean? It means that in some cases the workers desire an eight-hour day as a basic time in which to work, and that beyond that eight-hour day they get additional pay for additional hours worked. Other workers, again, really feel that they do not want to work more than eight hours a day; they want more leisure, and some of them do not work that long. Let me read to you a statement which Tom Mann, the great Labour Leader, gave out the other day in Britain in speaking of the fact that he thought there would not be work enough to go around in particular trades. He says:—"Two days a week free from toil, the other days to be of six hours, is a practical level-headed proposal, and when applied it will secure a higher standard of life with more leisure and higher producing power." I cannot follow some of these statements very well; I cannot quite understand how that is to come, but he adds, "Higher producing power, better educational facilities, will carry us near to the full solution of the labour problem."

Well, Gentlemen, you will want to know something of the International Labour Conference, and I have before me what is in the nature of a report rather than an address, but I am sure you will be interested in portions of it which I will give you. First of all let me say that the labour portions of the Treaty of Peace were worked out by a Commission. They are not a part of the Treaty of Peace except in the sense that they were accepted. The Commission was composed of delegates from nine nations—United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Cuba, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. All those countries joined. Mr. Samuel Gompers, of the United States, was appointed President of this Commission, whose findings were adopted with some changes at the Congress. It is interesting to know, in passing, that the French and Italian delegates wanted to have Agriculture included in their programme, as well as

Industry, but in this they were unsuccessful. Now, as organized Labour quite correctly speaks of itself as a class, I ask you why any one class should be included in the League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace more than any other class. I cannot understand why. I think I am stating what is the generally accepted view when I say that the view presented by organized Labour was that, if provisions of this nature were not included in the Treaty of Peace, there would be anarchy and even revolution in the different countries of the world. These provisions, however, were included, and I would like to draw attention to what has been said in the Senate of the United States concerning them.

Hon. Senator Thomas of Colorado, speaking of what he terms the impossibility of the nations of the world joining in unanimous regulations concerning Labour, etc., says, "Class legislation is deplorable in domestic jurisdictions; it will prove intolerable when it becomes international." Then he goes on to say that if, in the words, "Industrial Wage Earners of the World," you include any class—suppose you included farmers, who number 13,500,000 in the United States as compared to about 4,000,000 of organized wage earners—the provisions would apply to the farmers equally well as they apply to the labour people, but that there would be such an outcry upon the part of the United States citizens and all the world, if farmers were included, that at once such a provision would become ineffective. His reasoning is as follows:—Why should the labour people be included? Many Senators, in speaking on this question, feel that even Part 4 of the Treaty does not go far enough to protect the United States. Possibly some of you are so busy that you have not read Part 4, but it is of great interest to note that in the Treaty itself the United States is exempt from so many questions that you would think they would be almost glad to sign the Treaty at once. Just to make clear what the provisions are, I will read that part:—

"The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and

declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labour, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children and in opium and any other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not, under this Treaty, to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other Power."

There you have wide and sweeping reservations, and yet the United States does not consider that those provisions are ample and sufficient to protect them so that to-day, as you know, they are busy at work on the Treaty, and while they have not accepted it, it seems to be the belief of those in touch with senators and public men of the United States that within a very short time the Treaty will be accepted. However, there will be reservations which will protect them in all domestic matters, and it will apply more or less to questions of war and peace. I think there is no doubt in the minds of the public men of the United States, as far as I can judge from speaking to a large number of them, that the Treaty will very shortly be ratified with those exceptions.

It has also been said in the Senate that those international disputes will be countless as the sands of the sea once this Treaty is ratified. For instance, if the Horse-shoers' Union in Melbourne, Australia, feels that the United States Government has been derelict in its observance of one of those Covenants, it may cable their officials indicating its grievance, upon which the United States will be respectfully asked to show cause why the complaint of the Horse-shoers' Union should not be affirmatively considered. (Laughter)

Now, as to the Conference itself, the regulations set forth that it would be held in Washington in October, and should be the first one of similar annual conferences. The regulations provide that each country participating should send four delegates, two of them representing the Government, one the Employers of the country and one the Employees of the country. These delegates were

allowed to have not more than two advisers for each of the five leading questions on the agenda; that is, outside of the Japanese delegation, which was unusually large, the four delegates had about twenty advisers altogether; and in the Conference where great matters were coming forward and where it was impossible to be in two or three places where business was being transacted at the same time, you will at once see the wisdom of having advisers so that at the time any great questions were being discussed, they would be soon at hand and the delegate could talk over with his own advisers what particular action they would take.

Canada's Delegation consisted of Hon. Senator Robertson and Hon. Mr. Rowell, representing the Dominion Government; your speaker representing the Employers of Canada and Mr. P. M. Draper representing the Employees. The delegates and advisers from Canada, all of whose names have appeared in the Press, numbered twenty-six. On account of the fact that the United States was not officially represented, the Hon. Mr. Rowell and Senator Robertson felt that they were under an obligation to welcome to this Continent and entertain the delegates to the Conference in various ways, and they certainly earned a well-merited tribute of praise for their actions in this regard. (Applause) Canada will be much better known in foreign countries on account of the social duties that were so well performed by the Government delegates, assisted to some extent by their associates. I think I can also speak well of the Labour delegates,—Mr. Draper and Mr. Tom Moore headed them—and they and others, as we all know, are very sane and sensible men, and we all felt that it was a credit to have such splendid representatives of Labour at the Conference. (Applause) Before we pass on, however, I would like to say in reference to my friend Mr. Tom Moore, with whom I generally agree—for he and I are always good friends—that when he goes to the newly-formed Government of Ontario and says that Labour does not desire to have included in any programme of legislation the recommendations of the Royal Commis-

sion which investigated police matters—in other words that policemen should be free to join in the labour organizations, if they desire to do so,—then he has reached a point where we would not agree. I do not believe that there is a man in this room that will think our policemen ought to be in any way affiliated in organizations which could possibly result in their being less independent in performing their obligations to the public. (Loud applause)

There were thirty-nine Nations represented in the Conference, and delegates and advisers made a total number of about 250. The meetings of the Conference were held in the magnificent Pan-American Building erected some years ago by Mr. Andrew Carnegie with the help of the South American Republics as well as the United States. The delegates were seated according to countries at long tables, each delegate being permitted to have two advisers just in his rear. The other advisers were seated elsewhere in the Hall. Mr. Wilson, the Secretary of Labour in the United States Administration, took the Chair and gave the opening address, in which he spoke of Moses as the first walking-delegate of the Brick-makers of Israel. (Laughter) He emphasised the necessity of proceeding by slow process of experiment. Later, Mr. Wilson was appointed President of the Conference, although his country was not officially represented. The United States was asked to send official delegates, but Mr. Samuel Gompers, representing Labour, was the only one who appeared even temporarily. The official languages used were French and English—I should say English and French, as it was found that there were eighteen delegates speaking Spanish, but they were all familiar with French. It is said that more countries and languages were represented in this Conference than at any gathering hitherto held in the world's history. The President of the United States being ill, the Conference had the pleasure of hearing an address from Vice-President Marshall. Elsewhere Mr. Marshall used this striking phrase, "I want an industrial democracy, but we are not going to get one until we have an industrious democ-

racy." (Hear, hear) The only entertainment which was accorded to delegates by the United States was a trip on the President's Yacht to Mount Vernon, Washington's old home, and return. The plate on the machinery bears ample evidence to the fact that they think British boats are good boats. (Loud applause)

The Employer delegates entertained each other at dinner to a considerable extent, in fact almost every night, so that they got pretty well acquainted and understood better the many conditions governing their activities in the various countries of the world. The Employers held meetings every morning in the large Navy Building near the Pan-American Building, and at those meetings there was much frankness in our discussion and in our talks. I may say that I think this view generally prevailed—it was spoken quite openly by the delegates of European Countries—they said this labour legislation, this whole programme, is being forced upon us and our governments, first of all by the workers themselves from inside, and then by outsiders, largely socialistic, who are pressing upon the workers. They said quite frankly, "Now we do not believe in much of this proposed legislation; we do not think it is good for the workers themselves and we do not think it is good for industry; we have been forced into it however, and we feel compelled to support it." Quite a number of them were frank enough to say to me that if they were in our position, in the position of Canada, on this continent, they would certainly try to keep out of this programme of legislation as long as possible, as they did not believe it wise, especially in the interests of a new and rapidly developing country like Canada. However, as one delegate said, "being in the soup ourselves, we naturally like to get others into it, you know, and we would like to see the United States and Canada join in."

The chief item on the agenda was the application of the principle of the eight-hour day or forty-eight hour week. This question was introduced by the Right Hon. Mr. Barnes of Great Britain, a very sane man. Although all of us could not agree with him, we were charmed with

his personality. If it had not been for the smallpox epidemic he would have been here and given us an address at this or some other Club. Mr. Barnes stated that in Great Britain the men were promised during the war that, if they would remain loyal, they should have shorter hours and better conditions when the war was over. He spoke of this understanding as a bond that must now be fulfilled. He further stated that this was not a proposition for a mere basic eight-hour day with additional pay for additional hours; what the work people wanted was more leisure, not pay. It is interesting to note that the Labour Leader of France, Mr. Jewell, said the workers were not in favour of overtime even in building up the devastated areas of France and Belgium; that they did not want to work overtime in any way. Mr. Barnes admitted there were difficulties in bringing forward in all countries uniform Labour legislation, but thought this could be overcome very largely by the spirit of good-will. Later, however, he made a very notable admission when, speaking of the effect of the reduction of hours in Japan, he said: "If you bring Japan down to the same level as other countries—and we all know that the hours of Labour are too long in Japan, they are shockingly long, and unfair burdens are placed upon the workers both men and women and children, as they are in all Eastern Countries—you would be asking Japan to reduce her production 60%, and you would be asking other countries to reduce theirs probably by about 10%."

To digress for a moment, I should say that the Employers' delegate of France, M. Carrie, stated that, since the working hours in France had been reduced by law from ten to eight hours a day, there had been a corresponding reduction in output. Now, this gentleman is one of the first manufacturers in France, a public-spirited man who was charged by Mr. Hoover with the distribution of food products in the devastated areas, so you will see that he is a man who speaks with some authority and with knowledge backing his statement, and he speaks from the standpoint of a man whose words

mean something. He, however, stated that many workers themselves have become thoroughly dissatisfied with the law, and were working eight hours in their regular occupations, then putting in an hour or two at special work. When I got back from the Ottawa Conference, I was coming down in one of Mr. Fleming's cars, and the conductor said to me, "You have got back from Ottawa, Mr. Parsons; what about the eight-hour day?" I said, "Well, that was passed at the Conference." He said, "Well, I don't believe in it." I asked why, and he replied, "Now, take my case; I start out early in the morning; I finish my work early in the afternoon; and then I have just got to sit and look at myself for the rest of the day." (Laughter) And he went on to say, "Now, I cannot do that; what I do is take on extra work in the afternoon, for two reasons, first because I cannot be idle, and next because I need the money." Is not that a sensible man?

This question of the eight-hour day was referred to a Commission of fifteen which, after sitting for many days, brought in a draft convention, or bill as we call it. Now, Gentlemen, I must hurry through, and I will finish in ten minutes or go on a little longer just depending upon your interest in this subject. (Voices: Go on) I may say that when this question came to a vote, I felt that, as representing the Employers of Canada, I should ask to have placed upon the minutes the objections which I understood the Employers themselves would have voiced had they been there, and I will just read them to you:—

"While in many industries, the eight-hour day is already in operation, especially in the building trades and in manufacturing where the work is laborious, yet the general application of the shorter working day would, according to actual experience, greatly lessen the total production. At the present time when the Government of the country is calling upon labourers to increase their output in order to meet the heavy national obligations, nothing should be done which would tend to hinder them in their efforts. Only by increased production can the cost of living be reduced to all classes. To ignore this fundamental principle is to blind our eyes to actual facts. Even Mr. Appleton, the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, points out that phrases and catch-words are everywhere

taking the place of production. He says, unless the world produces it cannot live. He says the State is often described as a ship; to-day the ship is on the lee-shore, and all hands must work at maximum speed if she is to be saved from utter wreck. Well, having regard to world-wide interests, it must be remembered that Canada is a young and undeveloped country. The attempt to put her upon the same footing as old-world countries with entirely different conditions is like placing a young and vigorous giant on the same footing as a man advanced in life. We should have the opportunity of directing our own life and managing our own affairs to suit our circumstances, and if we can achieve more in this way as a nation, it is surely not only our privilege but our duty to do so. Why should our national life and development be dwarfed? An ancient philosopher has well said, 'That which is not well for the bee-hive, cannot be well for the bee.' The compulsory reduction of hours militates against the establishment of new and small industries, and if the working man is to be hampered in his efforts to rise, a serious blow is struck at the national life of a young and rapidly developing country. The attempt was made in the Eight-hour Day Committee of this Conference to include in the draft convention all purely commercial undertakings as well as industrial, such as wholesale and retail stores, banks, etc. This proposition did not carry a majority in favour of it, but it will be considered again at a later Conference. It has also been announced that Agriculture has already been included in the programme of some countries proposing to come under this legislation. Evidently what is aimed at is an attempt to drive all the workers of the world like a flock of sheep into the eight-hour pen regardless of the world's requirements. It is not suggested for a moment that a general acceptance of the eight-hour day will settle now or permanently our social and industrial problems including hours of work. Under the proposed legislation, Governments will be called upon to deal with economic questions to a much greater extent than ever before. It is quite conceivable that influences are likely to be brought to bear upon politicians from one direction or another in connection with legislation and the administration thereof which would not make for national soundness or prosperity. There is much truth in the statement that a Government governs best which governs least."

I did say that if it can be demonstrated that the eight-hour day is sound economically as applied to Canada, and in the interests of all classes including the workers, I feel safe in saying that the manufacturers and I believe also the Employers generally will be glad to co-operate in bringing it into being.

And I say in closing:—It is generally recognized that unless the United States accepts similar legislation, it

would be placing an unfair burden upon Canadian Employers, and the entire country would be bound by the terms of the proposed Convention.

This Convention, as I have already intimated to you, passed by an overwhelming vote. I was going to deal with it at length, but I have not time, yet I will note in passing that Hon. Mr. Rowell's remarks made clear that, speaking for himself and Senator Robertson as representing the Government, we are going to vote in favour of the eight-hour day because upon the Government rests the responsibility of finally dealing with the question, and that the Government of Canada, having accepted and ratified the Treaty of Peace, considers it is bound to carry out the Labour Provisions, although you will understand that in view of what occurred at the Conference at Washington, those Provisions respecting Labour have to go before the Government of each country concerned, and there be ratified before they can become effective. If Mr. Rowell correctly represents the opinion of the Dominion and Provincial Governments, no doubt his views will carry.

We remember what a magnificent address he gave us in this matter a few weeks ago, touching in general the work of the Conference and the great questions connected therewith. Mr. Rowell said further that Canada didn't wait for the United States to enter the war, so in this case we would not wait for the United States to agree to the Labour Provisions of the Treaty. This all sounds very well, but in view of the fact that it is generally conceded that Labour legislation devolves upon the Provinces and not the Dominion, it would be a great pity for our reputation if this were simply "passing the buck" from the Dominion to the Provinces. If this should happen to be the case, it would not be the first time in the history of our Dominion that such has been done. However, should it occur in this case, of course it would be an additional proof of our moral leadership. (Laughter) If it is ascertained that the Dominion has jurisdiction,—this is a point to which I call particular attention—will it deliberately turn from its recent campaign

utterances on an avowed policy of production and thrift? On the other hand, if the Provinces alone are competent to deal with Labour legislation, and Quebec or Nova Scotia or any other Province does not pass the proposed eight-hour day convention, will such Province or Provinces be boycotted?

I think you will all agree that our exchange situation of to-day has proven that we cannot be altogether independent of our great neighbour on the south. It was the pronounced opinion of at least one Canadian Labour representative at the Conference, as well as of some Provincial Government representatives, that Canada could not afford to ignore the action of the United States in this matter of working hours of the day.

Now just let me pass on and close hurriedly. When it is considered that there were motions and propositions advocating the application of the eight-hour day to Commerce and Agriculture, and that in one convention Agriculture was actually included by an amendment carried in the Conference, it will be seen that the general proposition is to have all the workers of the world tied up to an eight-hour day. In the next Conference, it is my humble judgment that they at least will carry the question of the inclusion of Commerce, and possibly Agriculture. In fact a motion was presented to include Commerce and Agriculture as coming under the eight-hour day in the next Conference, and it obtained a vote of forty-four for and nine against. So many refrained from voting that the total vote of sixty required was not reached. It is a fearful shrinkage and reduction that might thus be brought about. Is it a wise thing that by legislative effort all workers using hands and brain should be treated as having interests opposed to the rest of society? Are we rapidly approaching the time when by the application of the eight-hour day to all classes of workers, there will be brought about conditions as set forth by the Master of the Dominion Grange recently when he stated that it would mean butter at $1.00 a pound, potatoes at $2.00 a peck, wheat $5.00 a bushel, milk 30c. a quart, etc.?

In the United States and in France, I talked with

leading business men and others, and they stated that the United States found it necessary twenty years ago to regulate Capital that was then assuming a menacing attitude in forming Trusts which were believed to be not in the interests of the country as a whole. They further stated that now they were determined not to have an autocracy of Labour, and that the United States would regulate Labour so that the people as a whole would not be brought under the unfair domination of either Capital or Labour. They desired to be perfectly fair, and would give Labour its full rights, but that recent Strikes like the Boston Policemen's Strike, the Steel Strike, and then the Coal Strike, had led them to see that the rights of the public must be guarded.

I have not time to deal with the other matters that came up, but let me say in closing, in a general way, that the other Conventions were those in which we practically all agreed. They were of a humanitarian character, and there was very little discussion upon them. We felt that they were wise and right, and therefore generally speaking there was agreement upon them. The proposed legislation, as I understand it, is an attempt to apply the principles of Unionism to all the world's work.

I would like to quote a word or two from the Master of the National Grange in the United States who said recently:—"There is to-day too much tendency among our people to Class endeavour—Class thinking, Class legislation. The interest of the Nation demands the destruction of such unworthy ideas, whether they be voiced by the Labour Unions or a group of Farmers."

Gentlemen, I think you will all agree with that—that to-day the curse of Canada as well as other countries is that we are divided up into Classes, that we think in Classes, and work in Classes, and agitate in Classes, instead of standing together for and emphasizing our unity and the fact that all Classes of the world should realize that they have interests in common. I said to my friend Mr. Tom Moore, down at the Washington Conference when we were sitting next to each other one day, "Mr. Moore, you and I will some day get together on this

platform; we will say, 'What is good for the Country at large? What is good for the Nation?—and will declare that what is good for the Nation and what is good for the Country, is going to be good for the Manufacturers and all Employers, and all Labour.'" And that is where we need to get to-day, Gentlemen. (Loud and continued applause)

The President expressed the thanks of the Club to Mr. Parsons for his very instructive address.

# THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY REV. DR. CODY AND MR. J. H. GUNDY

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, January* 15, 1920

## MR. J. H. GUNDY

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—Some one said the other day that when he wrote the word "campaign" now, he wrote it without the "g". I think that probably expresses the first attitude of us all when someone with a smile and the most ingratiating manner that he can command, walks into our office and suggests that we have a small part in the new campaign. As the boys say, we are pretty well fed up; and so, if there is to be a Forward Movement, an inter-church national campaign, there has got to be a pretty good reason for it in these days to command the support of the people of Canada, and because we know that it is commanding the support of the strongest men in the country, we feel that it is worth our while to sit down and see what it is all about and see if their judgment for once has gone astray or whether it is sound.

It is always easier to destroy than to build. We all have the greatest admiration for the President of our sister Republic, but I fancy that he, as well as the whole world, will now say that he under-estimated the size of his problem when he sailed across the sea to make the world safe for democracy. The world is not safe for democracy, although the rubbish of militarism and tyranny that was represented by Prussia has been destroyed.

Our men from Canada and from other parts of the Empire and from the United States and from France did a thorough job. They destroyed the Prussian machine. There is not anything left of it except the spirit of selfishness that was the basis of it; and that spirit of selfishness is here in Canada, and it is in China and Japan and everywhere, and wherever it is it is a curse.

There is only one man that has found the recipe for making the world safe for democracy and decency and liberty, and that is the Man of Nazareth. Europe has been cleared of the rubbish; the ground is fallow, and the responsibility is upon every man whose bones do not lie in Flanders' fields to see that in the waste places a great structure follows. Some of us heard Sherwood Eddy talk about the situation in China the other day. He met the groups from the south and from the north, and they discussed the future of China and would like to have a democracy. Why can they not have one? Because there is not the spirit of unselfishness and honour that makes our public men work their heads off, night and day, year after year. You do not find that, where you do not find Christianity. If the world is to be a safe place, it has got to be a Christian place. Why, you would not get anybody trying to sell bonds or machinery or anything unless for cash, except where the people have got the standards of Christianity; for without them it isn't safe to do business. You are taking a chance, if you have any relations with people who have not got our standards. It is true you can, in a limited way, do business with them but it has got to be on a cash basis, and you never know when you are in trouble from a purely business standpoint. The standards that make Canada a safe place to do business in must be set up throughout the whole world, and it is a good business for Canadians to invest in the establishment of Christianity all over the earth, including Canada.

This country is getting pretty well off, although the Government is in debt to us for a couple of billion dollars. We have saved in the last five years a billion dol-

lars that we have put in the savings' banks in addition to saving two billions to put into war bonds; in addition to piling up the resources of Insurance Companies and Loan Companies and all sorts of investments, we have paid off many millions of dollars which we owed to Britain. Our farmers have paid off their mortgages to a tremendous extent. Our great industrial institutions, that were in difficult positions in 1913, now have tremendous surpluses. The general condition of the business people of Canada is very much improved. The sons of the present generation begin where their fathers left off and in an entirely different condition from that where their fathers began. There is danger to any country under an influx of sudden wealth, and that is the danger that faces Canada. It is the basis of a great deal of unrest. It is not a good thing for the boys and the girls of this generation to grow up with lots of easy money. The working men see that; everyone feels that. Now, there is only one safe place to invest the surplus wealth that is being piled up in Canada and that is in the unselfish establishment of Christianity in Canada and all over the world. (Applause) The money that you invest in that way will not harm your son; what you save up and hand to him may. It is a pretty good way to invest your money.

Then our self respect demands that we change our basis of living. We would like to forget about the war and treat that as an historical incident—as someone is said to have regarded it who should have known better. We would all like to forget about it, but we cannot forget about a thing that has taken fifty thousand of the best men in Canada. It can't be done. We cannot face those men on the street who fought and lay in dirty trenches, who endured all they endured, and forget about the war —it can't be done! What we have got to do to-day is to face these men in our offices, in our homes, on the street, in the churches, in the lodges. Everywhere, these men face us and, while they do not say it in words, their very presence and the whole spirit of sacrifice of the great war which keeps ringing in our ears, seems to say: "Such men as these died to make Canada a better place and the

world a better place. What are we doing to make Canada and the world a better place?" We cannot get away from it and we do not want to get away from it. (Hear, hear) That will explain to us a thing that was rather interesting when I noticed it the other day. I picked up the morning paper and read that the President of one of our great institutions had made a very illuminating statement the day before at his annual meeting with regard to the financial situation, an institution with which he had been connected since 1884. Well, it was a fine address, but I knew he wasn't at the meeting for he was down in Montreal digging up $50,000 subscriptions for the Forward Movement, while the annual meeting of his own institution was going on here in Toronto. I heard that same man say with regard to a certain thing that he was worrying about and struggling with, "I will never take a responsibility like that again." He said, if I hadn't been able to get that thing through, I would have been ill. The whole strength of men in these days is going into doing everything they can do to make this old Canada of ours a decent place and to make the world a safe place. (Applause)

There is a little preacher away back near Bobcaygeon somewhere, and when his old College President met him and asked him how he was getting on he said, "I never worked so hard in my life as I am working this year." Why? "Because this programme of the Forward Movement puts it up to me every minute and I daren't lose a second in putting this thing over." A letter comes in from another place away down in the corner of Western Ontario, from a little country church of two or three hundred people, and they say, "We have raised our objective of $3,800; we want to get rid of that and concentrate on the spiritual end of this campaign." These are illustrations of what is taking place in Canada and they are characteristically Canadian. The people of Canada generally have the same ideals that were exemplified by our men overseas, and this campaign of the Forward Movement gives us an opportunity to work, to give of our money, to give of our time and our organizing ability

and to give to the limit for the betterment of the land that has been bought and paid for with its citizens by the blood of those who have made the great sacrifice.

The tearing down of a great, monstrous machine like Prussia is an extremely important and an extremely spectacular piece of work. The building up of the structure of civilization through the ages and making it more Christian and more free is a vastly greater though a much less spectacular piece of work; and the difference is that it is your job and mine, and not the other fellow's. So we find, as a matter of coincidence, that the Church of England almost spontaneously began the campaign for the Forward Movement, and the Presbyterians and Methodists and Baptists found they were working on the idea and that their people demanded they be led forward. These bodies came together and they formed a common campaign which is now going forward and which will culminate in a financial drive in the second week of February. With regard to the spiritual objectives I will not speak, not because they are not equally or more important, but because others can speak of them better than I.

So far as the financial drive is concerned it has three main branches, education, pensions for the aged ministers, and missions. Now, is it not absolutely vital, Gentlemen, that if the Church, if Christianity, is to be strong, its leaders, its workers—preachers and young men, whether in the ministry or in business, or wherever they may be, shall be well instructed and grounded and know what they are talking about. You cannot have your colleges too strong in these days. The minister of the Gospel, the lawyer in the court, and the business man in his office, each has got to know, in order that he may give adequate leadership in these days. What is the basis of Bolshevism? Ignorance. You couldn't get this assembly of people into Bolshevism, but you take a poor, mis-informed man from the far parts of Russia, who knows nothing about the advantages of liberty and freedom and ordered government, and he easily becomes the victim of that sort of thing. So our leadership must be strong. We

must have strong educational influence, and accordingly a substantial part of this campaign is for education, for paying off the debts of colleges, for making them stronger, for giving us adequate leadership.

What about the pensions for the old and aged ministers? They get, I suppose from $300, $400, $500 or, $800 possibly in certain cases, after thirty or forty or fifty years of labour on salaries which, as you know, enable them to just barely live, and, in these days of higher prices, I do not know how on earth they get along at all. Now, if we have got any respect for ourselves at all, which we have; if we mean anything when we talk of Christianity or civilization even, if we believe it is a good thing to have a church in the community, if we would rather live in Canada than India or China, I think the least we can do is to make the old age of these men reasonably safe, and the amounts of money that are provided for that purpose are not too much—not too much.

Then with regard to missions, we have found that the perils of the seas are not sufficient to shut us off from Japan, from China, from Russia. We have found that the only way to have a comfortable Canada is to have a decent world, and you can check it up as far as you like. You may not believe in Christianity as such; but as a business proposition, look at the countries where Christianity is strong and look at the countries where there is no Christianity, and see whether you think it is a good investment to make this world a Christian world.

If it is not, we had better close up our churches and play golf on Sunday, all day long and all week long, and do something else in the winter time and quit this Christianity fooling; for if it isn't good enough for the Chinaman and the Jap, I don't want any of it. I mean that Christianity is a strong and vital force in the life of the world, or it is no good. If it is strong, it is strong enough to conquer those nations of intelligent men and women as it was strong enough to conquer old Britain in the ancient days. I am sure that the considered judgment of the people of Canada is that Christianity is a worth-while thing, that it is a virile thing, and that it

will make of those countries, countries worth while in the highest sense, countries with whom we can trade and with whom we can co-operate for the advancement of the world.

We have got some of the cleanest cut, cleverest, best educated men that this country ever produced in its colleges over there in those countries, and they are establishing hospitals but they haven't got adequate equipment; they are establishing churches and schools, trying to educate and teach and propagate Christianity, and we are not giving them the tools to do it with and it is a shame. If they are prepared to give their lives, which are just as good as ours, I see no reason why they should not live in the same kind of comfort as we do. They chose this other harder, isolated course, and the least we can do is to give them the tools with which to work, to give them medical equipment, to give them hospital equipment, to give them educational equipment, so that they can do a first-class job in the work they are undertaking.

Now, so far as business men are concerned there are two things that we can do. They are very considerable things and we know how to do them, but it is a matter of whether we will or whether we won't. In the first place we can give our money on a scale which we have never done before, and we ought to do it. It is being done, Gentlemen, and it will be done in this campaign. The next thing we can do is to put at the service of this campaign the organizing ability of the business people of Canada. It is not enough to say to the Minister, "This is a fine thing, go ahead with it." There is no country on the face of the earth where the people have the ability to organize themselves, where they have demonstrated their ability to put things over, where they have shown they know how to co-operate for a great purpose, as the people of Canada have shown. Let us put all we have into this campaign in the way of organizing ability, in the way of thought and energy, and there can be no doubt as to its success. (Applause)

## REV. H. J. CODY, D.D., LL.D.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—I think the fact that a great Christian Forward Movement should be the subject of discussion before the Canadian Club and the Empire Club of the City of Toronto in one week is itself a matter of the greatest and most far reaching significance. You recognize that this whole enterprise is well worth your consideration and your action thereon. It takes us all back to the days before the War when the Laymen's Missionary Movement appeared above the horizon and was translated into vigorous action. The presence of my friend Mr. Rowell here at this board to-day (applause) is an additional reminder of the great part he played in the Laymen's Missionary Movement in the years gone by. That movement instituted an enlarged scale of Christian giving throughout the whole Church of Canada and I am sure that this new movement, that is the old under a new and, shall we say, even a fairer form, will inaugurate another advance and another enlarged scale of giving.

First of all may I say that, as this is called an after-the war movement, we do well to remember that we did all learn through the War certain lessons that can never very well be forgotten and that must be translated into national and ecclesiastical life. We learned, for example, something of the relative values of things. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of men put ease and wealth and home and comfort behind them and chose, in place of these, certain great spiritual and moral ideals. They chose hardness and duty and patriotism and sacrifice. They put the immaterial higher than the material, the spiritual higher than the sensual. They have taught us forever that the most important thing in a nation is its soul. Will the nation's soul be kept alive? In the long run it was the morale of our nation and the other allied nations that won the war. (Hear, hear)

A second lesson we all learned, and now to be translated afresh into action, was the result of discipline. No individual during the War was allowed to go his own

self-pleasing way. Every man whether at home or over seas had to subordinate his own personal inclinations to the good will and well-being of the whole. We are surely not going to forget in a period of lawless self-pleasing that profound lesson of national discipline. Then we learned the lesson of co-operation. One of the great watchwords of the War days was the word "Comradeship." Surely we are called on to-day as citizens, and as Christian citizens, to practice afresh those lessons of co-operation instead of competition, those lessons of unity instead of division, the great lesson of comradeship instead of the practice of inter-sectional moral or ecclesiastical warfare.

Then during the War there was no place allowed to the idler. We all had to work hard. We must not forget that lesson at our national and religious peril. We are living in an age that ought to be for everyone a strenuous age, an age that should be full of good solid hard work. There is no room in Canada, in Church or in State or in social life, for the pure unadulterated idler, whether man or woman, boy or girl. (Applause)

Then we had to learn in the days of War the lesson of thrift. I am sure many learned, perhaps for the first time, how absolutely essential it was not to waste money. That is one form of concentrated personality. We had to be thrifty. We saved that we might give or that we might invest, that we might make it possible for our country and the good cause to win through to victory. Surely we are not to-day going to forget the lesson of thrift, the lesson of unselfish spending. We all learned to spend during the war days on a scale unprecedented. I am perfectly sure that any given institution in Canada never, in the days before the War, appealed to its constituency with the high hopes that any similar institution appeals at the present time. Everybody gives on a larger scale to-day than he ever gave in the days before the War. We have learned a new scale of giving and a new sense of stewardship of property. As Mr. Gundy has so well said, never will it be possible for any of us, in the days to come, to regard what we have as our own

in fee simple. You remember the old story of David receiving the water from his mighty men. At the risk of their lives they brought him a drink of water from the old well outside the gates of Bethlehem where he slaked his thirst as a boy, and when these men brought him the water he would not drink it, but he poured it out as a libation to the Lord saying, "Isn't this the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" It seems to me on all our dollars and cents, on all our bonds of security, on all our stock certificates, on our houses, on our homes, there is a hallmark of blood—"Isn't this the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" (Applause)

The great keynote of our life during the war was for most people the keynote of service and not of selfish seeking. Service was a great word to be ringing in the ears of the boys and girls in this generation. Then a wonderful peace, and please God, that peace will be realized in the days to come. If I might so sum up I would say that what the whole world has learned as the result of the War is simply this, the indispensableness of Christ and of Christian principles. (Hear, hear) Everything else in the world proved weak in the day of testing. Even in many respects our organized Christian politics proved weak, but the one thing that did not prove weak was Christ himself and his glorious and eternal principles of living and dying and rising again. The world can not get on without Christ. Let us not forget these lessons the War has heaped upon us, and it is because we have learned these lessons afresh that such a movement as is presented to us is possible in this crisis.

Now, for a moment let us turn to the present situation. The whole world is suffering perhaps to-day from the fever that follows exhaustion and nervous strain. It is a time of almost universal criticism, a time of very widely revived self-seeking, a time of unsettlement in things mental and things moral and things social, industrial and political. In some parts of the world there is revived chaos; for I suppose it is impossible for the pen of man to describe the awful agony through which red Russia is

passing at the present time, where there is a situation that imperils afresh the welfare and safety of the world. Here we are again in this time of turmoil, almost universal turmoil, and is there any earthly panacea? There are many remedies, many ameliorratives, but ultimately I believe as firmly as I stand here there is no solution short of the evangel of Jesus Christ, and I believe with all my heart as Mazzini, one of the greatest apostles of modern liberty, said that he who can spiritualize democracy can save the world. (Hear, hear)

In the face of this situation, present and past, the whole organized world, in the civilized parts, is faced with certain problems. We are faced with the needs that existed in the past. Their existence is more obvious to us than ever to-day. So far as organized Christianity in Canada is concerned, may I not sum them up in this fashion, remembering that every need recognized spells an opportunity. There were many undertakings that all our organized Christian Churches were unable to carry through during the time of the War. All efforts were built in one great direction. I think the whole nation remembers gratefully that the Christian Churches, while carrying on, sought to render every aid in their power by way of propaganda and by way of contribution to the great patriotic endeavours of the day and to the supreme need of winning this war that was a real crusade. Many of the churches' schemes, necessary and beneficent, were held over and they come before us today. All the old tasks are pressing upon us in larger and more insistent fashion.

The conditions abroad indicate a growingly contracting world. They show us that the whole world, on the religious side as on the political side and the commercial side, is a unit, and that it does matter to us what kind of religion and what moral fruits of religion there are in China, in Japan, in India, and in darkest Africa. We are a neighbourhood to-day, and just as if a plague breaks out in Central Europe to-day, no national boundaries will keep it out of France or Italy or England or will stay it from leaping over the Ocean, so, if there are moral

plague spots and pernicious centres in any part of the world to-day, they will affect every other part of the world, including this fair land in which we live. Conditions abroad, therefore, constitute both need and opportunity.

Then there is the need for progress; for after all is said and done it is always the personal factor that counts. Above everything else, because the Church is worth while, because religion is worth while, because morality which is its fruit is worth while, we need religious leaders. We need them in the ranks of the Church and the ranks of the laymen. We are all called to be both disciples and apostles. Never was there a time when there was a greater demand for religious leaders, and we must provide for them. There is the need of adequate teachers. Now, while I am a clergyman I am quite free to speak on this subject. It has been my happy lot to be connected with a parish that has dealt with me personally in the most lavish fashion, and I gladly and proudly say that its dealing with general missionary and outside efforts has been just as lavish; so I am not speaking from a personal standpoint, but Gentlemen, it seems to me from my experience of the last few years that the two great groups of people in Canada who are most vital to the heart life of Canada are the ministers of the churches and the teachers in our schools (applause) and that those who care for the needs of the soul and the needs of the mind are those who have been most inadequately paid. I saw the other day a statement of teachers' salaries in Old England in which the editor commenting upon the fact said it would seem that one of the prime requisites of an elementary school-teacher is the possession of a sound constitution and the ability to fast unostentatiously and meekly. (Laughter)

Let us turn the point to our own country, and let us see to it that those who are the ministers of the needs of the mind and the things of the soul shall do more than exist. I tell you, Gentlemen, nobody can teach well and nobody can preach well who is constantly under the strain of low spirits, and the two things that constitute

or that produce low spirits are financial anxiety and a sense of injustice. (Hear, hear) I do not mean for a moment that either our clergy or our teachers have ever lifted up their voices and said if this is not remedied we will go on strike, but they have claimed that they should be treated with justice. I am sure that the Christian Church and the body politic generally needs only to have the value of these services thoroughly understood and they will respond. Now is one of the opportunities.

Then there is the need of equipment. Sometimes criticisms have been passed upon the Christian Church that were unfair because the Church has lacked equipment. If you establish a branch of a bank in a foreign country, that bank is adequately represented. There is a good building secured, there is good accommodation for the manager, and that bank shows that it worthily represents a great institution. Surely if we want our churches to be adequately represented in fresh domains, we should see to it they worthily represent, in point of equipment, the institutions that stand behind them. (Hear, hear) If we were as anxious to improve the plant of our churches at home and abroad as we are to improve the plant of business and banking concerns, then we should in a moment realize, and answer to the realization of, the need of churches in overseas work particularly for improved plant. No great institution, not even the Church of Christ on its human side, can do its work satisfactorily without sufficient equipment and without sufficient financial resources on which to maintain and to extend its work. Surely the Church must fairly shoulder, through its members, its financial responsibilities.

Then, as I am well within my time, just a word about the main purpose of this Forward Movement. First as to the characteristics of this Forward Movement: it is meant to be a united movement of practically all the Christian forces in this land—not all but the greater number of the Christian forces in this land. It is co-operative, an inter-church movement. That in itself is of inestimable benefit. Not long ago Lord Haig, in

speaking as Lord Rector of St. Andrews University, used these striking words—and they are doubly striking as coming from a great soldier and a great practical man of affairs—"No political expedient, no military preparedness can guarantee the kind of peace on which the heart of the world is set. The Christian religion backed by a united Christendom and a Church as daring and heroic on spiritual lines as the Army has been on military lines is the only hope of the world in the solution of the great problems with which the world is faced."

The Christian Church is backed by united Christendom, and this movement is national; it is coming from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it is coming from the boundary line up to the confines of the north. It is simultaneous. In its culmination of the financial effort which takes place in one week, the whole of the Christian body of Canadian citizenship from one end of Canada to the other will be doing the same thing at the same time for the same great object. That in itself indicates a generous enthusiasm. Then as to its main features, of course it must be spiritual; but I never recognize any antagonism or incompatability between what is spiritual in the highest degree and what is practical in the highest degree. I do not regard the raising of money for a good object as anything but a religious exercise of the greatest possible value, but the spiritual enthusiasm naturally must come first. We do want our religion perhaps to be more real, more simple, more direct, and more practical. We want men and women for service in our home congregations throughout Canada and overseas, and we want the money, as Mr. Gundy has so admirably expressed it, for education, for pensions, for equipment, for missionary work—that is just the propagandist work and the aggressive work of our Church at home and abroad.

The Church represents perhaps the nation's conscience. That is what it ought to represent. One of its greatest functions is to keep the soul of the nation alive. It is of supreme value to the nation because it educates its conscience, because it constantly is holding up ideals of thought and of practice, because it is meant to be a sort

of embodied saviourhood in the nation; it counts none common or unclean. It is as universal in its reach as mercy and the love of God. It strengthens all the forces that are making for brotherhood and ordered conduct of human affairs and world peace everywhere. There is no factor in the whole world that is making a greater contribution, let me repeat it, to the spirit of brotherhood, to ordered liberty, to permanent peace, than the Christian Church.

So, Gentlemen, this movement comes to us all with a national challenge and a personal challenge. Here we are in Canada blessed above most people on the face of the earth. We have had a marvellous deliverance. We have had a wonderful revelation of our own power. We have had one of the greatest exhibitions of sacrifice, the sacrifice that enriches. Here we are materially prosperous, and our great problem is going to be to keep ourselves from being suffocated by this. How are we going to use this God-given dower of prosperity? Are we going to be stewards of it or are we going to be misers of it? Are we going to use it ostentatiously, luxuriously, wastefully, so that we thereby provoke social unrest and inject the virus of unrest into the whole body politic? I do not know anything that arouses people to bitterness and to warfare against all existing institutions compared with the lavish, ostentatious, luxurious use of coin personality. (Hear, hear) Those who are wasting what they have made and who are flaunting it in the face of the poor are really the true anarchists. (Hear, hear) If we have this money, it is ours to use wisely and unselfishly and helpfully and usefully and constructively. So, Gentlemen, we should never end on the general aspect. Let us barb the application and apply it to ourselves. You know we talk about the reconstruction of education, the reconstruction of industry, the reconstruction of commerce, the reconstruction of politics, the reconstruction of theology. There are many who are prepared to reconstruct everything in this old world except, —except themselves. (Applause) I just want to put in a plea here, in the midst of this avalanche of recon-

struction, for the personal reconstruction of individuals upon which alone by God's blessing shall be reared the beautiful fabric of a fairer Canada. (Prolonged applause)

# THE WORLD'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SIR GEORGE PAISH, KT.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, January 29, 1920*

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speaker said,—Whether the mission of Sir George Paish to America is official or otherwise matters little. It is of infinite importance that the knowledge which he possesses of the needs of Europe be imparted as widely as possible throughout this continent. As an Empire Club, we welcome Sir George for what he is, a thorough Britisher. (Applause) We welcome him for what he has done for the Empire, we welcome him for what he is doing, and we welcome him for what we believe he will yet accomplish. To say that there is anxiety as to what may develop as a result of the dire needs of European Countries which have suffered so dreadfully from the war, is to put the case mildly. In dollars, America's balance against Europe is a huge one, but it must not be forgotten that there are other obligations in which the account is not so one-sided. I believe that Sir George Paish's mission will be successful. (Hear, hear) In a recent address Mr. Wm. C. Redfield, former Secretary of Commerce in the United States Government, said:—

"We at last saw that the English and French and Italian and Belgian armies were fighting our battles; that it was after all just the modern phase of the old battle of Christianity against Apollyon—of Christ against the Devil. We saw it at last, and we came into the struggle, and, through the Providence of God, the struggle was won and the Devil was chained."

But the waste places were still left, and the idle hands and the ruined homes and empty factories. Are we quit-

ters? Do we call our boys home when the physical fighting is done, to say, 'Thank God it is all over. Now we are at peace here; with an ocean on each side we can be perfectly safe. There is nothing for us to worry about. Let us take care of our own affairs, and let them look after their own affairs?' We cannot: we laid our hands to the plough and we must plow the furrow to the very end. Why? We are parents with the other nations, young countries, infants of ours,—Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia, New Roumania, and others beside them. We are the parents of these people; we cannot forsake them; we cannot longer say—we have said it far too long already—'Take care of yourselves; it is no concern of ours.' But once let our people catch the vision of a world we have in part created ourselves, and you may be sure America will respond.

Gentlemen, let us show Sir George the warmth of our welcome to the Empire Club of Canada. (Loud applause)

## SIR GEORGE PAISH

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—The welcome you have given me is indeed one that warms my heart; it is one that will go from this gathering over the water, and will warm the hearts of the people at home. At the present time, it is of the very greatest moment that we British people, wherever we are—whether we are in Canada or in England or in Australia or wherever we may be—should stand together. If we stand together, success and prosperity will carry us and I think, with us, will carry the world to a better time; but if we do not stand together, we will find trouble, maybe, not only for ourselves but for everyone. In no small measure does the salvation of this present situation depend upon the British Race. We have got to do all in our power to help put it right. To the utmost limit of the credit of the British Empire, we have got to help; the situation demands it. And your welcome to me here to-day shows that you, at any rate, are prepared to do whatever is

necessary to save the old world and save humanity from the danger that now threatens it. (Applause) Yesterday I had the pleasure of speaking here to the Canadian Club, and referred to the economic condition of the world. That economic position is a very grave one. The war has disturbed production and distribution. Nations are now producing and are able to sell products that they could not or did not produce and could not sell before the war; other nations are not producing and have no means of buying, unless they are supplied with goods and products on credit. How long it will take to readjust that situation depends upon the amount of energy, on the amount of thought and wisdom, displayed in the re-adjustment; but one thing above all other things that needs to be done at the present time is to look the facts of the situation straight in the face so that every nation may know what needs to be done and will try to do it.

During the past year the nations have been engaged in making peace. In no small degree, that process has retarded the work of recovery. As soon as the war was over steps needed to be taken to restore production, to get unnecessary expenditure for unproductive purposes down, and to get the world back to an equilibrium of production and distribution. Unfortunately, the work of making peace was much more difficult than anyone had anticipated; and here we are, at the beginning of 1920, in a situation that certainly, even if one uses very moderate language, one must describe as dangerous. But the situation is one that can be overcome, if the statesmen and peoples of the world will only render not only their assistance but give their good-will in helping to solve these problems. Good-will is the foundation of what is needed in order to re-adjust the situation. I do not propose again to go over the ground covered yesterday, except to this extent. The nations that have surplus balances and which will probably continue to have surplus balances, even if everything possible is done to restore Europe's productive power at the earliest moment possible, must be willing to take payment of these balances in securities of one kind or another; and failing

securities that are now existing, then some new security must be created which everyone will take. I suggested yesterday that that security, in case of need, should be a League of Nations Bond which everyone would be interested in, everyone would guarantee, and everyone would accept.

To-day I want to speak upon the question of the financial situation. To most of you the financial situation would seem to be more dangerous and more difficult than the economic situation, but in my judgment, it is much easier to solve than the economic. People on the other side of the boundary, and in many other places, are saying that Europe is bankrupt, and being bankrupt, why should we give her more credit—we should only be throwing good money after bad. Now I want to reply to that statement. I want to prove to you that Europe is not bankrupt, and I want to prove to you, particularly, that the Old Country is not bankrupt (loud applause) and that any money which you subscribe for securities to be loaned to Europe and to the Old Country in order to overcome the Exchange difficulty and enable Europe to buy your food and the food of other nations, and the raw material and manufactured goods that Europe needs, that you may be sure that that money will sooner or later be repaid with interest.

Now, what is the situation in Europe? Well, those nations have created an immense amount of debt. The amount is so large that it is almost difficult for a man to take in the figure and understand it. The amount is something like 40,000 millions sterling—an enormous sum—but when you come to look at the matter and analyze it, you find that it is not such a great matter after all. Let me tell you what happened in the Old Country so that you will understand what has happened in the other Countries, and how, if we face the situation, we shall be able to overcome the financial difficulty at any rate, whatever may happen to the economic situation.

In England, you know, we have now an annual debt of some 8,000 millions sterling. Of that amount 7,500 millions have been created owing to the war. Well, how has

that been created? Where does the money come from that has subscribed that great amount of debt? Well, in the first place, we have sold abroad probably 500 millions sterling of securities—of our pre-war foreign investments. Then we borrowed abroad, probably, another 1,500 millions. We borrowed in America; I dare say we may have borrowed a certain amount in Canada; we borrowed in Argentina, in Japan, in India, a total of 1,500 millions. That shows how we have raised 2,000 millions out of the 7,500 millions; the other 5,500 millions has been raised at home; and I very much wish you to understand that the 5,500 millions that we have raised at home has come out of the income that was derived during the war. Our wealth at home has not been reduced during the war. Our wealth at the end of the war, even on the pre-war basis of prices, was just about as great as it was prior to the war. We have subscribed for 5,500 millions securities during the war out of current income. In normal times, we received about 400 millions a year; but prices have been very much higher during the war and the rate of profit very much greater; the people who had savings have been able to save a great deal more, and the rate of saving has been just about twice the normal. Our income has been more than twice the normal and our savings have been twice normal. Now, an internal debt of 5,500 millions is very different from an external debt of that kind. The interest on it is paid in the country, and that interest is available for the purpose of taxation. In fact, if you consider the matter, already that income is paying a very considerable amount of taxation. Owing to the war, we have had to put up the rate of income tax on all incomes, it does not matter whether it is on the whole debt or otherwise, to six shillings in the pound. We are paying 5% interest on our war debt; but if you will allow for six shillings in the pound income tax, the real rate of interest we are paying is 3½%. Well, how are we going to pay the interest on this great debt? Of course, if we were to maintain our current rate of expenditure, it is obvious that we should have very great difficulty in meet-

ing our current expenditures out of current income. But it is clear that we cannot maintain our current rate of expenditure. The present expenditure of Great Britain, and I will also say of the other portions of Europe, is an abnormal expenditure, due to the fact that we are neither at war nor at peace. In the current year the estimated expenditure of the British Government is not very far short of 1,800 millions gross. If you deduct the grants-in-aid, sales of war stores, etc., it is less on the total gross expenditure of the British Government at the present time, but it is about at the rate of 1,800 millions. Well, it is quite clear that we cannot maintain that expenditure; nor are we going to; and during the present year plans have been devised for reducing it, and I have no doubt that in the current year that expenditure will be reduced to at least 1,000 millions, that is if we can get peace. It is of the very greatest moment that peace should be restored everywhere in the world where it is possible, in order to enable the world to get to production, and to enable the world to avoid unnecessary expenditure, and, when peace is restored, the expenditure of the British Government will be less than 1,000 millions sterling. Now, it would seem that we are raising taxation in England to the extent of over 1,000 millions sterling. The estimated revenue for the current year is, I believe, something like 1,050 millions sterling from taxation. We are expecting another 200 millions from the sale of war stores, or we were. If necessary, we can raise taxation in England of 1,000 millions sterling a year. We do not want to do so; but, if necessary, we can.

Now, how can it be avoided? If we have to continue to raise 1,000 millions sterling, it is obvious that the income tax will have to be higher than six shillings in the pound. We are raising that great sum of money at the present time, in addition, by the War Profits Tax. In the current year that is expected to bring in the sum of 300 millions, and of course, when the war is over and trade gets back to normal, those excess profits should disappear; they will have to be made good by other forms

of taxation, and that may mean, unless we get our expenditure down further, that we shall have to impose a ten shilling income tax; this we wish to avoid if possible.

But there is another plan for avoiding it; of course there are two plans if I may say so. If we were living one hundred years ago, we should not think of putting on income tax; we should think of taxing all kinds of necessaries. We should put a big tax on wheat, upon matches, upon—I need not describe it—because, if you remember, after the Napoleonic war, a man was taxed, from the very moment he was born until the very moment that he died, on everything that he consumed and everything that he did—on his house, windows, chimneys, and everything else; but now that is impossible. This high cost of living is already having a most serious effect upon the poor people of Europe and upon the poor people of England, and it is not possible to increase the cost of living further by indirect taxation upon necessaries; therefore, that must be ruled out of account, especially having regard to the political conditions of to-day. The real alternative, the real remedy for the present situation, is whether there shall be a high rate of income tax or a levy upon wealth.

Now let us look at the matter of the levy upon wealth. I would ask you to note that already this matter is being discussed in Germany, in fact more than discussed. Bills have been introduced in the Reichstag for imposing a levy upon wealth made during the war, and a second levy upon pre-war wealth. In Germany, the levy upon war wealth runs up to nearly 100%; upon pre-war wealth, it is upon a sliding scale, but on the great incomes it runs up to over 50%; and Germany expects to be able to redeem a good deal of her debt by these methods. While I do not for a moment desire to emphasize the German plan, it seems to me that the very high rates, which have been suggested there, will prevent the full effect of such a levy being realized. Every possible means will be found for trying to avoid the taxes, and that is one reason why wealth is trying, in every possible way, to escape from Germany at the present time.

If the idea of a levy upon wealth is accepted in England (of course it is only now being discussed, as you see, and is not by any means accepted, it may be that the income tax will be accepted instead, a different proposal. In the first place, it is clear that the wealth made during the war has been a very large sum—something like 5,500 millions sterling. The idea is that if the half of that were taken in as revenue, it would be reasonable. It would leave the people who had made wealth with just about the same amount, as they would have had if there had been no war, and they would have no reason, therefore, no just reason, to complain. If you think for a moment that our soldiers were away in the trenches, and for the most part the British soldiers received only a shilling a day, bearing the heat and burden of the day without any opportunity of sharing in the great profits that were being made at home, you will realize how strong is this claim for a levy upon war wealth. (Applause)

While the war was on, I went out to our soldiers in order to discover what they were thinking about, what their views were; and I also went to tell them that, from the economic side, the war was won—this was in the Spring of 1918—and that the only thing that needed to be done was to hold the fronts, so that the hope of the enemy might be destroyed, and they would immediately give in. The war on the economic side was won in the Spring of 1917. (Applause) The German people were starved in the winter of 1916-1917. They knew it all winter; for they had to live on turnips for a greater part of that period. We knew that the war was won; but they went on fighting in the hope that a military success would overcome their economic defeat. I went out to tell the soldiers the economic side, in order to let them know that the victory was with us. During my visit the soldiers were allowed to ask me questions, and in a great meeting of soldiers one question was: What did I propose to do about these great profits that were being made at home while they, the soldiers, were out there fighting and receiving what they could get? I had

heard a great deal about the profits that were being made at home, and my reply to the soldiers was that, if there had been a great deal of profiteering and that if great profits had been made, why, when the war was over, we must hold an enquiry and, if it was proven that these profits had been great, unduly great, then we must get some of them back. When I came to the part of my answer—"we must get some of them back"—the soldiers nearly took the roof off. (Laughter)

Now, you will understand the strength of this demand at home for a levy upon wealth made during the war. It is a demand which, as far as I can now see, we cannot contest; because, unless we accept and agree with it, it will mean that we must tax the people in order to pay the interest upon that wealth that has been made during the war. The people who will have to pay those taxes, directly or indirectly, will be the soldiers who defended the people at home while they were making that wealth. It seems to me that that would be exceedingly unjust. (Loud applause)

Now what applies to Great Britain applies, in an equal manner, to all other countries. Most of the new loans, subscribed during the war, have been subscribed for out of the profits or savings made during the war by people who were not at the Front. It is only fair that they should give back a part of those profits, a part of those savings, in order to get the debt down to a reasonable sum, and that the taxation of the countries in future should not be unduly burdened. (Applause)

There is another factor. The changes wrought by this war are bringing great wealth to the people who never expected to have great wealth. Take houses, buildings, factories, machinery. At the present time in England it costs £600 to £700 to buy a cottage which before the war cost about £200 or £250. Even when we look forward to reduction in cost, houses in England in the future will cost at least twice as much as they did before the war. The holders of existing property will benefit to that extent. Their wealth will be practically doubled by no exertion of their own, but by pure accident of war. Hav-

ing regard to the fact that our soldiers defended that property from the enemy, defended the wealth of the country from the aggressor, it is only reasonable that that wealth should pay its fair share into the national treasury for the reduction of the debt. (Applause)

Then, having made those few levies upon wealth accumulated during the war or obtained by unearned increment, there would be the wealth accumulated before the war. The amount of wealth in Great Britain before the war was some 16,000 millions sterling. Of that, 12,000 millions sterling was at home, and 4,000 millions sterling was represented by foreign and colonial investments. I am glad to say that at the present time, even at pre-war prices, our wealth is almost, if not quite, as great as it was then. (Applause) Our home wealth is certainly quite as great. Our foreign wealth would be as great, if our new investments were as good as those we had before. During the war Great Britain has financed her Allies and Dominions, and has provided them with nearly 2,000 millions sterling of credit. Of that amount some 600 millions has been loaned to France; another 500 millions has been loaned to Italy, and a third 600 millions has been loaned to Russia; the balance we have loaned to other countries. If you add these great investments on to our pre-war investments, you will find that we now hold some 6,000 millions of investments, less the American and Canadian securities we have sold, bringing the net amount down to 5,500 millions. Against that great foreign investment, we borrowed abroad 1,500 millions. (Applause) Leaving alone the great internal wealth of Great Britain, our foreign investments themselves are sufficient to give adequate margin for 1,500 millions of foreign loans. But, of course, these new investments are not quite as good as we should like to see them. Nevertheless, if all goes well—and by that I mean if the statesmen and peoples of the world take the right action—these investments will ultimately be good.

Probably you will say that our new investments in Russia are a very doubtful quantity, but one has to remember that Russia is still one of the greatest of Coun-

tries, one of the wealthiest countries in the world. It has a population of something like 180 million people, and all they need is good government and law and order that their great wealth may be developed as it never was developed before. In the days to come, I am convinced that we shall see a great and mighty Russia, probably greater and mightier than ever before; but a free Russia—(applause)—a free Russia in which its people will derive incomes commensurate with their labour. If you think for a moment, Gentlemen, that in the past the wages of the agricultural worker were about three roubles or six shillings a week, and the wages of an industrial worker in Russia about ten shillings a week, you will realize that the conditions there were not what they ought to be; and, with the suffering that Russia has gone through during this war, it is not surprising that a cataclysm should occur; indeed it would have been a miracle if such an occurrence did not take place. But, in the days to come, what is now happening will have passed away, and we may look forward to an orderly Russia. Why do I say that? Because Russia needs help from outside. Russia must do the thing that will restore to her the good-will of the world, and the world is willing to give its good-will if she will re-establish constitutional government, if she will re-establish democratic government, if she will re-establish a government with which other nations of the world can have close and friendly relations. When one knows how great the need of Russia is, one knows that, sooner or later, a way will be found out of the present difficulty.

Perhaps I might mention just here that the financial and economic condition of Europe cannot be fully re-established until the Russian question is solved. Russia needs manufactured goods, and Europe needs the food and raw materials which Russia could provide. It may not be possible for you over here, or America, or Argentina, to supply all the things that Russia could supply. Indeed, the world, in a sense, is in a very great danger while Russia is out of the running. In normal times, if there is a good crop here in America and Canada,

there has been a bad crop in Russia; but if they have had a poor crop here, they have had a good crop in Russia, and the two are balanced. Now, if there are bad crops on this side, there are no compensations; and we in Europe are subject to a very great danger. Therefore we must get Russia restored in order to restore Europe. When one thinks of all these things, one realizes that, sooner or later, Russia will be restored, and with the money she owes to us, the money invested in Russia will be good.

When one comes to our investments in France, no one who knows the French people can doubt that they will, sooner or later, pay every Franc, every Pound, every Dollar that they owe. (Applause) The question is not how much we shall demand from France, but how much we shall assist France. (Applause) As matters now stand, France is relying upon receiving a great indemnity from Germany. Germany must pay all she is capable of paying. But when we look the facts in the face, we must realize that the amount that Germany can pay is a limited one. Why? Germany has lost the good-will of the world. It will be exceedingly difficult for Germany to sell her products in the world for many a long year, and unless Germany can sell her products, how can she pay France? It is not possible. Again, Germany cannot pay France unless she has command of raw material. At the present moment Germany has no credit, and no one is willing to supply her with credit, and the result is that Germany, at the present time, is in a condition of wretchedness and misery almost indescribable. Their misery is so great that at any moment we may hear that Berlin is in a blaze, that from one end of the country to the other there is red revolution, and, of course if that takes place, the hope of France ever receiving anything from Germany will be exceedingly remote. Under these conditions, it is of the very greatest moment that we should face the situation and understand and ascertain how much Germany can reasonably be expected to pay, and how much we shall allow her to pay—because how much she will be able to pay will depend upon how many

German goods the world will be willing to buy—and if we are not willing to buy, then France cannot get payment.

When one looks at the whole situation, one realizes that the peoples of the world will not readily understand their responsibilities for the solution of this financial problem. They will understand that the Germans have done things that they ought not to have done, and it will be exceedingly difficult for anyone to induce the peoples of the world to buy German goods. Therefore it will be very difficult, indeed, for Germany to buy raw material or the food that she needs for the maintenance of her own people. It will be still more difficult for her to buy sufficient raw material and food, in order that she may send abroad not only all the goods she needs to pay for the food and raw material she requires for her own people, but to pay the indemnity and the reparation that France is expecting her to pay. Now, what does that mean? That means that, in proportion as we are unable to get the sums out of Germany that France is hoping for, sums that are necessary to restore those devastated districts, the rest of the world must come to the help of France. We cannot allow France to suffer in the way she will suffer unless we help her to restore those devastated districts. Germany must pay all that it is possible for her to pay; but, when that is done, there will still be a balance, (as far as one can see) that France will not be able to recover from Germany, and the rest of us will probably have to come to the help of France. When that situation is realized and that time comes—we have to wait for it to develop—then, I am not without hope that the British people will say to their gallant French Ally: "You fought on our side in the war; you cannot get reparation from the enemy who ought to make this reparation; it is physically impossible: we will forgive the debt that you have incurred to us." (Loud applause) I think when that time comes our friends on the other side of the boundary will act in a similar way. (Hear, hear) This would mean—and I am sure it will come—that France, in the course of several years will be

re-established, that her devastated districts will be rebuilt, and you will again have a prosperous France able to pay her way, to pay for all the goods she needs, either in services or in her own goods. Certainly, you will never have a bankrupt France. (Applause)

When you come to consider the other nations,—our investments in Italy,—it may be that something of the same kind will have to be done: we may have to forgive Italy the money we have loaned to her. Of course that cannot happen until the nations of Europe are pulling together to re-establish the world, to re-establish the foundations of prosperity to the world which have been so sadly shaken by this war. These things cannot happen, of course, if we are all pulling against each other. We must pull together; we must even be generous to each other; and I am sure that the world, realizing the danger, will be generous one to the other, and that the nations that have too great a burden will be assisted to bear their burden. In any case, I am convinced that not one nation in Europe—I might perhaps exclude Austria, but even I am doubtful about Austria—will be allowed to become bankrupt. We must at this time stand together; and we in Great Britain realize this; we intend to do our very best to preserve every nation in Europe from bankruptcy, realizing that our own well-being is at stake and that the world's well-being is at stake. (Applause)

By levying upon wealth made during the war,—in the main wealth which has come from unearned increment, which has come as a result of war,—and a moderate levy upon pre-war wealth, it will be possible to discharge practically the whole of the internal debts of Europe, that is, if the nations take that view. As far as I can judge of matters, and I have taken a great deal of care in investigating, that is the view of the democrats of Europe. They intend to do that; they intend to decide the whole of their debts in a proper and right manner; they intend to reduce their expenditures to a point that can be met, without unduly burdening the future; they intend to start on their new career in such a way that their own

people and the people of all nations may continue to make the progress they made in the past. That means that, in the course of a few years, Europe will be re-established. I want you to realize that, before the war, not only did Europe meet all of her expenditure out of income, but every year she placed, at the service of the rest of the world, nearly 400 millions sterling of Capital. We, in Great Britain, loaned to the world, several years before the war, about 200 millions a year of new money; every year France loaned over 50 millions a year; Germany loaned some 500 millions a year; Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark all loaned smaller sums. I have no doubt that, if the present situation is handled aright, Europe will again be in a position to resume her task of financing works of construction that are needed by the whole world for its progress.

May I here just indicate how it is that the world has made such wonderful progress during the last century, more particularly the last 60 or 70 years, in order to show the line which must be pursued in future if the progress is to be resumed? I want you to think that, only about two generations ago there were practically no railways in the world, and that, in those two generations, Great Britain has supplied the greater part of the money for building the railways of the world. Without those railways it is obvious that the wealth of the world could not have grown in the manner it has grown. Think of America; America could not be the country it is to-day without its railways. Before the war, Great Britain owned no less than 2,000 millions sterling, invested directly or indirectly in the world's railways outside of Great Britain. France had a considerable sum, and other countries had a considerable sum.

Now, how about the future; what is to happen? You here in Canada have got your railways; you have got a good system of railways; you are ready to go ahead; I think you are going ahead; I have no doubt that you are going ahead. In the next few years you ought to get a very large number of immigrants from Europe to populate those western districts of yours. The world

needs your food, and needs that farms should be created in your western provinces more rapidly than ever. The world is indeed short of food to-day. Europe will never again produce such food as it did in the past, at any rate not cereal food. Roughly speaking, cereal production in Europe has gone down, owing to the war, about 40%. Before the war, Europe needed to import 1,000 million bushels of grain, of which 400 million bushels came from Russia. To-day, Europe needs not far short of 3,000 million bushels of grain, and there is not nearly sufficient to supply the need. How quickly that need will be supplied will be due in large measure to you Canadian people. You have the opportunity of developing your agricultural resources more rapidly than any other nation. All you need is population, and I think you will get that population. The other countries need railways, especially Russia. We cannot have a great nation like Russia in the condition of poverty which it has been in hitherto. Russia needs railways; for that great Country there are very few railways. We must help, and perhaps you too may help, and America may help, but we must supply the Russian people with railways in order to develop that country. Then, there is China; then, there is South America; then, there is Australia. The amount of wealth which the world can produce is infinite. If all goes well, I have no doubt that the wealth of the world will double in the next 20 or 30 years; but it will depend upon what you do, upon what we do, what we all do at the present time. Can we re-establish Europe so that it not only becomes self-supporting but again provides the means of developing the sparser populations of the world? I think we can. I think we can look forward to far better times for the world, and for each country in the future than those countries ever had in the past. But it is of the very greatest moment that we should realize that, in order to accomplish this work, in order to get through to the new period of prosperity, and greater prosperity than ever, we should now stand together, work together, act together, in such a manner as we have never acted or

worked together before. Especially is it necessary for the members of the British Empire to pull together and to think together, to look forward to ideals, to stand for ideals which in my opinion made the Empire great in the past and will make the Empire still greater in the future. (Loud applause, the audience rising and cheering)

The President expressed the thanks of the Club to Sir George Paish for his address.

# RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, KT.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February* 5, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speaker said,—It is not my purpose to enumerate the many honours that have been earned by our distinguished guest of to-day, Sir Bertram Windle; nor to refer, specifically, to the various eminently important offices which he has filled with much distinction in the academic life of the motherland. Suffice it to say that a most unusual opportunity is afforded the Empire Club in having as its guest one of the most brilliant scholars in the British Empire.

One of the Irish newspapers pays special tribute to Sir Bertram's "skill in affairs, his courtesy, his personal enthusiasm and his profound belief in the exalted nature of the educational tasks he was called upon to perform."

The subject chosen by Sir Bertram for his address today is a particularly fortunate one for us, following as it does the recent address by Dr. Newton.

I understand that this is the first occasion on which Sir Bertram has delivered a public address in Toronto, and on behalf of the members of the Empire Club present, I desire to extend to him a very hearty welcome. I was telling him a moment ago that I thought his removal from Ireland to Toronto might very likely be the cause of another revolution in Ireland. (Laughter) I told him that I hoped, however, that the atmosphere in Toronto would be one very favourable for the transmis-

sion to others of the wonderful store of knowledge which he himself has accumulated in many years experience. He told me that he had not so far found any idle time on his hands, and I do not think he ever will during his stay in this City; because, if there is one subject which is of paramount importance in these times, it is the matter of education, and in particular the higher education of our young people who are growing up. I have much pleasure in introducing Sir Bertram Windle, and I know that he will bring you a message that you will be glad to hear.

## SIR BERTRAM WINDLE

*Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club,*—I would like to say in the first place that I very highly appreciate the compliment you have paid me in inviting me here this afternoon—a man who came to Canada knowing no single individual within its bounds, a complete stranger, and I desire to recognize to the fullest the extraordinarily gracious and hospitable reception I have met in this City.

It was a great surprise to me to receive the invitation to take part in the educational work of this City, and that, particularly, at a time when I felt that I might with reason resign the very arduous and anxious post which I had held for some fifteen years in Ireland. It was a singular thing that I should be invited to Canada; for I may tell you that during the entire course of my married life I have heard more about Canada than any other country in the world, and for this reason, that my wife attributes her own excellencies—and I admit they are many—partly to the fact that she was born in Canada and lived on the right side, whatever that is, of the Medway—I have forgotten which and partly to the fact that she was brought up in the Province of Ontario. (Applause) Our married life has always been to me an evidence that Canada is the only reasonable place for any human being to live. In fact, I have an opportunity of testing her assertions, and if I find that they are incorrect, I will consider I am in a very favourable posi-

tion for making remarks on the subject. (Laughter) I might also confess to a little embarrassment in addressing such an assembly as this after the very important speech I had the privilege of listening to in this place last week, from Sir George Paish. I cannot hope to say anything on the same level either of interest or otherwise, to that to which we listened a week ago to-day. However, you have paid me the compliment of asking me here, and I will try to say something about some subjects in which I myself am interested.

Of course, one must necessarily commence with some remarks in reference to the War. There are those whose age prevented them, like myself, from going to the Front, but having lived on the other side of the Atlantic, I was brought into contact rather closely with the incidents of the war in Lispenaw and Leinster, and know the experience of those who, even though they were not at the Front, have the war burnt into their hearts, and cannot help bringing it to their minds every day of their lives.

Of course, in connection with this matter of education it is, as I think, an exceedingly important factor. What I suppose we all desire more than anything is that there shall be no more war. I wonder whether that happy vision is likely to be realized. Is the League of Nations really going to relieve us from the danger of war, I wonder. I always felt, for years back, that the one thing which would afford a substantial protection against warfare would be a thorough, firm, and lasting agreement between the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Applause) The foundation of such an agreement must begin with the English-speaking people of the British Empire; and that, I understand, is one of the objects for which this Club exists. So far as I can see there is only one difficulty in the way of that ideal, and that difficulty is the unfortunate position of the country to which I myself belong. I do not intend to touch upon that at great length, but I would like to say this. No one can recognize the difficulties of that case so well as those who, like myself, were members of the Irish Con-

vention, and, through eight weary months, sat listening to the various discussions of that body. No one who did that can doubt that a thornier and more difficult question never faced politicians; but, in my opinion, it has got to be settled. I myself can remember, I think, at least five or six favourable occasions which have been lost; it is the old story of the Sibylline Books over again. Every opportunity that was lost, the price rose. It has got to be paid sometime or other. In my opinion it has got to be paid as soon as possible, and this matter cleared out of the way, in order that the understanding of which I have spoken may be arrived at. That is all I wish to say on that particular point.

Now I pass to the more proper part of my address, which is in regard to University reconstruction that follows after wars. It was after the reverses that Prussia suffered some 100 years ago, that the policy of founding and fostering Universities in that country was started, in order, as it was stated at the time, that the loss of material territory might be made up for by increased intellectual effort; and no one can doubt that the great prosperity that waited upon the German Empire, prior to their unfortunate declaration of war, was due to the physical and chemical resources which were carried out in connection with the Empire. I would go further, and say that I think nothing was more responsible for the war than the spirit which was fostered by those resources, and it is a fact that you will always remember in connection with education in Germany, if you follow their philosophies for years back, that education on wrong principles is worse than no education at all. (Applause)

I noticed the other day, in a book which contains many excellent things, namely, the Bible, a statement which was to me the summing up of the philosophies which had been taught in the German Universities, and of which this war was evidence:—"Let us oppress the poor, just man; and not spare the widow, nor honour the ancient grey hairs of the aged, but let your strength be the law of Justice; for that which is feeble is found to be noth-

ing worth." That is what was written many hundreds of years ago by the Author of the Book of Wisdom, and I think it adequately sums up the attitude which, in its essentials, was what the German Philosophers taught in their Universities, and out of which came the war which has turned the whole world upside down. In my opinion—I state it plainly here—education which is devoid of moral sanction and religious sanction may be a much more dangerous thing than no education at all. (Applause)

Well, during the latter part of the war there has been a great deal of activity in the British Isles in regard to educational reconstruction. Many conferences have been held, and at many of them I was present, and a Delegation visited America and Canada and came here. It was one of the greatest regrets of my life that I was unable to accept the very kind invitation given by the Foreign Office to be a member of that delegation. I should have visited a lot of interesting places and seen many interesting things, but I could not manage it at that time. Out of these reconstruction meetings have arisen certain general things and certain special things, some of which had been inaugurated before the war; and I want to say something about two or three of those special directions in which University Education has progressed in England. I am particularly anxious to say nothing about Canada. I will wait until I know something about it before I talk of it. If that rule had been followed by visitors to my own country, it would have been to the great benefit of the world at large. (Laughter and applause) I will talk merely about things of which I know something.

The first curious development, I think as it will seem to many here, was one with which I myself was closely associated, being Secretary of the movement for some time. This was the establishment of a Faculty of Brewing in connection with the University. It would be no use to you here (laughter) but in Birmingham when I was there, it was felt that being in the centre of the brewing industry, so to speak, in the large city of Burton

where the beer comes from, it was a pity that so many students had to be sent to the continent for the purpose of carrying on this industry—based as it is, as with all fermented industries, on Chemistry, Botany and Bacteriology. And so this Faculty was started, and when it was started, it was thought we should have rather a warm time of it when the Temperance Party realized what had been done; but not at all. One of the leaders of that party said to me "Well, you know, I don't like beer, but if you are going to have beer, you had better have good beer than bad beer." That seemed to be a more temperate reply than one always gets from that kind of orator. (Laughter) Well, as that is all of no interest about here (laughter) I will pass on to something which is of more interest; and that is the remarkable growth of the Faculties of Commerce in the Universities. What had been felt for a long time by the University authorities was that the reign of what are called "bread studies" that is, studies by which a man can actually earn his living, like medicine, engineering, and so on—that that reign was one that must be fostered; that it does not do any longer to rely purely upon the humanities and mathematics, as was more or less the case in the old Universities; that opportunities must be provided for students to learn their professions and businesses in a broadly-taught manner and on useful lines.

The first Faculty of Commerce was started in Birmingham when I was a member of the Senate of the University there with other Professors; and the first Professor we had came from Toronto—Sir William Ashley—who was here many years ago, and I think went from here to Harvard and thence to Birmingham. He had to start a new Faculty there, and it has been perfectly successful. One of the difficulties we had there, as we had in Cork, was with the business men. They didn't think the thing was going to be a good proposition for them when it was started, but I think they rather changed their attitude when they found that the first English-speaking Faculty of Commerce in the world was rapidly

occupied by a large number of Japanese who knew a good thing when they saw it, even if the local people did not, and I think that object lesson had a great deal of effect.

The Irish Education Act came into operation ten years ago, and I started one of these Faculties in Cork, and was fortunate enough to secure, as Professor, a man who had not had the full academic training but had business training—a thing which I particularly desired. He was Managing Director at the time, and had been through the mill. One of the first things which we started with was a scheme which I think has worked out very well, although it has not been tried elsewhere. We succeeded in getting a number of business firms, Railways and Chartered Accountants, to open their offices to our second and third year students for three months each summer, and let those boys go in, without any pay, and do three months' work either in the railway business, or whatever other business might call for them. That offered a great advantage in two ways: first of all it gave those boys, by the time they got their degree—we have a three years' course there—six months' work in the actual operation of a business concern. There is another advantage—and it is no less an advantage to the business men—that the Commerce Faculty is a proposition that is of use to them and can turn out the kind of person who will make useful employees for them. In my experience that is one of the hardest lessons to teach the business men on the other side of the Atlantic; they do not understand that at all, though I think it is true if the course is properly conducted.

Now, these are the things to understand in relation to the Commerce Faculty. First of all, the course which these students go through, is a first class Arts course; it is not merely technical. A man has to acquire a good knowledge of mathematics; he has to acquire a working knowledge of two foreign languages—we give them their alternatives—French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian, and they have to learn to converse in them as well as to write them. They have to learn a certain amount

of law, and they do a great deal of bookkeeping under a first class accountant; and at the end I would say, without fear of being contradicted, that they have had as broad and as illuminating an Arts course as could be obtained anywhere. Another point of interest is that it was not merely the business of Directorships which the students in such a Faculty were given. The Editor for some time of the greatest financial newspaper in England, the *Statist,* Sir George Paish, who was here the other day, took three boys out of that Commerce Faculty, the last year I was there, and put them on the Staff of his Paper. The Editor, Mr. Lloyd, a wonderful old man, over 86 years of age, and as keen as Sir George Paish who has a great grip on Economics, got one of those students, and he liked him and got another; and just as I left, he wrote and said that he would have a third; for the sort of thing they learned in that Faculty was the sort of thing he wanted on that Paper.

There was another vocation open to people in this Faculty. Those who have been about the Empire more than I have will tell us, I think, that of all the scandals in connection with governmental affairs, probably the worst was the state of our Consular offices. A great many of the Consuls in a great many parts of the world were Germans. Well, we know the result of that. There was no regular Consular service; it was sometimes said to be the dumping ground; at any rate, during the war, the Government have seen the evils of that, and they have accepted a new scheme, a very important scheme. This scheme makes the Consular Service a closed Service like the Colonial Service or any other Branch, in which young fellows, after entering, will begin in the lower grades, and finally work up by seniority, and also let us hope, by merit, to be Consuls General, and so on. In other words, it is to be a closed profession and not the haphazard thing which it was before the war. (Applause) Probably many of you gentlemen may have seen that scheme from an educational point of view. What I want to emphasize now is that the education demanded for these posts is the education that is being

agreed to in the Commerce Faculty—Foreign languages, especially their business side, Commercial Law, and other matters of that kind. Practically, the Commerce Faculty might have been set up for being a training ground for the new Consular Service, and I think it a very important opening for students.

There is one other matter to which I might briefly allude here, because I was interested in it and took some part in its initiation, and that is the foundation of the degree of Journalism. In the presence of the Press I am going to speak with great respect. I should like to say that for years I held the view that the University should give a course that would turn out young men who would be very useful in the journalistic profession. I know that is the view of many journalists in England; and some years before the war, I was invited by the Institute of Journalists to go down to their annual meeting in Brighton and give them a paper on that subject, as they were very much interested. I think, and have always thought, that it would be a great mistake to try to teach them the minutiae of a newspaper office. That is not what is wanted, but you can give them a broad education that will make them useful people when they are turned into an office. You can teach them foreign languages. You can teach them a good deal of geography—which we did—economics, history, and a little law—Law of Evidence and the Law of Libel—a little of that should be useful. Above all—and in this I was very interested because I taught it myself—straight forward, commonsense, unfloriated English composition. My effort along those lines was to teach boys and girls to tell a plain story in a plain and intelligible manner. I cannot but think that every one trained in that way would have a rather valuable asset when turned on to the office that he hopes to reach. I must say that I did not find a very large number of students following this thing, but those who did have done quite well. One of them is also connected with the *Statist* and another of them is an American Correspondent. Another, a very clever girl, a Jewess, was on the staff of the *Daily Chronicle* in Lon-

don; another is on some other paper, and I have lost track of him. Another young lady, one of the ablest I ever came across as a student, developed in another direction; she knew shorthand and typewriting, and became my private secretary with great success, and is now private secretary to one of the most important literary men in England; so there are many ways in which this training can lead to paying professions. The course of study which the students pursue is as broad and illuminating as any Arts course, and, I would think, more practical. (Hear, hear)

There are two other points to which I would allude for a minute. There has been a great deal of discussion on this side of the Atlantic as to the exchange of professors and the exchange of students. I think a great deal of that myself, and have had a great many discussions on the subject. No one can deny that, under certain circumstances and with certain limitations, both of those suggestions would be highly valuable. I believe in them myself, because I believe they would help to cement the bonds which we desire to see established between the different parts of the British Empire on both sides of the Atlantic. (Hear, hear) But I should like to make certain reservations. With regard to the professors, I think that no one can do better than invite to the other side of the Atlantic some distinguished man from this side for the purpose of giving, say, a three months' specialized course on some subject of which he is a master; and to special students. I think the idea of sending a man over there to take an ordinary class of students is not a good one. It breaks up the method, and after all it is very important that the student should master the method of his professor, if his professor is any good. Of course, one always hopes that he is. If so, his method, his way of attacking subjects, is one of the most important things the student has to learn. He could learn lots of things out of books, but he cannot learn methods except by contact with that man, and I do not want to see that broken up in an under-graduate's career. Therefore, if we are to have these visits, and I hope we

shall, they should be visits by masters in particular subjects and for the purpose of giving a conspectus of those particular subjects to students in some way that would be satisfactory to themselves. I entirely endorse the opinion that it would be a great mistake to send students in exchange, until they had obtained their first degree. From my experience in Ireland, I am entirely in favour of boys or girls being educated in their own country until they take their first degree. I think it is a great mistake to send them to another one; they get disoriented—to use a French phrase. I was myself sent from Ireland to foreign schools, and I think it took me some time to get over it. If a person can be brought up in his own environment until he gets his first degree, then it is a splendid thing to send him out into the world to see things done elsewhere. Therefore, in regard to the exchange of students, I think it would be most favourably limited to those who have taken their B.A. or B.Sc., and let them then go on and put mansard roofs on their noddles, as Mark Twain says. But I myself attach a great deal of importance to the exchange situation. I think it is a great thing that we should know more about one another. I confess I have had my eyes very widely opened about Toronto—I won't say anything further than that—but I think it would be a good thing for other people to come over and see these things, and I think it would be a good thing if the young people from here could see some things in the British Isles; for there are some very interesting things there. At any rate, in the proposition for exchange, I can see not only a great benefit to education—there will be that, I am sure—but also a great benefit to the better understanding between the different parts of the British Empire, which is what I myself desiderate, and which is what I understand this Club stands for. (Loud applause)

The President presented the hearty thanks of the Club to Sir Bertram.

# THE IRISH PROBLEM

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY MR. WILLIAM COOTE, M.P., REV. C. M. MAGUIRE AND REV. MR. BLUE.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February* 12, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speakers said,—Gentlemen, our guests of to-day are on a missionary journey and we are glad indeed that they have included Toronto in their itinerary. If there is one thing above everything that this Club stands for, it is a United British Empire (loud applause)—such a unity of heart and mind and purpose that the difficulties and sufferings of any member of the union must sympathetically effect every other member. (Hear, hear) The Irish Problem will be presented to you to-day from the view-point of our brethren from Ulster, and I am sure that the words which will be spoken will represent the conscientious convictions of the men from that section of Ireland who have the right to demand of us our careful attention and consideration. In the past few years we have paid a wonderful tribute to the men who have given their lives, who have died for their country. We honour them and revere their memory above all else; as President of the Empire Club I submit this as a proposition; that we must be as willing to live for our country as to die for it. (Applause) We want to have it that the truth can be viewed from all angles. We are sane, intelligent men. It is possible for us to form our own conclusions and govern our own lives in accordance with these conclusions, and I ask you to-day to extend the greatest possible courtesy and sympathetic attention to our brethren from Ulster, and make them feel glad that they ever came to the City of Toronto. (Loud applause) We are to

have the privilege to-day of listening to Mr. William Coote, M.P., a man thoroughly conversant with business, himself a business man. He will be followed—I want you to note the name of the next speaker very carefully —by the Rev. Charles Wesley Maguire. (Applause) If you appreciate heartily what they have to say, and I am sure you will, we may be able to extract one minute from another speaker whose name I will announce provided we can hear him. I have the pleasure to introduce Mr. Coote.

## MR. WILLIAM COOTE, M.P.

*Mr. Chairman,*—If I should have entered the room with any doubt in my mind as to whether there were Irishmen here or not, it would have been set aside when I heard that cheer, because I think Irishmen can give such cheers as no other nationality anywhere can. (Applause) We, the delegates from Ulster, are delighted to be amongst you business people who control the main lines of progress in this great Dominion of Canada. We are delighted to look into your faces and see and know that your hearts beat true to a United Empire for the generations that are to come. (Applause) We are with you, in this respect, heart and soul from the old province of Ulster. Your sons and our sons have fought together to make the world free, to slay the tyrannous monster which would have destroyed the peace and the prosperity of the world; your sons and our sons have laid down their lives in France and in Flanders for us, and we are going to maintain the place of this Empire for the children that are coming after us and to hold it unbroken for the generations that are yet unborn. (Applause)

We recognize what you, the people of Canada, have done, and in the old Ulster land we have always linked you with ourselves. We say, over in Ulster, that we have done through the Canadian people just as much as you have done through your people; for your people are our people, you are bone of our bone; our fathers went out from these Ulster shores and came into this land and

felled the trees and cleared the land. My grand-uncles and uncles, some of them, gave their lives, dying on their way to reach the Ontario backwoods, and the descendants of these men, when the Empire called, when the old Mother called, the grand-children of these men who went out from old Ulster and Scotland and England, heard and responded to that call of the old Mother so nobly, so gloriously, as to open to the world one of the grandest pages of British History. The tyrant Kaiser's knees shook when he realized that Canada and Australia and all the children of the Empire were coming to aid the old Mother to see to it that the old Flag, which never dipped nor bowed to any Flag in the world, would still be the Flag. (Loud applause)

We gratefully recognize that Toronto sent something like 63,000 men to the colours. We could not better that over in Belfast, but without compulsion Belfast with 400,000 people sent 45,000 men. (Applause) Our men and women at home did not remain idle and create a rebellion. No, they went to work, realizing that, if Ulster did not produce linen for the aeroplanes all the Allies' talk would be of no use in the war. So our farmers went to work and sowed their land and produced the flax that could not be drawn from Belgium or Russia, which were both held by Germany, or by rebellion, and in the moment of exigency, the Ulster farmer sowed more of his land in flax, and his wife and children handled that crop in a wonderful way and produced the flax that went to the Allies. Ulster produced 95% of all the linen that was used for all the aeroplanes of the Allies, the United States included. (Loud applause) But I suppose you are not here to listen to an Ulster man trying to boast about his province, because we are not given to boasting; we are of the Ulster breed, or of the British breed, and do not like to talk very much. (Laughter.) Oh, I have not commenced to talk yet—I know you business men do not want to be kept here for the whole afternoon, so I want to get right into the question of Sinn Feiners.

When we come to talk of our Empire and of our troubles at all, we have to talk of another, of the only black spot in the records of our Empire's story. The sons of Mother Britain came from all the ends of the earth; the dependencies of Britain sent their boys—black, white and brown and all colours from all lands and from all dependencies. They came to rally around the old Mother and to save the peace of the world; and, though I do not want to boast of our part in the war, I say to all the world there is the record. Take Britain out of the struggle, take your Canadians and your Colonial troops and all the rest of them that make up the bed-rock of the British type—take them out of the struggle—the picture of the war would have a different record to-night. (Applause)

The reason we are here at all is to lay the lies that have been circulated in the United States about our old Mother Country. The Sinn Feiners tell them that Britain is a persecutor, that Britain is a burglar, that Britain is robbing and crushing Ireland, that Britain is outraging and crushing the peoples of Ireland. I believe there is no part of the world to-day that would believe such talk without argument unless, perhaps, Germany; for wherever the old Flag floats in British Dominions and dependencies, there is liberty,—liberty for all. The Sinn Fein party seems to have gone asleep at a point about a hundred years ago, and in some state of lethargy they have lived during the last hundred years. Now they have waked and find themselves in a new world and cannot realize it; and so they are ever in the United States telling of the condition of things that may have been a hundred years ago. That is as far from the truth to-day as the North Pole is from the South. Why, in Ireland there is no oppression.

I hope I am an Irishman; my fathers were persecuted in France because they could not get liberty to worship according to the dictates of their conscience, and, as Huguenots, they were driven out of France and came over into England and into Ireland, and we have been in Ireland about 250 or 300 years; surely it will be acknowl-

edged by all people that we are Irishmen in that country, and if we are not Irishmen, you are not Canadians. (Laughter) I say, as an Irishman, that for the last forty years the British Government have done everything they could to uplift the condition of the Irish people. Landlordism which was the cause of the trouble is gone, gone away, practically, out of my country. The tenants of the soil, be they Sinn Feiners or Unionists, be they Catholics or Protestants, can get the money from the British Government at three and a quarter per cent. interest to pay for their lands, principal and interest paid into a sinking fund of three and a quarter per cent. so that after seventy years their lands are as free from any liability as your prairies are when you buy them from the Canadian Government. The British Government have come into my country and, after helping the farmer, they have gone to the labourer and, through the district councils of the country, they have given money up to eighty per cent., something like seventy millions of dollars, to provide houses for the working classes of my country. All over the country, in every part of Ireland, there are these pretty cottages solidly built of stone and lime with slate roofs, built under Government inspection and in the most approved and sanitary condition, sitting on an acre of land in one contract and on a half-acre of land in another. Over eighty thousand of these cottages have been built with money subscribed by the British Government at three and a quarter per cent. interest, and after fifty years the principal and interest disappear and these houses become the property of the ratepayers and of every district in which they are, and the rents will be applied to the relief of the local rates. And what is the rent on these cottages and the acre of land—something like thirty cents to thirty-six cents per week! These cottages are to-day inhabited by Sinn Feiners, and it is the wonderful anomaly that the Sinn Feiner, denouncing everything British, takes all the British money he can lay his hands on. So they live in these cottages provided by the money taken direct from the British Treasury at this easy rate of interest, or of rent after paying

for these cottages. Aye, it is wonderful. I have tried to compare these things with the American people, the great American people, (laughter) the American people who think in millions, who have no patience with any less, and I have said to the American people, the great people of the United States, "Have you eighty thousand cottages provided by your Government for your working classes"? No; it remains for the terrible Saxon, the hated Saxon, the awful British Treasury which is robbing and destroying Ireland to give such a charter to the labourers of my country. Oh, if this is robbery, we want plenty of it in my land. (Applause)

The British Government have given us light railways; and when Mr. Balfour was chief secretary, he opened up the whole west of Ireland to the fishing industry in order to get the live produce of the sea. It was an unfortunate circumstance, but it was a fact, that the English and Scotch and Manx fishermen were coming over to the west of Ireland and taking the fish out of Irish waters; and the poor Irishmen from Donegal and Kerry, were dozing on the banks, smoking their pipes and looking at the other fellows taking away all their crop. These districts were the scene of horrid famines at various points in the history of Ireland. They are congested, poverty-stricken districts and Mr. Balfour realized this. There was no navigation of the sea, there were no harbours on which to land the fish, there were no fishing boats to use, there was no knowledge of the art. So Mr. Balfour obtained a grant of eight or nine millions direct from the British Government—a gift to Ireland, not paid by the Irish taxes directly, only its quota to the British Treasury—and with this money he had light railways built on the west coast and had harbours built and quays, along down the coast on which the produce of the sea might be landed. Then they had the light railways and the quays and no fishing boats; so a committee was formed, known as the Congested Board Committee, made up of a few men nominated by the British Government, experts, and by some Roman Catholic priests; the Lord Bishop of Rothesay is, I think, himself the Chairman of

that Board. This Board went to work and had fishing boats built at a cost of £150 to £200. Now they have the boats on the coast, and the railways, and they have the men on the shore, but the poor fellows did not know how to manipulate the motor boats and use fishing nets. So they had to do in my country what I suppose you have had to do in your country, and what we all have had to do when we are in a tight corner—we sent for a Scotchman. (Great laughter) We could not even come on this delegation without having a Scotchman who thinks he is in charge of the lot of us, (laughter) but I assure you we would want ropes to tether him to keep him along with us, he goes at such a pace. This Committee took over some Scotchmen and Scotch yawls, and they rented boats, or sold each boat, to five Irishmen and took their promissory note for the cost of the boat payment to be made to the Congested Districts Board as soon as they got sufficient money out of the fishing. To the honour of these men along that coast they have paid every penny of what these boats cost (hear, hear) and they derived great benefit throughout that whole district. One Scotchman was put in the boat with five Irishmen. (Great laughter) I tell you if they had to put Sandy with twenty-five Irishmen he would get out all right. But he was put into these boats to teach the Irishmen how to fish in their own waters—that is a fact—and these same Irishmen were soon able to get rid of the Scotchmen and do the fishing themselves. The Committee also established curing stations and these are in existence yet along those coasts.

The Sinn Feiners do not tell about these things when they come over to the United States of America. They withhold the truth—that is the misfortune of it,—and they picture my country as a country of beggars—and we are not beggars; we want none of your dollars. If a section of my country wants your dollars, we do not; thank God, we can live without American or Canadian dollars. But these curing stations were created, and experts were placed there to teach the Irish girls to cure and pack the fish, so that when an abnormal catch was

taken from the sea and they had not markets to get rid of them for a fair price, they cured them and packed them and sent them into many markets of the world. These fish are collected in great harvests taken from the sea on that west coast; they are landed on the Irish coast by the Irish light railways and sent to the British, Scotch, and Welsh markets and sold there twenty-four hours after they are taken out of the waters on the west coast of Donegal.

This is what the British Government has done for the most distressed part of Ireland, for the part that needed help. To-day there is an annual grant of £280,000 given from the British Exchequer as a free gift to teach the people home industries, hosiery work, making homespun tweed, developing many industries that can be carried on in the homes of the people. Throughout the war, when every industry was struck down, the only industries that were left open in the land at all were these in connection with Donegal. The Government sought to help these people and keep them quiet, keep them from crying, keep them from making trouble through the war; and within these districts I have known five or six boys in one house each to be earning by his own loom something like £8 to £10 per week, or £50 per week for that home. I can prove it to you for I supplied the yarns. There was a fight in all the district for yarns; they could not get enough yarns at the abnormal price they were getting for the tweed. So interested was the Government in it, that they sent down a special commissioner, and they took control of my mill and the mill of another in the County of Fermanagh and Lispilaw, and all our products were sent down to that country. The special commissioner had to deal it out in small quantities, so intense grew the press of the trade and so much did the boys carry back from Scotland and from England. When conscription was placed on England and Scotland, these boys went home and got at their looms and earned from £8 to £10 a week, and I know where they earned £50 a week and not a man went to the war. Your sons came over and defended the Empire, defended these fellows,

these selfish fellows along that coast. Yours boys died for them and for the world, and our boys died; and the cruel thing is that men representing all these fellows are in the United States to-day trying to vilify my country and to vilify the grandest old Empire that ever God gave to the world. (Tremendous applause) No, there is no oppression in my country. If you want to find the secrets of oppression, you must go some where else; it doesn't come from the British Government, and we have proper representation in Ireland; we have as much liberty as you have. The only thing we have not got in Ireland is license to break each other's heads and get off scot free, but with that exception I say we have as much liberty as you have. (Great laughter)

Take, for instance, representation in the Imperial Parliament. The Irish people send 145 members to the Imperial Parliament; Scotland only sends about 72 or 75, although she has 300,000 of a population more than Ireland. We send one member for every 40,000 people in Ireland to the Imperial Parliament, while England, Scotland and Wales send only one for every 73,000; in other words, one Irishman is as good as two Scotchmen or two Englishmen in the British House of Commons, that is, if they like to go. (Laughter) Well, they have gone, up to the last election, but at the last election they developed a kind of bird in our country, that reminded me of what my mother used to say when she was talking about our hens; there were some of them very useful, and some were not, and she didn't like the red hen that was looked upon as a "non-sitter." (Great laughter) We have a great number of Irishmen who have taken the notion that they will be non-sitters in the British House of Commons. We hope the mania will continue for some time, because, if it does, we will get on with some business in the House of Commons and will not be talking shop all the time and will not have an obstructing machine at work all the time, and we will be able to do some work for the people that we wish to get on with. But they have that representation in the Imperial House of Commons, and there is no excuse or reason to complain. It is all the

other way about; and we have our County Councils and District Councils in Ireland—I hope you people of Canada don't forget that—and we strike our own local rates and collect them and administer them, and no power on earth can interfere with us. I happen to be a County Councillor for Tyrone for the last twenty years, and for twenty years and longer we have had control of our own local rates, and we are elected on the same suffrage as you are, on the manhood suffrage. Every boy of 21 years of age in Ireland has a vote, and every lady who is married and 30 years of age, the wife of a voter, has also got a vote: so I think we are getting on. I don't think the people of any country can lay the charge on the British Government that the Irish people have not the same liberty as every free people ought to have—the right to have their local affairs administered by representatives elected by the people and for the people. This we have in Ireland for the last 20 or 23 years. (Applause)

But now let us pursue this hideous thing, Sinn Fein, a little further. If they had merely stayed at home and determined not to sit, nobody would complain; but at that crucial time in the war when Verdun was being attacked and it was feared that it would fall, when those gallant Frenchmen had driven back wave after wave of those great sections of the German force, and when all the strength of Germany was directed to that fortress, and when they played with it as the very mouth of hell for days and weeks, and the enemy got ready to make another onslaught where the British troops might not be in such numbers to block the way, and the resources and tenacity of France were tested to the last moment; in that moment when Germany, with her Bernstorff, was trying at Washington to arrange with Von Jagow in Germany through John Defoe in New York, they planned this rebellion. John Defoe sent a message to Von Jagow for the arms that were promised to the south of Ireland and for the men that should be sent continually out of Sligo, as they were afraid that the leaders in Ireland would have to be arrested. Easter Saturday was the day when the fatal hour arrived to strike, and the Ger-

mans sent their shiploads to Ireland; but the old British Navy had their tip in time, and they arrested the arms and sent the ships to the bottom of the sea, and the German submarine ran to Ireland with Sir Roger Casement, who was supposed to be the Ambassador at the Court of Berlin—we have a wonderful lot of ambassadors, but somehow they are living out of Ireland, a whole lot of them (laughter) and they are remaining away for Ireland's good, and I trust that what will happen to poor de Valera is what happened to some men like Casement. The moment he touches Irish soil he is dumb. But don't you Canadians think that we in Ireland are downhearted; not the least. (Hear, hear) Don't think that the British Government has the slightest intention of listening to the idiotic nonsense of those men. I tell you that, when the old lion shakes his tail some day, there will be a rare walloping of those Irishmen. (Applause)

The rebellion was called off in the South of Ireland, but those poor fellows—you know they are all masters, and there are no followers—called the Dublin Conference and decided that as things were ripe with them and, as they had their battalions and all the firearms ready, they would go on with the rebellion. So they started that rebellion on the fateful Easter Monday and shot down every man they met in Cork; they shot down the innocent policemen on their beat; they burned the most beautiful street in Dublin, and, when their own firemen went to put out the flames, those madmen actually shot down their own firemen. May I say, in passing, that Sackville Street, that beautiful street that was burned down, is not being built by Sinn Fein rebels now. This terrible British Government, this awful monster that is robbing Ireland, actually contributed, from the British Treasury, $12,000,-000 to build up Sackville Street, and it is being built by British gold to-day. Read the record and study it, and I believe there is not a man in this room that will not admit that the most long-suffering Government on the face of God's earth is the British Government in their dealings with Ireland. They are so long-suffering that we are going to lose patience with them: we are going to

accuse them of cowardice; the Irish people believe they are cowards; their very leniency is put down to cowardice. Remember, de Valera himself was one of the commanders who entered Boland Mill, where the present Lord Lieutenant says more Irish and British soldiers were shot down in cold blood than at any other point in that unfortunate city during that miserable week; and yet this man has the effrontery to come over to the United States as the so-called President of a Republic that never existed, and never will. (Hear, hear) Why, he masquerades as a sort of modern George Washington, saving America. I have told the Americans, and they have rung true and responded to the statement most heartily in our meetings, that instead of being George Washington he is the Benedict Arnold of the world. (Applause)

Now, even if all this story could be treated as ancient history, we would cry quits with the whole question. We people in the British Isles wish to mind our business and develop the resources of the Old Land, as you wish to develop the New; but we are not allowed to close that miserable page of Irish history. I am here to state all the truth and nothing but the truth. I want to tell you that you must not write down everybody, all the Roman Catholic people in Ireland, as leagued with Sinn Fein. (Hear, hear) The most respectable and thinking Roman Catholics look upon this as a hair-brained, mad affair that is going to end in disaster; and I tell you that John Redmond was a broken man from the time that rebellion started. Although I don't believe in his politics, I believe in Redmond's honesty. I want to bear witness that he got on the platform in Ireland and appealed to the Irishmen to come and rally around the British standards, and he allied himself with all the people of the great Dominions in every part of the world to preserve the liberties of the world; but, from the time he did it, he was a doomed man. The Sinn Fein got hold of the youth of Ireland, of the rank and file of the country, and preached the gospel of hatred to Britain, hatred to the Allies, opposition to the war, and the stay-at-home policy. What was more, they planned that re-

bellion, which they never believed would come off successfully—they and Germany. The object they had in view was that by that rebellion they might bring back, as they successfully did bring back, 50,000 British troops from the front in France, to be a garrison in Ireland, to put down anarchy and rebellion during war-time. That 50,000 troops had to be made up by your boys and by the Australians and by others of the colonies. They did this for Germany, and so far as this was concerned they succeeded.

John Redmond tried to do his part as far as he was able, and many Roman Catholics were with him; a third of the Roman Catholic people in my country do not believe in Sinn Fein; they have more sense than that. But you say, why don't they speak out? That is another matter. If you had a revolver to your head, you would not like to say much if the man at the other end of the revolver told you to keep a quiet mouth. What has been done to many Roman Catholics and Protestants in the suburbs of Dublin? Men with blackened faces come to your door and say, "You are one of them." Imagine here in your great city you go home to-night, and, while you are sitting around your own fireside with your wife and children, a man comes to the door, and the first thing you see when you open the door is a revolver placed at your chest. You see a man with a blackened face who says, "Hands up or I fire," and four or five men, without warning, come into your hall. You are standing there, a miserable creature in your own home, though every man's house should be his castle under the British flag. Those men go through your house and search every room from top to bottom. If there is a sick wife in that house, the fact that she is ill does not exempt that room from being searched. They have gone into the sick-room and lifted the sick woman off the bed and put her on the floor and searched in and about her bed for arms and then put her back on her bed, although the nurses pleaded with them not to disturb her privacy under those terrible conditions. But there is no kindness, there is no humanity, in those desperadoes; they are not men; they

are not civilized; they are men that ought to be shot down at sight.

Take another instance of life in my country, and then don't wonder because some unfortunate Roman Catholics cannot speak out; for many of those fellows would be more severe on the Roman Catholics than the Protestants. No Protestant cares tuppence about them; we know our own minds, and know what we will do; let them invade Ulster and we will show them what we will do; we are ready for them. (Applause) I will give you two instances of what happened. On the first Sunday in September, sixteen English boys, young soldiers who were in training at Fermanagh, were marching to the Cathedral at half-past ten in the morning. By an army order they were asked to bring their rifles with them, for the protection of the rifles lest these might be stolen in the barracks by some traitor inside who could help the Sinn Feiners to get away with the rifles. So they brought the rifles slung over their shoulders, and they had no ammunition. Generally, when there is some disaster, it is because of some humbugging breach of administration: precautions are not taken in time; John Bull wriggles through, but he might do better if he took precautions. However, the order was given for those fellows to enter single file into the church, and just at that moment three automobiles came round the corner and stopped. Twelve or sixteen men jumped out of the automobiles rushed on the soldiers and fired revolvers on the men who could not see the automobiles. Six of them were shot down on the ground, one of them fatally. One wriggled to the door on a side street, and the good lady of the house closed the door in his face and would not allow the bleeding soldier to enter. Don't blame that woman; she might be visited in a night or two and shot through the window, done to death without notice, if she had harbored that British soldier. Such is the blackguard hate of those people. Then those fellows got in their automobiles, cleared away, and have not been found yet. Nor are any of those cowardly murderers that shoot men in the back found—such is the terrorism in that part of the

country, such is the want of public opinion, the want of manhood, the want of men asserting themselves even at the cost of being shot. Until we get rid of this terrorism in the South and West of Ireland, we will have no progress; and no real rest, until men do their own thinking and speak out in the language that they believe is best suited to their needs.

Take another case in the County of Cork. On the same Sunday, two Roman Catholic policemen are attending their church, worshipping God with the other Roman Catholic people according to the dictates of their conscience. Their service is over, and they are going out of their church to their homes, going amongst the crowd. About ten yards from the church, two shots ring out and the two policemen fall prone on the road; and many of the people go by jeering on the men lying in the road. Only for the tender mercies of the priest coming out of the church, sending for an automobile and having those men driven away to a hospital, where one of them died, they might have lain there for a long time. What crime had those Roman Catholic policemen done on those people? Nearly all the Irish police are Roman Catholics, and they are trying to carry out the law in the most honourable way. They have a tremendous job to face, and to their honour, I want to bear witness to the sterling qualities of those men. They differ with me in religion, but I say their loyalty is unimpeached, and at the risk of their lives they have tried to maintain law. (Loud applause)

While I blame the young priests of Ireland for going on and fanning the flame of Sinn Fein, I must be honest with the whole situation. That is the misfortune of it. I say the soul of the whole movement is the Red Rag and Bolshevism—there is no difference between them—and it is going to usurp all Government in my country. If you took away the British army to-morrow from among those fellows they would raise in insurrection one with the other.

I have tried to give you the situation. They want Ireland a nation; they want Ireland for themselves. Lloyd

George is going to give them three provinces, to rule it possibly with the usual British freedom. Will they take it? No, the bishops have said there must be no partition. John Redmond, in 1916 at the settlement that Lloyd George was then about to accomplish, agreed and Sir Edward Carson agreed—both sides agreed—when Lloyd George was giving six counties to Ulster and giving the other all the rest of Ireland. We thought the Millenium had come. John Redmond came over to Belfast and agreed, and the Nationalists and their representatives agreed; but John Redmond was not back in London when the bishops met in their council and said that there must be no partition. John Redmond had to eat humble pie and abandon his position of conciliation and meeting the situation as it really presented itself in Ireland. I ask in all concern, do those people want peace in Ireland? There is one thing they never will get. We people in Ulster province are determined that under no circumstances will we submit to a Parliament in Dublin. (Loud applause)

I am here to say that Sinn Fein is out to destroy British authority in Ireland, and through Ireland the Government if they can. As Ireland is one of the pivotal points of the Empire, they are out to destroy the structure on which this great edifice of Empire is built. So I am glad to speak with you of this Empire Club, you business men, and I put it to you, when you look at the whole situation, are we wrong in Ulster? ("No") I am a man of business, and I put it to you in this way:—If you have a sleeping, quiet partner who leaves you to do almost as you please in business, and when you come to balance your accounts every year, if you find you are a little bit on the wrong side—and you know what a worry it is to find an overdraft at the bank and the balance on the wrong side—it is a grand thing to have a dear old gentleman with plenty of money to whom you can go and tell your troubles, and who will most benevolently give you a cheque to square the whole thing and ask no questions, I say, if I have that kind of a sleeping, quiet

partner, I am not going to dissolve the partnership. (Loud applause)

Men of this great Club, of this great Empire City—because you are more than a Canadian City, your influence thrills through the whole empire—I thank you from the bottom of my heart as one of the delegation, and in the name of the whole delegation, I thank you; and it delights my heart to know how thoroughly loyal you are to the Empire. We knew before we came amongst you what we might expect, and we have not been disappointed in our welcome; and I tell you, if the British Government ever falls, I believe you will take up the cudgels and hold the empire together. (Great cheering)

## REVEREND CHARLES WESLEY MAGUIRE.

*Mr. Chairman and Friends,*—When Lord Charles Beresford spoke in a Unionist demonstration in Belfast about ten years ago he opened his address with one fine word that bound him at once to the people of Belfast, and I utter it to you; he began by calling those present "Fellow Loyalists." (Applause) Well, fellow Loyalists, as the humble Secretary of this deputation, as one who feels that it is a great honour to occupy that position in connection with it, it will be my duty and privilege to present a report when we go home; and the first paragraph in that report, as far as I am concerned, will read something after this fashion: "Our delegation has been so well received throughout North America that similar deputations must be sent out every year." (Hear, hear) And there is great need for such delegations, for the personal touch that only delegations of this kind can bring, and that will tend to bind together the great English-speaking peoples of the world—and remembering that I am speaking in Canada—I may add, delegations that will bind together the scattered portions of our great Empire. I have a quarrel with the man who asked, "What's in a name"? Because I have a name, and I thank the Chairman for his reference to it, a name that

at once proclaims me a Methodist and proclaims me an Irishman; (laughter) and if I may be permitted to make this personal reference, one can be a good Irishman and a good Britisher. (Applause) We vigorously and absolutely resist the imputation made by the Sinn Feiners, that to be Irish you have got to get out from under the British Flag. We believe that a man can be a good Canadian and a good Britisher. William Redmond, himself a Roman Catholic, himself differing from us of this delegation both in religion and politics, proved, when he fell in France wearing the British uniform, that a man can be true to Ireland and can be true to the great Empire and to the cause of liberty and humanity. (Loud applause)

Many present may not know that there are very tender ties binding our delegation to this mighty power, the British Empire. The senior member of this deputation—senior in point of years—lost his eldest son in the war. He was a brilliant barrister in the West of Canada. That brilliant man sleeps his last long sleep in a portion of France, of which it might be truly said after the words of Rupert Brooke. "That there's some corner of a foreign field that is forever Canada." (Applause) And let me say that in our own City of Belfast, we had a Club for soldiers and sailors that was the finest club in the United Kingdom, and that thousands of Canadian men slept in that club, were fed in that club, and were welcomed and received there. (Applause) I remember once receiving, in the doorway of that club, an astonishing compliment from a mighty Canadian beside whom I was a mere pigmy. He had had a thirst, and he had quenched it in the club, and a friend of his was beseeching him to go to bed, and as he passed me in the doorway—I was in there giving a little service—he seemed to think that some little token of friendship should pass between us. So he stretched forth a mighty hand in which my poor hand was almost buried, and giving my hand a squeeze that nearly broke the bones in it, he said:—and surely it was a very appropriate greeting to a minister—he said "Hell-o, kid." (Great laughter)

It fell to my lot, during the week in Belfast, to undertake a Methodist Chaplain's duties in the barracks, and there is one man that stands out before my mind with peculiar clearness at the present time as a man who made a deep impression upon other men there. He was a middle-aged Canadian, who, while spending a brief furlough in Belfast had fallen and broken his leg and was going to be put in our Belfast Military Hospital. The English, Scotch and Irish soldiers looked with pride upon that man who had tramped many miles to the railway from a lumber-camp, had been turned down, but still persisted because he wanted to strike a blow for the Empire and for Canada. I tell you there was not one occupant or visitor in that ward but saw, in the heroic action of that middle-aged man, the spirit of Canada. (Applause) Gentlemen, it is well that you should know it. There is in the British Islands a very keen and deep-seated sense of what Canada did in the war. We are here, and we are glad to think that you appreciate the part that Ulster played; but whatever others may think as to the part they played in the war, or whether they won the war, let it be understood that, as long as the British nation exists, Vimy Ridge will have a place, a sacred place, in the memories and affections of the people of the British Isles, and they will never be slow in their sense of gratitude and indebtedness to the mighty colony that made the glorious stand at Vimy Ridge possible. (Applause)

I ventured to ask this question last night, and I repeat it:—Seeing what the record of Ulster was in the war, and what the record of the rest of Ireland was, is it fair that the only reward that Ulster is to receive for her heroic, unselfish devotion, is that this eternal menace of being subjected to a disloyal and proved German crew should continue to hang over its head? ("No" and applause) Our Chairman assures us that the British Government must never sacrifice Ulster in the so-called interests of the peace of Ireland, and we believe that our Canadian friends, who are entitled to speak in Irish affairs for their part of the British Empire, can do a lot to

strengthen our cause for Ulster by making it clear, through their own proper representations to the Imperial Government, that they stand by Ulster to the end. (Loud applause)

Let me give to my fellow Loyalists present a little bit of information for propaganda purposes. You have heard it stated that that rebellion, of which two of us were witnesses, was carried out in close co-operation with Germany. In connection with that rebellion, a large quantity of British gold began to circulate in the South of Ireland; it bore the date 1870; it had not been released by the British Government, because you know they had called in all the gold throughout the country and had a note-issue instead. The British Government could not tell where that gold came from, but the date on the coins gave the show away. You will remember that in 1870 the Prussians beat France, and wrung out of her a big indemnity. France had not the money, and she borrowed it from England, and it was sent over in British sovereigns. These were passed on to Berlin and kept there for a convenient season. That convenient season came, and to the shame of all true Irishmen, Irish hands were stained with German gold to carry out that rebellion, to involve the retention of British troops in Ireland, and so to help Germany, as she thought, to win the war. It is well that you should know that; and if any should doubt the truth of that, let me say that in our meeting in Seattle, Washington, a young man waited at the close of the meeting and told us, "I saw the sovereigns personally in Germany during the war; I was a resident in Germany when the war broke out, and I have seen the tower in which that money was stored, and I was told by the guards the purpose for which the money was being saved." So the evidence is hardly disputable, when entirely unsolicited testimony has been given and placed in our hands.

If any should ask what is really so wrong with Ireland that the land teems with unrest and sedition, perhaps the answer is that three-fourths of Ireland is really suffering from ignorance. A Canadian Colonel walked into a

meeting in Chicago at which some of us were talking, and when the minister finished speaking he said, "I want to add a word." We did not know whether he was going to criticize or contradict our words, but he said something like this:—"When I was in France I determined I would go over to Ireland and find out what all this Irish trouble was about." He then said that he had toured the South and West of Ireland for a fortnight, and wherever he went the people would look at his colored badges and say to him, "You are from Canada; what are you fighting for England for? Why can't you let England fight for herself?" He would say to them, "This is not England's war, it is Canada's war; it is everybody's war; these Germans will not spare you any more than they will spare Canada if they win." The people did not know; I have lived among them, and I am bound to say that hundreds and thousands of them were lamentably, pitifully, ignorant of the real issues.

Now, if you want to discover the source of that ignorance that has prevented the bulk of my countrymen from knowing the real minds, their real foes that are leading them astray and carrying them away by a most pitiful and thin agitation for an Irish Republic, let me tell you that our educational system in Ireland is entirely wrong. We have a system of clerically-controlled education; and while I am not here to raise religious issues, let me tell you that, in that system of education, there is a propaganda of anti-British teaching in our elementary schools in Ireland that is practically responsible for all this ignorance and all this bitterness of feeling to-day. If you could read those school books, you would be staggered that the British Government allows such anti-British teaching to have a place in the school books of the country. For example, there is one school book which describes an ancestor of the English entering Ireland in the twelfth century, and speaking of the imaginary peace and prosperity that the country then had until the English came on. He says, "So it all flourished till the spoiler, Christless more than Huns or Jews, came, and now the wolf and Saxon shared the wreck between the

two." And he goes on to say this, with fine sarcasm, of the growing lads that read this book, "But their King will be your Father, and will furnish you meat and garments, gyves and fetters from the dungeons of his misbegotten race." Would your Government at Ottawa permit itself to be spoken of as a misbegotten race, in any schoolbook of this country? Well, if you want to know the secret of Irish agitation and unrest, it is not that the country is suffering any real grievance, but that, under our system of clerical-controlled education in Ireland, the most insidious and baneful anti-British teaching has had a place in the school. When that kind of teaching is given in three-fourths of the country do you wonder that the state of Ireland is what it is? As the Chairman has suggested, all that Ireland needs at the moment for her order and peace is that the British Government will fulfil the first function of government, and that is, to govern. (Applause)

When we were in other parts of North America a number of men in Toronto besought us to come, insisted that we should come, and we are very glad that they did insist, and that we are here. I thank you, Fellow Loyalists, for all you have done for us, for the welcome you have given us; and when we go back we will say, in that word that was the secret of Lord Strathcona's success, we will say to our friends in Ulster, "Craigillachie"—"Hold on," for Canada and Toronto are behind you. (Loud applause)

## REV. MR. BLUE.

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Countrymen,*—Wherever you come from, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, or are Canadian-born, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the wonderful welcome which you have given to our delegation. We shall never forget it as long as life lasts.

This has been a most marvellously interesting tour, and it is wonderfully interesting to meet you. I said so yesterday, and I say it again, that to meet you is just

like meeting ourselves; you are we, and we are you; whether you be the sons of Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, wherever you come from, you are Canada, and Canada—why, that is Britain. (Applause) We shall never forget you and the part you played, your own great heroic part; we shall never forget the tragedy and the glory of Canada's part. Your sons fought and suffered and died. Many lie in yonder graves; some of us have seen them; they dot yonder Western front; they are your memorials; you will keep them in most loving and reverential affection.

We can recall the sweep of your great movement over the tides. Your boys seemed to blow the earth-fog over the waves in their eagerness to cross and obey the call of the Old Mother who summoned her Children from afar. Your cities emptied themselves, and your wide spaces gave up their boys. It needs not that I should speak a word of Canada; Canada's story is part of the great epoch of the war, her story is part of the annals of that great conflict that has changed the courses of the tides of civilization. You need not explain your part; it stands amidst the perpetual records in the greatness and the glory and the grandeur of it.

One day I was talking to a number of black boys, coloured gentlemen in France; they were gunners, and most excellent fighting men. I was—I don't know that you would call it preaching to them—but we were talking together, and in the midst of our talk I turned to one of the blackest of them—he was as black as my coat—and I said, "What is your name?" and like a shot, he replied, "Duncan McIntyre." (Great laughter) I said, "Oh, Caledonia, she has placed her marks upon all civilization; the ends of the earth come to her and claim her!" I said, "Duncan McIntyre, put it there, brother; blood is thicker than water." (Great laughter)

I am glad for the call of the blood. We have looked into your eyes, Gentlemen, as we have gone abroad over your great continent, and whether in Canada or the United States, and wherever we have seen you, east or west, north or south, do you know, we can see the very

soul looking out of your eyes; and we carry sometimes in our faces, and we carry in our hearts, something of the vision of the mountain and the glen and the rushing torrent. You hear in our voices the accents of the home tongue that you have never forgotten even though your stay in Canada or in the United States has been long. And we look into your faces, you men of Canada, and read the great tale you have to tell, the tale of the journey over the deep, the tale of the vast endeavour that built these great cities. You have the tale of the pioneer in your eyes, the tale of the long trek, and the great adventure you Englishmen and Scotchmen and Welshmen and Irishmen. You and we represent Britannia—Britannia marching out to the very ends of the earth encompassing the wide spaces, forging new shapes, moulding new civilizations; and so we belong to one another, and I would say, "Put it there." (Loud applause) It matters not where Britannia's sons wander; somehow the old home-call is there.

We carry a message. You will give to us new notes to that message, and I believe, after all, that which joins us is not policies and not politics, not schemes of gain. Brethren, I think we are joined by something more sacred than that. I remember hearing Robertson of the West telling a story when he came over to Britain. He said that, in his journeying over the wide spaces, it was his duty to gather the outpost families into fellowship—farmers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and Alberta. When word came that Robertson was to hold a meeting, somewhere from the lonely shacks, ten or twenty or perhaps fifty miles, they came and trekked along the trail. They gathered from the distances to meet Robertson, who would read in the little shack, perhaps this Psalm:—

> I joyed when to the House of God,
> Go up, they said to me;
> Jerusalem, within thy gates
> Our feet shall standing be.
> Jerusalem as a city is
> Compactly built together
> And to that place the tribes go up,
> The tribes of God go thither.

And Robertson said he would not be through the reading till, here and there and yonder, an old man or an old woman would break into tears and cry at the music of the psalm. They wept at the music of the sacred song. It brought up Jerusalem—Jerusalem of God, this building with foundations in Canada and in Britain, and wherever the wondrous Anglo-Saxon speech is spoken, or wherever the sons of earth cry out their wistful yearnings to Almighty God, that is Britannia.

And after all, that is what binds us. We leave you, and we pray and hope—I am sure it is true—somehow of seeing Him who is invisible. You break the Bread of Life with us. Brethren, we have eaten that bread and we have drunk that cup. It is a mystic cup, that unseen business amongst the nations of them whom Christ has bought. We shall continue to eat it, the bread, the fellowship, the comradeship and love. It is the cup of the nations, and we shall drink that mystic cup of fellowship, and by that sign, that wondrous sign, we are held together until He appears unto whom is the gathering of the nations. (Applause)

The President expressed the thanks of the Club to the several speakers.

# WORLD CONSPIRACY AGAINST ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY JOHN A. STEWART, LL.D.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, February* 19, 1920

VICE-PRESIDENT GILVERSON, after referring to the absence of President Hewitt through illness, introduced the Speaker of the day in the following terms,—In the former days we used to speak of the white man's burden as a responsibility for the protection of the black and brown races; but that was before we had discovered that there was a yellow race domiciled in the central areas of the European Continent. To-day the white man's burden is recognized, I think universally, to be the pacification of a turbulent world; and this heavy load seems to be by circumstances properly placed upon the shoulders of the Anglo-Saxon Race. It is truly a burden for white men. It therefore seems to be of the very utmost importance that the relationship existing between the different portions of the Anglo-Saxon world should be of the frankest and the freest and the best. With these thoughts in our mind, it seems most appropriate that we should have the opportunity to welcome to our midst a gentleman from the United States of America. (Applause)

Dr. John A. Stewart of New York, our guest, has made this subject his own. He is a distinguished Doctor of Laws of our own University of Toronto, a student of international politics, who has devoted his splendid talents to the promotion of every movement of importance looking to the fostering of friendship between the English speaking nations, focussing his activities in the Sulgrave Institution, of which, he is one of the founders.

I have very great pleasure, therefore, in introducing Dr. Stewart of New York.

## DR. JOHN A. STEWART

*Mr. Chairman,* and you my fellow members of the New York Lawyers' Club, Sir William and Sir Edmund (referring to Sir William Mulock and Sir Edmund Walker),—These times are such that, if I were a member of the Established Church and were to write a prayer invoking the blessing of Almighty God on the work of Anglo-American friendship, I should say "Oh! God, preserve me from mine enemies, and particularly preserve me from myself—my own weaknesses and my own prejudices"; for, if there ever was a time in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Celtic world, it is to-day that we should be exemplars to the earth, and that patience and forbearance should be the great elements in international relations. (Applause) Without patience and forbearance, my friends, we are simply playing into the hands of our enemies.

We are face to face with some of the most powerful reactionary influences that ever cursed the world, and they are directed at what? Against us as individuals? No, because we are too valuable as purchasers of commodities, and American money and Canadian money and British money is of too good a use as grease to make the wheels of commerce move throughout the world. It is because of that which we represent—the underlying idea of the Anglo-Saxon Celtic world, which is that of liberty under law, and law tempered by justice and made glorious by mercy. (Applause) It is because of those great Anglo-Saxon Celtic Institutions—free speech, liberty of conscience, separation of Church and State, and those peculiar and British ways of doing things which relate to the Anglo-Saxon Celtic idea: in other words, it is our outlook upon life and what we mean to the world, because what we mean to the world is inimical to those great reactionary influences which oppose us to-day.

And do you know, friends, on what they predicate their hope of success? They are predicating it upon the belief that they can drive a wedge between America and Great Britain that will sever us at least for the next two generations; and they are making a desperate attempt. What was done before the War broke upon this world, what was done during the war to sever America and Great Britain, is as nothing to what is being done to-day; and to a certain considerable degree we are lending ourselves to the effort which is being made by our enemies, and to no inconsiderable degree are we playing into their hands. Before I get through I will tell you one or two facts in relation to this propaganda and the way in which it is being played.

We hear a great deal, particularly in political circles, about the red peril, and undoubtedly there is a red peril; but so far as Canada and the United States are concerned, the red peril can be dealt with so long as we have hempen rope and lamp posts. (Applause) I do not make that statement in any attempt to be humourous, but I am making a clear statement of fact. So long as we have Courts of Law, the justice of our cause lends might to our arms, and if the worst comes to the worst, lamp posts and hempen rope are always at our hand to be used. It is not that that is a peril to us. The red peril is only a part of the great reactionary movement that is abroad throughout the world. My distinguished friend, the Chairman, spoke of the yellow peril. The other day, in a speech in New York, I spoke of the yellow peril. I said that the red peril was not the danger to America or to Canada or to Great Britain, but it was the yellow peril; and I did not speak in terms of Asiatic nomenclature either. I spoke of the yellow men, the lily-livered men who are our citizens, who are so pacifist that they would lie down and let men walk over them, who would readily yield their rights in fear of danger of their own conjuring up. Our danger comes from within and not from without. There is no combination of armed force in the world to-day that could stand in front of a united America and Great Britain. (Applause)

So why should we fear the world at arms? It is not that: it is the world of thought.

Do you know, when the great autocratic reactionary establishment came tumbling down upon the ears of those who invoked this mighty genius of War to base uses nearly six years ago; do you know that since then every effort has been made to build up, to re-constitute, to re-establish that idea which, in its terms and in its practice, was absolutely antithetical to everything for which the Anglo-American settlement stands. Do you know that by means which are dubious and means which are subtle, and by means which no gentleman can countenance and which no gentleman can face, they are constantly trying to drive the wedge, to drive it between you and us, in the hope that they can so far dissever us that they will be able to accomplish their purpose?

Now Mr. De Valera, so-called President of the so-called Irish Republic (laughter)—I will refer to Mr. De Valera in passing because Mr. De Valera in himself is only an incident, only a symptom, only one of those evidences that, far underneath the surface, great forces are at work and are using all the De Valeras in the world as their tools—De Valera is nothing; he is the fictitious President of a fictitious Republic, and he has not been able to impress his own people in America to a sufficient degree to enable him to raise the $10,000,000 which so blithely he is speaking about raising, nor a half, or a half of that again. (Applause) It is not Mr. De Valera, for he is only a subordinate. The influences are more subtle than that, and they are not apparent to the eye. They are apparent only to the understanding. As mathematicians in days gone by worked out, as a mathematical proposition, that away off somewhere in the heavens there was a planet which never had been seen or never had been identified, revolving in space, and finally they discovered it, and Uranus and Neptune were added to our list of planets; so it is a mathematical proposition in international politics that away off somewhere there is a little group of directing minds, and their chief work is to drive a wedge between America and Great

Britain, because, if they can disrupt that, they can control the world; and, as I say, in many respects we are playing into their hands.

I reiterate there never was a time when we must learn that, not by words alone, but by precept and example, with patience and forbearance, will this fight be won, and that they, only, will win this fight. (Applause)

Beware of generalities. Remember the story of the traveller passing through a continental country who stood at a bridge-side ,and five auburn-haired men and women went by, and he took out his note-book and wrote therein "the people in this town are red-headed"—and there were 25,000 of them. (Laughter) The other day a friend sent me a cutting from a Canadian newspaper containing an editorial which said that no Englishmen or Canadians were wanted in America; that in a certain hotel an Englishman had been insulted and had to leave the hotel and go somewhere else and that he could not get accommodation, and, therefore, America was the enemy of England and Canada. By the same token I could have said that once I was a guest of a Canadian Club, and I, too, was grievously insulted—my country was insulted and so was I. The men who passed the insult to me—I knew them and knew the circumstances of it—were not quite masters of themselves. Now, had I been one of those "not a friend of Canada," had I been a propagandist of the Opposition, I should have gone back and retailed that story in all the papers of America. I should have said "Canada is the bitter enemy of the United States; that is my experience." Yet I am only one of one hundred and four millions of people, and I hope and believe that possibly to no other American can come that experience; and I felt it all the harder because I had been a consistent friend all my life of Anglo-American friendship. (Applause) Those things have happened to me more than once, but I absolutely refuse to accept a generality as having a universal application.

Now, I take up the newspapers and I find throughout the American Press—in the news columns, mind you; seldom in the editorial columns—articles which are in

the nature of pin pricks and which are published not as pin pricks but in the passing current news. I know to a considerable degree whence those articles emanate. I know why they are written. I know that not only throughout the United States, but throughout all Canada and throughout England and throughout the Continent of Europe men are engaged, some of them consciously for hire, others of them merely as tools, in furthering this anti-American-British friendship propaganda, and, if we accept what is said in the news columns, we shall find ourselves in the unfortunate position of men who want to be just yet are conscious of having committed an injustice; just as, undoubtedly, some of you might be in the case of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who gave an absolute lie to a speech which he was said to have delivered and which appeared in extenso in a Canadian newspaper. Mr. Hatch said "that speech is a lie from beginning to end," and, while I did not read what he said further, I hope he said "the man who wrote it is a liar." (Laughter) Now the liar is abroad in the land, and he is doing his work, and it is only patience and forbearance and commonsense that will defeat him, and the thought that, no matter what happens, the most important thing for the world itself and for us to-day is the solidarity of Anglo-Saxon Celtic union. (Loud applause)

Not only is it true that united we stand and divided we fall, but it is also true that if we fall, the world falls with us. Just to the degree that we are successful, to that degree we are powerful; just to that degree is our responsibility in the premises, and we cannot get away from it if we would, and please God, I do not believe that we would get away from it if we could.

Now I have got to be careful. The other day a friend of mine, a member of an organization of which I am a member, a man who is on the level and also on the square, told me he was invited to attend a meeting held in an edifice in the City of New York—a midnight meeting and that this meeting was attended by many men identified with newspaper work. The injunction to those men was this, "whatever information comes to you, the pub-

lishing of which can advance our interests, you must publish it; otherwise you are doing a wrong. Any information which comes to you which is derogatory to other interests—interests inimical to our own—you must publish it, because therein lies your duty. In your characterization of it, in other words, when you write it up, if it is against interests which are opposed to us, you must write it in the most emphatic and extreme and radical way, you must leave nothing to the imagination, you must go the limit. On the contrary, if anything comes to you which is derogatory to us, you must suppress it; under no circumstances must you publish that." Now, that is the character and the nature and the general purport of this propaganda against that great globe-encircling movement to bring together, into a community of friendly interests, the English-speaking peoples of the world. Everything that we do, every movement that we make tending towards that great objective, is going to be met and opposed by these our enemies—enemies not only in the midst of you but in the midst of America and in the midst of every English-speaking country.

I am a great believer in the adaptability of that saw that, if you give a man plenty of rope, if he is a bad man, ultimately he will hang himself. Speaking as an American, a friend of Anglo-American friendship, personally I pin my faith on two things—first on the justice of our cause, which God will bless; and secondly on the injustice of the cause of our enemies, which, in the very nature of things, can ultimately come to no good end. Therefore, when men have come to me and said "we must do what we can to stop this De Valera business," I have always instantly said "no"; "bless every convert that De Valera makes, because the more he does the better are we." (Laughter) I believe that that has been a good policy; and I believe that, if you were to canvass the people of the United States to-day, you would find out, as I have found out in the development of our great work, that wherever De Valera has been and wherever this Anti-American friendship has been the most rampant, there we have the most subscribers to our principles, and

our membership has increased all the time. (Applause) This, despite the fact that for thirteen years we worked early and late in this movement to further it, to develop it, to bring it to the attention of the people. But it was not until after the War was over and, until this propaganda became so evident that it could no longer be ignored, that we began to develop as a snow ball develops as it runs down hill. We never have had such support for this movement as we have to-day, and this is an augury for the future which heartens me to go on with the work. (Applause)

A man with whom I talked regarding the general movement of furthering friendship among the English-speaking peoples was Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, and he said to me in the presence of our Secretary, Mr. A. B. Humphrey, and the late William B. Howland, the Editor of the "Outlook" and afterwards of the "Independent," the great consistent friend of the Movement—God bless his memory—"Gentlemen, I regard this as the first commonsense peace movement that has been inaugurated in two thousand years, and I am with you." Subsequently Colonel Roosevelt said, and both times in the presence of witnesses, "if I am again elected President of the United States, the feature of my foreign policy shall be friendship between America and Great Britain, and I would go so far as to advocate an alliance between these two nations as meaning more, in service, to the welfare of the world than any League of Nations that was ever thought of." (Loud applause). And there are many Roosevelts in the United States. (Applause)

The Sulgrave Institution stands for friendship; it connotes good will; it is striving to bring together in a common solidarity the people of the English-speaking world, not only in the furtherance of things which are in themselves desirable as related to the future of the English-speaking nations but also which equally relate to the welfare of humanity. The first principle of the Sulgrave Institution is this, "to further friendship and to aid in preventing misunderstandings among English-speaking

peoples and as between them and other peoples of good will." We interpret the Scriptures to read "peace on earth to men of good will," not "peace on earth, good will towards men"—all peoples. There is a great distinction, because unless those whom you would bless have good-will, you cannot bless them. Our proposition is a very simple one—that in the furtherance of this great world-movement the point of least resistance should be attacked, and that, if we cannot further good-will and prevent misunderstanding amongst nations whose people speak the same language, what earthly chance have we of furthering good-will between two peoples who do not speak the same language? Despite arguments to the contrary I say—though I cannot precisely prove it, and I defy anybody else to disprove it—the causes of war and international misunderstandings lie at the very roots of human nature; they are subconscious and not conscious; they are racial, they are primal, and they come from the very beginning of things. It is not possible for two different species of animals, under conditions which exist to-day, to live in peace and harmony: the lion eats the lamb now and then, and always you have got to start at the beginning of things. You must not think that you can suspend natural law; it cannot be done; it never has been done and it never will be done. Action and reaction are equal and opposite and inevitable. Your war, your social disruption, is a natural reaction. "The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations"; that was an announcement of a law of psychology, and it will take another two full generations to wipe out completely the effect of the Civil War which ended in 1865. Action and reaction are equal and opposite and inevitable, and you cannot expect anything else. The law of growth applies to human things precisely as it applies to the oak. You cannot plant an oak and expect it to grow like a vegetable; it is neither beet nor cabbage nor onion; it grows in the way the Lord willed that it should grow, slowly and slowly and slowly, through the years.

Man has been on this earth for let us say a million years. We have reached a certain state of uncivilization. Civilization is in itself a contradiction in terms; civilization never has existed on earth yet—relatively, but not actually. Civilization connotes love of one another, and I believe that more than any other people on earth the Anglo-Saxon has felt his responsibility to his fellow-man. I ask you, my friends, is any danger to be apprehended from people who brought law and order and justice to India and the Philippines; who have taken the poor and the needy and the ignorant and built schools for them and have built hospitals for them; who brought to them the blessings which surround us? Are these things for which we stand, are these, our institutions, worth preserving? If they are, can we hope to preserve them, if we permit ourselves to be misled by our own prejudices to a degree that will bring about a situation as between you and us which means positive enmity? Shall we lend ourselves to the machinations of bad men and bad minds for bad purposes, and say that, although we have conquered the Germans by force of arms, we cannot conquer ourselves? No! a thousand times no; the Anglo-Saxon Celtic nature is grounded in the thought of patience and forbearance. By patience and forbearance we have built up these nations. We have made them strong, we have made them helpful to humanity, and, now, we are face to face with a greater adverse influence than ever before we have had to contend against, and do you mean to say that we shall permit them to prevail? No! Shall we say that friendship among English-speaking peoples is not worth while; that it is not worth being patient or forbearing for; that we shall not strive early and late, in season and out of season, first of all to protect ourselves and the things which are the things for which we stand, and secondly to protect the world, the men of good-will, the women of good-will throughout this world?

Now, the Sulgrave Institution and the organization of which it is the outgrowth has not had the easiest time in the world. From the very first, we have sensed these

great adverse influences at work. If you read the work of the late Mr. Von Bernhardi, you will find that he says as to America "when the time comes we shall take care of the political situation in America by a coalition of Irish and Germans," and he said that three years before the war broke out. And why was that coalition organized and when was it organized? Because the Mind centreing in Potsdam and another group of politicians in another part of the world felt that friendship among the English-speaking peoples was inimical to their interests. Let me tell you, that was one element which entered into the determination of Germany to go to war, because she saw in the future a solidarity amongst English-speaking peoples against which, if the German head threw itself, it would be broken as against a rock which could not be moved. I am speaking of facts. We came directly into contact with those influences. Our offices were broken into eight times during the first three months of war. They wanted certain information which happened to be in a safety deposit vault, and they did not get it. Those influences, by every means—some of them absolutely incredible—have tried to disrupt the Sulgrave movement, and the more they have tried to disrupt it, the more we have grown—more power to their elbow! (Applause)

There are many phases to this question, my friends, but I must refer to the League of Nations very gently, because I am a Republican, and I find the old Adam is very strong in me and I am misled by my prejudices often to make statements which I am sorry for afterwards. (Laughter) I believe that, if you were to canvass the opinion of the United States, you would find four-fifths of the people in favour of a League of Nations. (Hear, hear) Unfortunately for us and unfortunately at present for the League, we have a written Constitution which co-ordinates the public authority between the three branches of the Government, the executive and the congressional, and the prerogatives of power and authority are more or less specifically set forth in this written Constitution. Upon the occasion of the conversations regarding the Arbitration Treaty between America and

Great Britain; you will perhaps remember the Treaty failed because section 2 of that Treaty seemed to abrogate to a considerable degree the authority of the United States Senate as a part of the treaty-making power of America. Now, we have certain ways of doing things, and those ways are set forth in our Constitution, and it is the opinion of many learned men that there is a very decided difference of opinion whether, if the League of Nations were to be ratified as it was drafted in the City of Paris, it would derogate to a very considerable degree from that expressed authority of the Congress of the United States in regard to foreign matters. I do not pretend to say that that is the only point of difference in reference to the League of Nations. Fortunately or unfortunately—I am inclined to think rather fortunately—the Senate of the United States to-day is Republican, while the chief Administrator of the United States is a Democrat. There are many domestic questions which have entered into our conflict of opinion which do not relate at all, directly or indirectly, to the League of Nations, but which rather accentuated the differences between those who are proponents of the League as proposed by Mr. Wilson and the opponents of the League—not exactly opponents, but Mr. Lodge and Mr. Johnson and Mr. Farrow. Well, it is a domestic question upon which I do not give my own opinion as to what we call the mild reservations as represented in the opinions of Mr. Linwood and Mr. Kenyon and Senator Nelson of Minnesota. There are no two opinions in the United States regarding the good which a properly constituted League of Nations may do to the world (hear, hear); but as a matter of fact, if it were the desire of the Congress of the United States to establish the League in its original drafting, there seems to be no doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States, at the first test as to the validity of the powers under the League as related to America, would hold that those Sections, as ratified by the Congress of the United States, were unconstitutional and therefore void and of no power. Anybody who says that the people of the United States are turning their

backs upon their responsibility in Europe as regards the poor and suffering, do not know what they are talking about, and they do not know the American mind.

Gentlemen, what has held the English-speaking nations spiritually together? It is because there has been that decent, wholesome, self-respecting competition between ideals and ideas as represented by Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and by the United States. (Hear, hear) That competition has done more to bless you and bless us than any other element in our Constitution. I am not a proponent of the idea that heaven is simply a condition of harps and wings with people living there in a state of constant enjoyment, but rather I believe that Heaven is a place for work. I cannot imagine a place that would be more conducive to throttle initiative and prevent the furtherance of constructive ideas than a nation composed entirely of Americans, or of Canadians, or of Englishmen, or of Scotchmen, or of Welshmen, or of any other race. It is this differentiation among species that makes for progress, and it is this difference between Americans and Canadians, between Canadians and Englishmen, between the English and the Scotch, the Scotch and the Welsh, and the Welsh and the Irish, that makes for that wholesome keen competition in ideals and ideas which ultimately will make for the Anglo-American solidarity; and without it you will make no progress; without it you will come to nought.

But the main thing, the thing for all of us to remember finally, is that the strong man must help to carry the burden of the weak. (Hear, hear) The man of strong mind and sound body and constructive capacity has got to use his mind and his muscle to give other people an opportunity to enjoy life as well as he himself. God has blessed the people of British Stock as He has blessed no other people on earth. Just think, for a moment, of what has been done! In 1619, there was held in Jamestown in the State of Virginia, then the Colony of Virginia, the first legislative assembly on American soil. The following year there landed at Provincetown in the State

of Massachusets, the Band who have gone down to history as the Pilgrim Fathers. A little handful of men in Massachusetts, and farther up the line in what is now Canada—1,250,000 square miles of woodland cleared away to make farms on which to build towns and cities, for the construction of roads and for development and progress in that material which has blessed us beyond any other people,—in 300 years these little Bands of British Stock, of British men, bringing British law and the British way of thinking and doing things and their outlook upon life, have grown and grown—the one into a great nation of 104 millions of people; the other into a nation of ten millions of people. They dominate the continent, and among the first things they did was to state, in set terms, that inasmuch as the Lord God Almighty has blessed us with climate and with a productive soil and with everything that makes life worth living, so we shall open our doors to the people of the world; and so here you can find a refuge and a rest. (Applause) And people have come in by the thousands and tens of thousands and millions through this open door, and we have given them every opportunity that the citizen himself, born here and of British blood, enjoys. We have given them the right to vote; we have given them free speech; we have given them equal opportunity under the law. We have given them laws with justice, and justice that connoted mercy; we have given them every blessing that we had, and we have withheld absolutely nothing from them. The only thing that the American people have reserved to themselves as their right, properly their right, is that the President and Vice-President of the United States shall be natives of the soil, and that they shall be Americans, presumably, in word and thought and deed. Men born on other soil are not eligible to be President or Vice-President of the United States—everything else they can be.

Since 1870, there have been sent back from the United States over $10,000,000,000 to support the poor of Europe by immigrants who have come to our shores. I do not know what the figures are for Canada, but I

assume they would be proportionate. We have supported schools, and, at the expense of the native American, we have educated the children of the immigrant; we have paid the bills. We have opened our eleemosynary institutions for them, and a disproportionate share of the cost has fallen upon the shoulders of the native American. Everything that man could do to bless humanity has been done by the people of the English-speaking world. We have withheld absolutely nothing for ourselves that we have not given to others. Now, gentlemen, we have built up a great nation, and I use the term "nation" in a sense of solidarity because after all blood is thicker than water, and what you call a race will ultimately prevail. We have certain peculiar and broad ways of doing things, a certain outlook upon life, which is more valuable to us than all the wealth that there is in America and Great Britain. Everything that we have is wrapped up in the integrity of our institutions; in the preservation of our language, and in the integrity of our laws; and to-day there is a deliberate, well-calculated, well-organized attempt to subvert those institutions at the behest and on behalf of certain ideas which never yet have blessed humanity but always have cursed it. Free speech, liberty of conscience, liberty under the law; these are our birth-right; they are ours only as a birth-right; they are not ours to do with as we will; they have come to us from the Founder in all their glory and in all their integrity. They have been put into our charge and into our keeping that we should pass them on to the incoming generation, intact and unimpaired. Again I say, my friends, that now let the watch-word be "patience and forbearance." Turn your back on generalities; turn your back on newspaper stories which are absolutely unsupported by a statement of fact. I would almost say do not believe anything that would seem to be in the nature of propaganda tending towards the subversion of the things for which we stand. Our enemies are subtle; they are powerful; they are well organized. With them it is to make or break, and it is for us to prove ourselves men. (Applause)

Again I say in all reverence that my prayer is and shall continue to be "Lord, God Almighty, preserve us from our enemies, but preserve us more, O! God! from ourselves." We have won the war with force of arms; now we must prove to the world, my friends, that we have won a victory for ourselves; for in that proof lies the hope of humanity, the welfare of all peoples everywhere—of good will. And it will come in the far future, it will not come to-morrow, it will not come possibly for a long time; but there are ample signs in the East that sometime the sun will rise upon the Anglo-Saxon Celtic solidarity that no power, save that of the Almighty himself, can move from its base in the affections of Humanity. (Loud applause)

THE CHAIRMAN,—We are happy in having with us a distinguished member of the Empire Club and the Toronto bar, Mr. A. Monro Grier, whom I shall now ask to present to the speaker of the day the thanks of the Club for the magnificent address to which we have just listened.

## MR. A. MONRO GRIER.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—I am free to say that, if I had known that I should be surrounded by such a splendid Company of fine and notable men as I find myself amongst to-day, I should have felt reluctant about saying "yes" to the invitation which, on any other score than a consideration of my own demerits, would give me a vain gratitude. However, I am here and it is my duty, as well as my pleasure and privilege, to propose this vote of thanks to my friend and to let you know why I have been suggested for this pleasant task. It is this. All during the War, not only after the United States came into it, but before, it was my happy duty to speak not only in Canada but also in the United States, and always, without exception, on any occasion when I had the faintest chance to do so, I ventured to enlarge upon the extreme importance of the absolutely best fellowship between the United States and Great Britain. Therefore,

upon that score I have perhaps some claim to be heard for just a moment or two. But whilst I reflect upon that, even that thought, I somewhat weaken because I see here before me one more distinguished member of the legal profession who played a still larger part, but who, I know, will absolutely endorse all I have said or may say as to the fine conditions under which we spoke when in the United States—I allude to my very good friend, Mr. Justice Riddell, who constantly has played his part. (Applause) Doubtless there are others, but I cannot detain you: I must hurry on and, propose my vote of thanks.

I want to say just a word or two. I should like to allude, for instance, to one matter which I ventured to refer to at times in speaking to American audiences, with this preface, that when I deliver it you will find that it is in two parts, and American audiences laughed at the end of the first part, which you will find significant. It deals with a subject that has led the earnest, candid men of the United States and the earnest, candid men on this side to get together. It is the conversation of a Britisher and an American, and it starts in this way. With regard to the Britisher the writer, Ian Hay, says "1. Remember that you are speaking to a friend. 2."—this to the Britisher—"Remember that when you are speaking to an American, you are speaking to a man who feels of his nation that it is the greatest nation upon earth—he will probably tell you this." (Laughter) I must say that always the American audiences had the generosity to smile at that; and they smiled also, I think, at the end of the other part. The advice to the American is identical with the other. "1. Remember that you are speaking to a friend. 2. Remember that when you are speaking to a Britisher, you are speaking to a man who feels that he belongs to the nation which is the greatest nation upon earth—he will not tell you this—(laughter)—but that is because he takes it for granted that you know it already." (Renewed laughter) Whilst there is a vast amount of humour in that excellent suggestion, there is also a wonderful lot of good sense, and my own individual thought

is that, if we largely brought to the consideration of these matters such a spirit as is indicated in these injunctions, we shall find no difficulty in accomplishing the end that is desired. May I remind ourselves as well as our visitor of this fact, that in the case of both countries we are in a sense the melting-pot, and in that melting-pot there are various ingredients, but in the northern part of this hemisphere, I am glad to think that—so far at least as to the admixture, extractions from the British Isles are of a preponderating quality. I trust that that may always be so, but, mark you, we must charge ourselves with this responsibility—that with that fine sense of pride there must also come the sense of responsibility—because we, who claim that in this melting-pot there is such a large admixture of British, should bear in mind that it lies with us to raise a voice to show moderation, to show forbearance, so that when in another country, with which we desire to be on the best of terms, certain sections show hostility to our actions, it rests with us to show that we are really worthy of the British Stock. May I remind you that in melting-pots there is a certain scum, and just now we have some scum indicated to us.

I read not long ago a letter in a paper to the effect that a Philadelphia paper had said, speaking of a New York Proprietor of Newspapers, that he might well be denominated the great American skunk (laughter) and you will be interested to note that only this morning I received a letter from a gentleman who suggests that he is the Manager of a great zoological society and gardens—a most interesting communication upon this subject which I perhaps might keep you just a moment in reading. He says:—"Dear Mr. Grier,—Hearing that you are to present a vote of thanks to John A. Stewart for his address on the conspiracy against Anglo-Saxon and American friendship, I am sure you will be interested in the following item with reference to my animals at the zoo. At a meeting at which was discussed the subject of the use by humans of the names of animals, other than the human, for purposes of similarity, a specimen of the Mephitis Mephitica got up and said that, while his race

had endured the frequent use of their family name to designate anything peculiarly obnoxious or malodorous in humans. they felt that the line must be drawn somewhere, and that the line should be drawn at William Randolph Hearst." (Great laughter) Why have I introduced that pestiferous entity at this juncture? If for no other reason, this—to throw out into vast and strong relief the contrast between such a so-called American, and an actual American such as we have with us. (Loud applause) The trouble of the matter is that while such an abomination as the one I have just referred to is constantly listened to by a certain section of our people and spoken of as representative of the American people, not all of the American people, I, as an absolutely sound Britisher, venture to repudiate that notion and say that he does not represent Americans. He is of the scum. The real Americans are such as are represented by such speakers as we have had to-day. (Applause) Therefore let us lay to heart the injunctions to which we have listened.

It is not for me to attempt to deal with the subject at large. I have only made these remarks in order that I might just hammer home the general proposition, and to indicate that we have British speakers representing sentiments identical with those of the speaker of to-day who has spoken for the United States. For my own part, I am absolutely confident of the result. Why? Because we are not to be disturbed by any passing political phase in either country or in both of them. These things happen, but to men of sense and intelligence, to men of sanity, they are seen to be ephemeral, mere passing clouds obscuring the sun for a moment, but of no real or enduring significance. What are the real, enduring things? These facts; that our several countries have produced men who have been the admiration of the whole civilized world, and for my own part I am absolutely certain that there must ever be the need to come closer and closer together with two such countries as the British Empire on the one side and the United States on the other—the United States which has produced a man so wonderful,

so open to the admiration of the whole world as an exemplification of the noble and heroic as Abraham Lincoln—(loud applause)—and the British Empire which has been all through the ages sending out in clarion notes, that cannot be misunderstood, the underlying principles of an Empire that produced William Shakespeare. (Loud applause) Therefore I have tried to indicate in some feeble way the extreme sense of pride and pleasure I have in proposing the vote of thanks to the speaker of the day for an address at once admirable, interesting and inspiring, and which I trust will never be forgotten by any of us.

The motion was carried with enthusiasm, and the thanks of the Club tendered to Dr. Stewart.

# THE FARMER

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY SIR ANDREW MACPHAIL.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, March* 4, 1920

VICE-PRESIDENT GILVERSON, in introducing the speaker said,—Gentlemen, my first duty will be to extend the greetings of our President, who I am glad to tell you is progressing slowly to health, with a possibility of being with us in a week or two. We who live in cities and sometimes flatter ourselves that a spreading bulk of lofty sky-line is the final proof of independent wealth-producing power would do well to consider whether the city's expansion does not more nearly represent or express the growth in wealth of farm and field on which it feeds, and whose prosperity the city but reflects. But the steady stream of material wealth that flows into the city is not the only golden tide that leaves the land to enrich the metropolis. Left to itself, the city's physique and mentality would undoubtedly deteriorate and finally collapse. It is the inflow of blood and brawn and brain from the countryside, that mothers a race of resource, vigour and endurance, that is the city's salvation. (Hear, hear) All history attests this. The city is a consumer not only of food but of men. As debtor to the land, the city dweller has therefore a special obligation to co-operate with the farmer in the solution of the farmer's difficulties—for I presume he, like the rest of us, has difficulties. But this leads me to the point of saying that, before we can understand the problems of the farmer, we must understand the farmer in his thinking, his outlook upon life, and his relation to the world at large. For a sympathetic study of the farmer, to whom could we turn with a greater sense of pleasure or more de-

lightful anticipation than to our distinguished guest, Sir Andrew Macphail whom we welcome here to-day. (Applause) By nature a scientist and a lover of the land, it was most natural that he should turn to the farm to find an added interest in life, lying outside the classic halls of the famous seat of learning of which he is a shining light. His attitude toward the farmer and toward the university is exemplified in the statement of his own, quoted of him frequently, that for six months in the year he lives upon his farm on Prince Edward Island, and for the balance of the time he merely exists at McGill. (Laughter)

Dr. Macphail is an old friend of the club. Ten years ago he gave us an analysis of that interesting personage, the suffragette. With that delightful versatility which is the charm of the scientific mind, he comes to us to-day to discuss the farmer. Of Sir Andrew Macphail's activities during the years that lie between the points that I have mentioned, I need say nothing. The history of his splendid service at the front and in London, in the work of medical organization and administration, is written in the annals of a grateful country—(applause)—and, has been recognized and honoured by the King. I have now very great pleasure in introducing him to you.

## SIR ANDREW MACPHAIL.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—Persons who are practised in the art of public speaking tell me that an audience will either go to sleep, or go away, unless it is told in the outset in plain terms what the discourse is to be; and those who remain to the end, must be given a message in simple terms which, as the saying is, can be carried away. I am quite ready to admit that, upon my infrequent appearances in public, this has not been the method I have followed. When I have any peculiar treasure to bring forth—which happens about once in five years—I am in the habit of going to the University of Toronto; and I like to veil that treasure so that those who would find must seek. The university intellect, you know, is

fond of cracking nuts, and I have no objection to giving it nuts to crack. (Laughter) The university intellect is fond of the abstract; but here, I take it, you are all business men, and not political men either, each one has his own ethic; the political man has for his ethic the love of his fellows; the business man has for his ethic the love of money. I shall depart then from my custom, and tell you in advance that the subject of my discourse to-day is the farmer; and I am sure that much that I say will be new. It will involve, of course, the telling of the truth, a thing which one must tell to the university in veiled terms. (Laughter) But in your own occupation you must have observed that a time comes when the truth must be told, at least to your banker (laughter); and, in telling it to your banker, you do learn the truth for yourselves. (Laughter)

It is quite the case, I am prepared to believe, that no man could carry on business if he had the truth of his business before his eyes continually. He must develop what is called optimism; but I would remind you that there is a point at which optimism quite definitely, al though insensibly, passes over into folly; and we in this country for the past forty years have indulged in this spirit of optimism to the heart's content.

We live in an age of advertisement; and those of you who are business men will bear me out, I think, in the assertion that there is a great gulf fixed between the advertisement and the truth of the thing which is alleged. (Laughter) We did not dare tell the truth to ourselves lest those persons whom we wished to attract into the country should overhear. (Laughter)

In civil life this question always does arise, in how far a person is justified in telling the truth. (Laughter) For this reason, that there are some subjects of which the truth cannot be told. In the Army, of course, the question does not arise. (Laughter) There is in every Army, I understand, an Intelligence Department which puts forth what is called propaganda; but the unfortunate thing is that the propaganda which we put forward for the misleading of the enemy is heard by ourselves, and

is sometimes believed. So I say that this advertising which has been put forward for the use of the immigrant has been heard by ourselves, and we have come to believe it; but in my going about the country I think I detect a somewhat different spirit. That spirit has probably arisen from the fact that immigrants no longer come. Last year we turned away from our shores some twenty thousand of them; therefore to-day we can indulge amongst ourselves in a little plain speaking.

Most persons here present, who have attained to sufficient age, are aware that we in Canada have a winter climate. I am speaking of course, for the Province of Quebec—(laughter)—and not of these sub-tropical regions which lie on the shores of Lake Ontario. (Laughter) But it is thirty years since anybody has been permitted to say freely that we had in Canada a winter climate out of which some good might be extracted. In those days we made much of our climate; we had carnivals; we had houses built of ice, fire-works, snow-shoers, tobogannists; and we really did enjoy ourselves until a ban was put upon our pleasure by those advertisers whom I have mentioned. They said, "No, you must suffer this long winter, which you know is dreary, lest by advertising it persons from the outside will have their minds influenced against the country; and if those persons whom we expect, do not come into the country, how then shall we pay for the enormous outlays we have made, based upon the assumption that those immigrants were coming?" There is more truth in that statement than appears at first sight.

Thirty years ago we had a much more pleasant life than we have now, based upon climate and upon other considerations which I should like for a minute or two to call to your attention. We who live in this generation have lived in a peculiar time, under conditions that were only temporary whereas we thought them permanent. We entered into certain discoveries and made use of certain appliances. We began to employ them, and we found that on account of the newness of them, food—to put it plainly—never was so cheap before in the history

of the world. That, of course, began with such discoveries as the steam engine and the power loom, and the various devices of electricity. We thought we found in them a contradiction of the old curse that was laid upon mankind, that he should live only by his labour and in the sweat of his face. I am not saying, of course, that the discovery of America was the great calamity of history, although the matter is arguable (laughter); neither do I say that the discovery of the West was a calamity to Canada, although there is much to be said for that also. (Laughter) This discovery created a reservoir into which the best elements of the world were drained, as you yourself pointed out, Sir; and those best elements being drained into this reservoir, the rest of the world was the poorer, and the reservoir itself was not much enriched. (Laughter) Our minds were led astray. We became ecstatic over what was called, with so much glibness, our natural resources, and we entirely forgot those natural laws which we are now beginning to see in operation as relentlessly as if they were the judgments of God.

I make no apology for devoting a moment or two to the operation of natural laws in opposition to natural resources of which we have heard so much—too much—and still hear. Even a minister of the Crown talks of the day when Canada will have a population as large as the population of the British Islands. You mentioned, Sir, that at one time I had elucidated the matter of the suffragettes, who have in these ten years come into their own; the statement was made by one of those women of the platform, only three days ago, that, if Canada was as thickly populated as Belgium, we should have within our borders 225 millions of people. Could folly go any further? And we also—every one of us—are infected with this folly, the glorification of what we call our natural resources, when in reality the only resource in Canada is in its men and in its women. (Applause)

And yet the time has come, and now is, when those resources of which we have heard so much are at an end. That, of course, is one of those general statements which might in detail be contradicted. I do not propose to go

over the history of these resources, but I shall ask your attention at least to one. A week or two ago the manufacturers of pulp wood and paper asked me to speak to them. I applied myself to knowledge, and probably ended up by knowing more than they did about the forest resources of this country. In one of their official papers I found an estimate that the lumber in this country would endure for 434 years. That was some ten years ago; but I understand that they have dropped off 400 years, and are now disputing as to what part of the 34 is valid. (Laughter) And those diligent men, who are so assiduous in developing those resources, are exposed to malediction because they are cutting them down. That is the only method to employ. It is not a case of developing; it is a case of salvaging such as we have. There is a curious law that the wild and the tame cannot exist together; one or other must go. It applies to trees as well as to animals, and the forest is the most unsafe place in the world for a tree. For every twenty-two trees that are now standing, one is cut by the lumberman's ax, the others are destroyed by fire, or if there are two trees remaining, one of them is destroyed by disease. There is much talk of increasing our resources by what they call re-planting. Re-planting will do very well in an old, settled, and cleared country. Those of us who have been in Europe know those forests, where labour can be had at sixty cents a day. Compare that with the labour here at four dollars and five dollars a day, and you will see at once that the problem is impossible. Not only is is impossible from that standpoint; it is almost impossible from natural laws, because trees will not grow under cover. We talk too glibly about replacing our forests. The pine forests, which some of you may remember, have all disappeared. They were the crowning glory of the earth, and required all geological time for their production. Pine forests having once appeared upon the earth, and having disappeared, will never be replaced, not in our time nor even in God's time, because He works by an entirely different method. There were the forests of old times. There were forests in Italy;

There were forests in China; but they have all disappeared, and have disappeared forever. I do not speak of coal except to point out that the coal in Canada is confined to both the ends, that all of you in this part of the country are dependent entirely upon an outside source from which Canada draws more than three-quarters of its supplies, and that less coal is being raised in Canada to-day than seven years ago, the real reason being that labour is disorganized and that the coal is becoming increasingly hard to get.

One other resource, which is a fundamental resource of every country—and you will pardon me, Sir, if I become for a moment a little technical—is nitrogen. The accomplishment of the earth was the production of the pine forests and the production in the soil of nitrogen. All of those movements of history of which we hear so much, even those movements of history which began in the year 1914, were due to the extinction or elimination of nitrogen from the soil. Those great adventurers of the olden times, those hordes which came down upon Italy, which moved from one part of the world to the other, really meant that the country in which they lived had become exhausted. They were not moved by some mad impulse. They were moved by one of those inexorable laws which decress that a man must find sustenance for himself out of the fruits of the earth. Very well; we can start now from this point—that our resources are gone; I mean, gone in comparison with the days of abundance, when a man could go out into the woods or into the fields or to the streams and take his own sustenance and find his own shelter. Those days, gentlemen, are gone forever, and we are now face to face with the fact; and the man who faces the fact first, and always has faced the fact, is the farmer himself. (Hear, hear and applause)

I am sure that some of you may expect that I should advert to certain movements that are said to be going on in this Province, by which an unusual number of farmers have become engaged in politics. That is not my theme at all; it is something far deeper. But I would

pause long enough to say that the farmer, when he engages in politics, is no longer a farmer; he is a politician, and is likely to lose the qualities which he acquired upon his own land—qualities which have their best manifestation upon his own farm. (Hear, hear) That is what I fear; and I fear further, that the farmer, because he works, may get it into his head that he has some affinity or some identity of interest with those who work in the city. He has none at all. The country and the town have always been at enmity; always will be at enmity.

You referred yourself, Sir, in the opening remarks, to the drain that was going on from the country into the city. We have all seen it; and we all know what happens to the farm which devotes itself to the raising of oats, and lawyers, and school-teachers, and doctors, and serving maids for export to the city. (Hear, hear) The real perception of that is the source of this enmity. As long ago as the time of Elizabeth a rigid law was made, which I always thought an excellent one, that all houses within ten miles of the metropolis should be pulled down; second, that all houses built in the metropolis itself that year should be destroyed. Her successor—that wise man, James the Sixth—enacted a further law, that any person who had a house in the town and a house in the country should be compelled to go and live in the country, and there give an example to his fellowmen of what was called good housekeeping. (Laughter and applause) I very well remember being in a small town in northern France in the Spring of 1918, in an estaminet, as it is called—that is, a place where you can get a drink. (Laughter) Three French soldiers came in and sat down at one of those little iron tables. I could not see that they were doing much harm. One of them took up the morning paper, and his neighbour said to him, "What is the news?" "The news is good; the shells are falling on Paris." I think that expresses the fundamental enmity that exists between the country and the town. The French are an old and civilized people, and they have watched this process for thousands of years, which we are only now beginning to perceive.

The next thing that strikes me is this: that having used up this treasure-trove which we found, we are now back to a perception of the old truth that the world is and always has been on the verge of starvation. There never was at any time in the history of the world enough food to carry over one failure of crop. It is quite true that by our recent methods of transportation we have persuaded ourselves that we can eliminate the element of famine. All that transportation does is to spread the famine a little more evenly. I said that the element in excess was very small, and that it was only by the most assiduous work that the population was fed—the most assiduous work on the part of the farmer. But by our present methods, this surplus will soon diminish, and all those of us who live in cities will be face to face with starvation.

The reason is this: there is what is called "spare time." Everything a farmer does is done in his spare time. (Laughter) He does his day's work of eight hours. That is quite enough time in which to support himself and his family. He then must work an additional eight hours for the sake of producing a surplus to feed those of us who live in cities. (Applause) Now, the question arises, and it is a serious one, how long is this to last?

I saw an illustration of it only last summer. A neighbour of mine, who in the course of sixty years has become an extremely rich man. He has six thousand dollars in the bank after sixty years of labour; he has 200 acres of land, 40 head of cattle, and all kinds of machinery. His eight hours work was over at 4 o'clock; but in that place they had a new system of time, which we never got to understand completely, in which five o'clock was four o'clock, or four o'clock five, I am not quite sure which. (Laughter) Well, this man did not understand it either, but he had occasion to use some fertilizer for his farm for the production of the surplus of which I have been speaking. He went at four o'clock according to his time—which turned out to be five o'clock by the time of the man who kept the railway station—and when he got there, in the middle of the day as it appeared to him, he

found the station house locked. He also found that this man—whom he knew to be in the Government employ, that is, his own employ—had finished his eight hours work, and had gone off with his fishing rod and basket. This farmer went home and reflected upon these things. He said nothing. Farmers say little, but they think profoundly. The sum of the matter was that he, being a rich man, advertised his farm for sale, sold his cattle and his machinery, and has now moved into the little village, where he rests and enjoys himself fishing with his rod and his basket. Probably he and the station agent go together. (Laughter)

When I said "spare time" I meant precisely what I said. Those of us whose memories go back forty or fifty years, will remember that the first generation of pioneers came into this country and built themselves some kind of shelter which lasted them perhaps twenty years, and that they then felt the necessity for a new house. This farmer had a vision of a new house. He went into his woods year after year, for ten or fifteen years before he brought out enough material for this new house. The result was that all over Canada there were new houses builded by men in their spare time, literally created out of nothing. Now, the woods are gone; the craftsman is gone, and when a farmer to-day is face to face with the problem of building a new house, that house will cost him as much as if it were built in the town. The farmer, then, must get from his surplus material enough to compete with you in these towns, who build houses for yourselves. That is how the labour question affects the farmer. He does not like it; he is suspicious of it; he thinks it is made up of dishonesty, or in sheer wickedness, and he will have nothing to do with it. Of course he underestimates the thrift of the workmen who live in cities. I had an illustration of it in Ottawa the other day. I was in the house of a man who required a plumber for a little job that he could do for himself for thirty-five cents, if he had proper tools, which he had not, and he sent for a plumber, and the bill in the end was $4.70, to cover the time when the plumber's boy was away for his tools. (Laughter) There was a

story in the Army about a soldier who had been a plumber, and when he was ordered to advance he was seen going in the opposite direction. He explained to his officer that he was going back for his bayonet. (Laughter) Well, this plumber turned out to be not so frivolous as I thought he was, because he told me that he had in his home two phonographs, one of which had cost him $300, and another had cost him only $70 and he used the $70 one for every day work; but he said, if I came to his house, he would play the $300 phonograph for me. (Laughter) Now, the farmer is not quite insensible to all these things. Of course he too has been led astray. If there is a farmer in this audience I am sure he has a piano in his house; he had at one time an organ, but with the rising tide of fashion, that was not enough. Now the farmer also has a piano in his house, which is to be paid for out of the surplus of which I am speaking.

When this use of spare time has been eliminated and the work is done in the factories—not in the spare time —the womenkind are reduced to a state of idleness or what is still worse, a state of futile endeavour to play this piano of which I was speaking a moment ago. In the olden days women also bore their part, and we in Canada had double the efficiency, because women themselves were occupied in doing work of utility. (Hear, hear) I have such an one in mind. If you gave to her a handful of flax and a sheep, and gave her time enough, she would produce a complete equipment of clothing for a man with which he could go to the legislature at the opening which takes place in a day or two. There would be a white shirt and a white collar, and there would be the finest of black cloth. All those things were done in the spare time. That day is gone, and we must produce them in these eight hours which are now the fashion.

I am not the first person who has made this discovery. Every one is now advising the farmer. Some say he must be given more machinery. The most expensive way in the world of doing a thing is doing it by machinery, for the reason that most people are engaged in making machines for making more machines. (Laughter)

In England, on one hundred acres of land there are forty-five agricultural persons; in America there are two and one-half. Mr. Vanderlip has been putting this forward as to the great advantage of America. It works exactly the other way. A hundred acres of land in England supports forty-five persons; a hundred acres of land in America supports just two and one-half persons.

If I were speaking to farmers specifically of their own trade I should much like to tell them of experiments which I have carried on to show that a crop of wheat can be gathered and made ready for food much more economically and efficiently—to use your own word—by the use of the scythe and the flail than it can by all of those contraptions which are made for the benefit of the farmer. That, of course, is a dark subject, one which you would not understand. (Great laughter)

Now the farmer hears that he must be educated. You never can educate a class. You cannot educate a class in your own public schools; and, if a farmer were to follow the course of education which is laid down for him, he would be on the roadside within twelve months. I have followed these experiments myself, and if it were not that I had some secret resources I would not be speaking to you to-day. (Laughter) Every kind of device has been tried to get rid of this old injunction that a man must labour in the sweat of his face, and everything that has been done for the farmer has worked to his detriment, because it has never occurred to anybody that all that the farmer required was to be left alone, that he himself knows how to spend his money better than anybody else can spend it for him; and that, it seems to me, is the outcome of our whole endeavour—to persuade the farmer to spend his money as we think it ought to be spent.

You have what is called a rural delivery, by which his letters and his papers are brought to his door. That only completes the isolation of the farmer, because there was a time when he went to the country store and had some pleasant converse with his fellows. You have put a telephone in his house, and the result is that his womenkind, so I am told, spend most of their spare time in

gathering up the foolish gossip of the neighbourhood. (Laughter) And now, if I can believe what I read in the morning papers, you propose to build some thousands of miles of road for him; but you are not building those roads for him—he knows that perfectly well—you are building those roads for yourselves, and you are building them at his expense. (Great laughter and applause)

I say, then, that all you can do for the farmer is to leave him alone; and if those farmers who now have possession of political authority would take a word of advice from me, it is just that—to leave the farmer alone and not be led aside by the clamour which is raised in the city that certain things be done which are primarily for the good of the city and not for the good of the farm. The time is coming, and now is, when we must abandon all those tricks and this legerdemain of finance; when we must face the thing as a man faces it in his own business. We in Canada have got ourselves into a hole by our own optimism, and there is no way of getting out of the hole except by digging our way out. If by any chance a family should come here from outside of this province or outside of Canada; if a family, for example, should come from Quebec to one of the cities, a family consisting of a man and woman and four children, which coming from Quebec I take as the minimum, and if he were to settle himself in an Ontario town, he would find, first, that he had an obligation upon him of $3,200. That is his capital charge. If you take all the municipal and provincial and Canadian debt, you would find that it works out at $3,200 for each man with a family. And if this person should be fortunate enough to enjoy a salary of $5,000, which I am told is not very large in Toronto (laughter), out of that he will pay in taxes $792. Now, upon whom is this charge eventually to fall? You have heard much of a man called George —I mean Henry George; he had some device, a new device, as he thought, by which all the taxes should be placed upon the land. That, of course, is where the taxes always lay, and do so now lie—not upon these workers in the town with their eight hours, because when

hard times come they can flit to some other country where they think they will be happier, but the man who is in possession of the land is the man who will ultimately bear this burden. And yet we have not faced it. There is only one remedy and that is, that we should begin to pay our obligations, whether those are obligations of duty or obligations of folly; we cannot separate the two. We have obligations of folly upon us—obligations which were inherent in our political constitution, by which the various provinces had to be conciliated because they thought certain other provinces were getting advantages. You may remember that, ten or twenty years ago, nothing would satisfy the West unless they had a new railway built to the Hudson Bay. They have had their railway, but I have not heard they are any happier. The burden is upon the whole country to pay for this and to pay for all such other adventures. It will be disclosed in the higher price of foods.

We are apt to lead ourselves astray by thinking that the new state of affairs is due to the war. The war was merely the closing of an old era, and the beginning of a new. The forces which brought it about began to show at least nineteen years ago. They gradually increased until they became overwhelming. Even if the war had never taken place, we would still be face to face with those problems.

A long time ago I devised for myself this principle, when I had to say anything in public to get the first sentence right and the last sentence right, and I never found any difficulty in filling in the middle. (Laughter) I always found it wise to leave the last sentence until I was about to come into the room, and I got that sentence this morning from my old friend Prof. Mavor. His sentence was this: that we who live in cities are without our God. That is a dark saying which Prof. Mavor himself would have to elaborate; but it is eternally true that the tribal god and the god of the household exist in the country; that the cities are too conglomerate, and instead of having one God they have a variety of false gods. The city was always the home of the false gods.

This being the case, one who sees the fact clearly is the real optimist, because he is dissatisfied with the age of materialism through which we have passed. I suppose there never was in the history of the world a period so utterly materialistic as the last fifty or sixty years; and we now find, in our public distress and our private sorrow, what has come to us by following those false and material gods.

The only remedy is the old remedy, and that is the remedy of starvation; and I am much more optimistic than most of my friends, because they think that this starvation will be postponed for a good many years, while I think that it will come very quickly. That is the measure of my optimism. (Laughter) But the world has never lived without a witness; and what we lose on one hand, we will gain on the other. We have been too comfortable in our lives; we have had too many things; and we forget how near to the earth we all actually live, with those new devices, with this new device of electricity—of which I suppose I ought to speak with some respect in this part of Canada. And yet, keep this in mind: the first object of man in life is to keep himself upright on his feet; the second is to keep himself warm; those are the real problems. Now, the equivalent of a ton of coal a month for heating purposes, expressed in terms of electricity, is twenty-four horses working for twenty-four hours a day for thirty days. You see, then, how little electricity has, what little bearing it has upon life, and that this is also one of those inventions and devices of which I was speaking. You are concerned in the towns about those material things, about houses for yourselves which are to be built at the expense of the country. I do not hear of any houses being built in the country at your expense (laughter); and men are taught that they are entitled to a degree of comfort far beyond anything that can be supplied out of this surplus labour. It is altogether likely that while we are seeking comfort for ourselves, whilst we are dealing with those houses with their bathrooms and their ventilation and their sanitary arrangements, we have entirely lost sight of what used to

be called the heavenly mansion in which the human spirit has always found refuge from the difficulties of this world. We have forgotten those heavenly mansions because we were too comfortable in the houses which we have built with our hands.

Early in 1919, when the troops were coming down from Germany through the devastated area, I was in an ambulance train. In the night we stopped, and I was awakened by what seemed to be the sound of sobbing. One looked out and saw two or three points of light travelling over the area, and at first thought that it was some women looking for their dead. Instead of that one discovered that the sobbing came from the engine which had been drawing the train, and it occurred to me that this was an excellent illustration for the time and the circumstance,—that this material thing, this material engine, was sobbing out her heart because she knew that the end of her material world had come. (Loud applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are happy in having with us today at the table, the Secretary of the U.F.O., Mr. J. J. Morrison. (Applause) He is a student of agriculture, having himself at one time been a tiller of the soil. I shall ask him to extend to the speaker the thanks of this club for the profound, original, and delightful address which we have just heard.

## MR. J. J. MORRISON.

*Gentlemen,*—It is with sincere pleasure that I desire to move a vote of thanks and appreciation to Sir Andrew Macphail for this most searching address. I do not know that I can say on behalf of all the people here that you thoroughly appreciate and believe all he said; but as a farmer myself, and on behalf of some others here who, I believe, are farmers, I have no hesitation in saying we endorse every word he said. (Applause) I can also say that, if seventy-five per cent. of the great silent throng in the back concessions were here, they, too, would say, "We appreciate every word you have said." (Hear, hear) It was a most searching address. I am sorry

that you cannot all believe it; I know you cannot, simply because many of us don't know. But those who can believe it, will, I know, appreciate it, and will endorse the vote of appreciation which will soon be given. I only want to draw your attention to two things which it is absolutely essential that you should understand, otherwise this great address will have missed its aim and object. Sir Andrew told us that this Parliament of men who were elected as farmers, would cease to be farmers and become politicians. I believe, probably, that will be true. It would be deplorable if there was not a safety-valve where their deterioration could be prevented, and the prevention of it lies with the men on the back concessions to remain true to the principles for which they elected those men; it lies with them to repudiate them when they go wrong; and if the U.F.O. does not do that very thing, it will have failed in the principles for which it was created. Had Sir Andrew Macphail been a member of the U.F.O. he could not have more fully spoken that which we would like to hear him speak. He told you business men of the depopulation of this country. How many of you realize that 16,000 people leave the farms of Ontario every year? A good sized city leaves the farm lands of this country that were made by the pioneers of whom he spoke. How are you going to maintain your businesses in the cities and see them go on under such circumstances? What is your remedy? The United Farmers have given their remedy; so has Sir Andrew Macphail. Do you believe it? I hope you will consider it, and if you do not consider it, then his great address is lost. If you are business men, you must formulate in your own minds a remedy, and if you have that remedy, we would like to hear it in the near future. If the farmers are wrong and you are right, then give us your theory; if you have not any theory, then the farmers must be right. I know by your appearance that you have all been intensely interested in this address, and I am sure you will all join in this vote. (Applause)

# THE WORK OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. HEALTH AS AN INTERNATIONAL BOND.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT, PH.D., LL.D.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Tuesday, March 9,* 1920

VICE-PRESIDENT GILVERSON, in introducing the speaker, said,—Gentlemen, our distinguished guest, Dr. George E. Vincent, comes to us from the United States on a mission of high purpose and great public interest, involving munificence measured in millions. He is known widely as an educationist of brilliant talents and career, but is, perhaps, known best to Canadians as the representative and the head of a philanthropic foundation, unprecedented in magnitude, which, established in financial perpetuity, stands as a monument of everlasting honour to its celebrated founder, Mr. John D. Rockefeller. (Applause) Dr. Vincent should also be known to the Club as an honoured son of an illustrious father, Bishop Vincent, of the Methodist Church (applause) an eminent American divine who founded the Chautauqua society of which Dr. Vincent is Chancellor emeritus. Likewise in his connection with and relationship to a prominent local family whose genius for organization in religious, humanitarian and educational work is only equalled by the generous endowment and support they extend to the projects they undertake; I refer to the Massey family and Foundation of Toronto. (Applause) The pleasure with which you will anticipate the treat that is in store for us will carry with it, I know very well, a corresponding jealousy of the time I consume, and I will only say with reference to the subject, if you will allow me, that

if ever there was a day when every bond of attachment should be cultivated by every patriot on either side of the line, it is to-day. (Hear, hear and applause) I will take no further time, therefore, but present Dr. Vincent to you.

## DR. GEORGE E. VINCENT.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—The announcement of my real topic has filled you with mingled feelings of apprehension and alarm; and anyway, I am going to talk about a League of Nations. (Laughter and applause) Please observe, a League of Nations, not the League of Nations. This League of Nations of which I am to speak is unique. In the first place, no reservations with regard to it have been suggested by anyone. (Laughter) In the second place, no word of criticism has come from either end of Pennsylvannia Avenue. (Laughter) In the third place, America is a part of this League, (Laughter and applause) In the fourth place, no question of purality of votes has been raised. (Laughter) In the fifth place, actual United States money is being expended. (Laughter) And finally, the League has a definite purpose which it is carrying out by a programme which is producing efficient and satisfactory results.

But that I keep you no longer in suspense, lest I have reached the limit of even your generous cordiality, I am going to talk about a League of Central and South American Nations which has been formed to eliminate yellow fever from the world. (Laughter and applause.) It is a League under a certain type of leadership from the United States, but it represents a general international co-operative attempt to deal with a disease which has long been a menace not only to Central and South America, but to all countries that have been in immediate trading communication with those centres.

This is a subject in which General Gorgas, former Surgeon General of the United States Army, has been for a long time interested. He deserves a large part of the credit which is to be ascribed to those who have been successful so far in the carrying out of this project.

You all remember, of course,—one always says that to a lay audience; it is flattering—but you won't remember, and therefore I will repeat it (laughter)—you all remember that about forty years ago there was a doctor named Fantella in Havana, who said that he suspected that yellow fever might be communicated from one person to another by a bite of a mosquito. This was perfectly absurd; not only the layman knew it was absurd—they have a sort of intuitive capacity for judging (laughter) but even the members of the medical profession said it was absurd—and they have considerable capacity for rejecting new ideas (great laughter); and so nothing happened. Then there came a little unpleasantness, you may remember, a long time ago—some sort of a conflict which was looked upon in a perfectly perfunctory and sportsmanlike and detached way. It was a kind of a conflict; it was a good deal like smashing an egg with a locomotive. In the course of what we used, courteously, to call the Spanish-American war, it was found necessary to do some sanitation in Havana, and four army surgeons were sent down, and those men carried on all sorts of experiments. They tried all those theories, and it turned out that the mosquito theory was correct, after all; and so by those experiments it became established—and established beyond contradiction, especially in every possible scientific way—that yellow fever can be communicated only by the bite of a stegomyia mosquito; and in this case the female of the species is more deadly than the male, because it is only the female stegomyia that can communicate yellow fever by biting an individual who has not yet contracted the disease. That was established as a scientific fact, and General Gorgas, who was engaged later in the Panama zone on a large scale, with the greatest success applied this scientific principle, and reduced the incidence of yellow fever in Havana and Panama zone to such a degree that that great work was able to be carried on with very little loss of life. So that yellow fever, and control of yellow fever as a technique, are perfectly well understood. The Brazilian Government un-

dertook to control yellow fever, and was practically successful in controlling it from Rio.

General Gorgas is one of those men who had a dream and an ideal, and his dream and ideal was actually to eliminate yellow fever from the world and have done with it, to strike it off the list as a menace to mankind. So in 1916, before we were occupied in any other way by trying to explain our inactivity (laughter) we at the Foundation received a suggestion from General Gorgas that he would like, if possible, to get leave from the Government and go on a trip to South and Central America to make first-hand investigation looking to a report which might afterwards be made to the Foundation. He was given leave of absence by the Government; he appointed trained colleagues, and certain men who were familiar with the problem went down to South and Central America, and came back and made a report to the Foundation.

The places that may be considered endemic centres, the foci of infection, the seed-beds of yellow fever, were Guyaquil, on the coast of Merida in Yucatan. There is a suspected area in the vicinity of Pernambuco, and on the west coast of Africa there is a little suspected area where a disease like yellow fever had been announced several times. Said General Gorgas, "If we can go to those endemic centres and stamp out yellow fever there at its sources, we shall be able to eliminate yellow fever as a menace to mankind." It was an appealing thing; it took one's imagination; and when at last we went into it, General Gorgas was otherwise occupied. (Laughter) About a year and a half ago he was retired for age. I believe in retiring people for age. Retire a man automatically, so that he can go out and complain that he can do anything that he has ever accomplished. Because this inexorable law applies to all alike, it is a capital thing; it gets rid of dead-wood at the top, and gives young men a sort of show. How can you expect young men to realize their ambitions if old men hold on till the last gasp? (Laughter) If you are going to stimulate any service—governmental, educational, or whatever it

may be—have a rule of retiring people for age remorselessly, without exception. Georgas was one of those few people who, when retired, really had the virility of youth in him; and he said, "I am just in the prime of life; I want to tackle this yellow fever job." And the Foundation said, "Come on, we are ready for you." So General Gorgas became the head of a Yellow Fever Control Commission. It is a very simple thing to do.

With these things, occasionally, if you generally have to deal with Governments, you can imagine how for a long time Governments exchange notes, and go on exchanging notes until finally a convention is held to see if something can be done in a preliminary way, looking towards the approach towards the ultimate. (Great laughter). And you can imagine the first gathering of those representatives of various nations for this magnificent co-operation. Possibly you can imagine the banquets that would be held, the courteous and enthusiastic addresses in which people try to conceal their real theories in regard to each others views. You can imagine these going on until finally, a certain stage of repletion having been reached, there would be discussions as to what might be done and what ought to be done, with great differences of opinion, and finally they would break up, after passing benevolent resolutions looking to further benevolent consideration of the subject and larger co-operation in the future. In due time the people get interested and want to go as delegates, and there would be another public uprising for another convention, and there would be large discussions of how the Budget should be distributed—whether a nation should contribute to a common Budget of that kind according to its natural resources, or according to its susceptibility to disease. (Laughter) Then at last you can imagine that, some agreement having been reached meantime, the very difficult and perilous question of appointing medical gentlemen to represent the various governments would arise. Of course some governments would have no difficulty at all, because political influence plays no part whatever in appointments. There would be other governments in

which gentlemen who were ambitious, medically and socially, and who had relatives who in one way or another had attached themselves in some capacity of influence with the administration, might lobby for places. You can imagine, after a while, that a nice conspicuous group of mediocrities would be chosen as the government representatives. (Laughter)

Then those gentlemen would gather and there would be all sorts of discussions as to who was to have the leadership, and who would be head of the Commission, and who was to outline the plan; and there would be differences and jealousies and antagonisms, and applications and protests would be made through various diplomatic and consular officials. And so it would go on and on, meanwhile people dying by thousands and tens of thousands from yellow fever.

The other plan is very simple. A group of men meet in lower Broadway; a report is made and considered; then there is the question, "Is there somebody that knows about this?" If there is some relative of a gentleman present who would like to undertake this,—in fact no gentleman who had any relative would long hold his position in that connection. The question would be, "Who is the fittest man in the world in this field? Can he be secured? How much money does he want?" If you have resources enough, these questions can all be answered. They were finally answered, and General Gorgas was given the commission, and money was put at his disposal in order that he might undertake the work.

Of course, when we are going on to do something of that kind, it is important, even if you think you have a scientific basis, to check it up a little. Scientific men are never satisfied; they always want to check their results, and investigate a little further. So it was suggested that, possibly, it might be well to make further scientific studies of yellow fever to see if the yellow fever germ could be isolated. It has been isolated several times, and turned out not to be the germ. This has happened often in the scientific world; so they thought it would be

well to try again; and the Rockefeller Foundation asked the Rockefeller Institute for Scientific Research if they would allow their bacteriologist, Dr. Gould and staff, to go down to Ecuador and make a first-hand investigation on the variable causes of yellow fever. There is a great advantage in being able to lay your hands on the instrument you want.

It is a deplorable thing—I don't know how it happens, but instead of an implicit faith we found on the part of our—shall I say amiable—neighbours, that nearly all our neighbours of the South took the most unfortunate view of us. In spite of our desire to benefit all mankind, and the pure and unadultered reputations which we admit ourselves to possess (laughter) our friends in Mexico and our friends in Central America and our friends in South America do not understand it; in fact, they misinterpret our motives, and it is very difficult for us to do anything profitable there because they so misinterpret our motives. Was it not a lucky thing that we were able to send down a Japanese bacteriologist, who was welcomed with open arms? And so we got our Dr. Gould, and we got the guinea-pigs and monkeys, and one or two harmless Americans, and went down there to Guyaquil. (Great laughter and applause)

Why did he go to Guyaquil? To make sure of getting genuine cases of yellow fever. It is very hard, it seems, to diagnose the contagion germ, which looks almost the very same as yellow fever; some of us could not tell it, and some people who have had medical education could not tell. Some work that was done on the west coast of Africa, when further checked up, turned out not to be yellow fever at all. It was very important, then, that there should be no question of the causes of yellow fever for, according to Dr. Gould, you have to deal with them. In Ecuador there were physicians who had had such long experience with yellow fever that they could identify it with certainty; so Dr. Gould went down with his laboratory equipment and assistants, and certain cases that were unquestionably cases of yellow fever were pointed out to him. He took the blood from those people. He

infected guinea-pigs, and in due time the guinea-pigs manifested symptoms which seemed closely to resemble the symptoms of yellow fever in human beings. Then from those guinea-pigs that had been so infected and which manifested symptoms, cultures were made, and another group of guinea-pigs were infected, and in due time they began to develop symptoms which closely approximated the symptoms which developed in humans.

The scientific man is constructed in a most extraordinary way. He gets a certain group of things that look like something, and that are called phenomena, and when he gets those phenomena, he sets out what is called a working hypothesis, which connects these phenomena, and relates them in the order of co-existence. Then the scientific man goes on and discovers more phenomena, which do not fit into this hypothesis. Just at this point the business man's mind and the scientific mind part company, because when a business man gets the phenomena he forces his hypothesis to fit them (laughter) while the scientific mind transforms the hypothesis until it will take care of all the phenomena. The scientific man never asserts anything positive. All you can get him to say is that, "It looks as though there might be some sort of interest; there is in this, I suspect, an unsolved problem."

So you could not get Dr. Gould to say he had discovered the germ of yellow fever. To be sure, he isolated a very small squirming thing, passing between a microbe and a bacterium—a comparison which will give you a precise idea of what it is like. (Laughter) This little microscopic plant, if you please, was found present, and he thought it would be interesting to carry on investigations. Here the lay mind would have jumped to conclusions; not so the scientific mind. All you could get Dr. Gould to admit was that this phenomena in monkeys and guinea-pigs offered interesting subjects for further investigation, and the fact that this little squirming thing, hard to detect with the most powerful microscope, seemed to be mixed up with the business some way, might lead to the suspicion that it had something to do

with it. This was as far as we could get Dr. Gould to go. He made another experiment. He got some perfectly healthy guinea-pigs, and also got some that were suffering from this phenomena; and he got these female stegomyia mosquitoes, and got them to bite those guinea-pigs that were suffering from something like yellow fever, and then got them to bite the healthy guinea-pigs. The lay mind would have jumped to the conclusion that a mistake had been made. All Dr. Gould would say was that it looked like some primary thing (laughter) but after he had done his worst, we brought him home, (laughter) and then with this information, which of course was interesting, people said, "You can identify yellow fever with this germ." To be sure Dr. Gould made some serum, and this serum has been demonstrated on a number of people, and they have all recovered from yellow fever. But there you must not jump to conclusions, because in the third or fourth day people take a turn for the better; you cannot tell whether the serum made them turn for the better or the worse. Dr. Noguchi said he wanted to go down to Marida and Yucatan that he might confirm or review his work, and so not long ago he went down to Yucatan; that is, he touched part of Mexico. Though under the control of native laws, it is a part of Mexico. He was received heartily there, and down in Mexico City he was given a dinner and had a great reception on the part of the Medical profession, and was received by the President of Mexico, and everywhere this Japanese bacteriologist visits in Mexico he is received with the greatest heartiness. Well, what difference does it make, if he is getting the germs? In due time we obtained for that bacteriologist the support of every kind of political party, every shade of opinion, every sort of race and nationality, so that we are able to prescribe for any international situation, no matter how complicated. (Applause) Thank goodness, the time has not been reached when we have to be particular what kind of men we send to Canada. (Laughter and applause)

So, the scientific foundations having been laid, it was time to begin the actual work, to go down to Guyaquil and see what could be done in the way of eliminating Yellow Fever in Guyaquil, where it had been going on cheerfully for five years, from 1912 to 1917 inclusive. There had been an average of 259 cases a year of Yellow Fever in Guyaquil; and since 1842, since the time the sanitary records began, Guyaquil has been quarantined against the other parts of South and Central America most of the time.

Dr. Connor was sent down—a most delightful Irishman with a most persuasive manner (you are not surprised)—a gentleman able to talk in a beguiling and friendly way. (Laughter) We picked him out for the purpose, and he took along just two subordinates from the United States with him. You see, this was to be an equatorial undertaking; the Americans, so to speak, were just to be interested spectators. When Dr. Connor arrived he was greeted cordially. Noguchi had made a good impression, and it was made quite clear that Dr. Connor had come there in just a quiet way, but, to be sure, it was known that he was going to tackle Yellow Fever. Guyaquil has become a little cynical about Yellow Fever; they have had it eliminated so often that it is getting a little on their nerves; they had so many people go down and profess that the bacteriological millennium was about to dawn, and it had not dawned; if anything, the Yellow Fever has been slightly aggravated by those ministrations, and you cannot blame the equatorians for being a little credulous and cynical. So when Dr. Connor arrived and went around to see the newspaper people —which you have to do in any community—there are popular newspapers in Guyaquil, and he got them—and I think this is one of the most extraordinary things, it surpassed anything that was accomplished in bacteriology or microbes—he got those four editors agreed on a ban of reticence for sixty days. This is almost incredulous. Those newspapers said they would hold their peace for sixty days while these apparently futile operations were under way.

Dr. Connor had a little time to work, not all the time needed to organize his staff, but he got 120 equatorians, and began to divide them into groups of five each, and those were mosquito groups; he was going to beat the mosquitoes. Do you go about swatting mosquitoes? Birth control is the only way you can deal with the stegomyia mosquito, and you have to head them off before that time. The stegomyia mosquito is very fond of laying her eggs in water. She will put up with water that is not altogether potable if she cannot find a better quality of water, but water is the thing she must have. She lays the larvae in the water, and ultimately they become mosquitoes and go off on their infecting tasks. The thing was to head off the mosquito. He got a spot map, and had every spot where there had been yellow fever for five years in Guyaquil. There were two spots indicated where Yellow fever was last. What was the surface water condition? The stegomyia is a household pest; it does not wander from household to household; it stays close by its home, and it is essentially a domestic mosquito, and you therefore have to deal with it in the houses. The conditions in Guyaquil were perfect for the stegomyia, for they have an extraordinary water supply in Guyaquil. It comes from about ninety miles up country, and people help themselves to it as it comes down, so it does not leave very much for Guyaquil. In the old days Guyaquil never knew when it was going to have a water supply; but the distributions have now been systematized so that Guyaquil can have one and a half hours of water supply out of the twenty-four. You might have an intense ablution during the day or you might drink—the equatorians are not any fonder of water than many of you (laughter); but what they do take they prefer to have distributed over twenty-four hours rather than face the horrible task of dealing with it in the one and a half hours.

Therefore they have developed various devices. The well-to-do people have tanks in the upper part of their houses, and the water comes to nearly fill the tanks up in the one and a half hours when it is running. The

poor people have barrels and receptacles of various kinds, and get the water from water carriers who go around the streets, and go around to the hydrants during the hydrous hour.

To prevent the stegomyia mosquito from getting into these tanks was a task. They decided that the tanks must be screened. You get a vested interest, but the people have invested their money in screens. It did not cost anybody but the householders anything to screen those tanks, and that was the main part of their problem. There were a lot of those water containers that did not have screens; you could not put a cover on; you would have to have an inspector put the cover back when ever anybody took water out.

So Dr. Connor remembered that in dealing with the malaria mosquito, which is another kind of mosquito, tape minnows had been used. You put minnows in those pools of water, and they take care of the larvae as fast as they get deposited. Dr. Connor got a few of those tape minnows and put them in the barrels, and they ate the larvae with avidity; but the minnows were delicate, were sensitive—They were a sort of Jersey cows among minlows—and, if anything happened, their nervous organizations would go to pieces and they would die. It was very discouraging, when you wanted a thing to co-operate with you, that those fish laid down on the job. (Laughter) There are a great many people that would have been discouraged, but Dr. Connor was not. He sent his people out exploring for fish, a very vigorous fish, but the only trouble was it would jump out of the barrel every time anybody put it in; you could not keep it in the barrel; and by the time the fish had been retrieved several times and put back in the barrel it had lost vitality, it had lost interest in the game, and ultimately quit. So this wouldn't do. But Dr. Connor was not discouraged; he said, "Somewhere in the economy of nature there must be a fish admirably adapted to this particular problem, and we will look for another fish." At last they found an ideal fish that was a glutton for larvae, but of a retiring disposition; and every time a native came with a

pitcher for water, it went down to the bottom and stayed there. They said, "How can you be sure that the people would keep the fish going?" A very simple device. Was the fish there? If the fish was there, all was well; if not, turn the barrel upside down and let the water all go. You can see how human nature was utilized, psychologically. (Laughter) The consequence was that the people were running to Dr. Connor's office and saying, "Our fish doesn't seem well; give us another fish;" and as a copious supply of fish was kept at headquarters, things went on. The tanks were all screened, and the fish were waiting, looking for the larvae, and gobbled them up as soon as they were deposited. It was a fine situation.

This began on the 28th of November, 1918. For the month of November there were 77 cases of Yellow fever reported in Guyaquil. During the month of December, during which such work was carried on, the number of such cases rose to 86. Then one editor broke loose—I don't blame him—and he wrote an editorial in which he gave his real opinion as far as the censorship would permit—his real opinion of Americans who came butting in, claiming they could do things, and who failed miserably, and who had an altogether exaggerated opinion of their own importance in the Western hemisphere and in the entire cosmos. It was a capital editorial, but was not nearly as wicked as if it was written in English, because no one can be so peppery in the flowing language of Castile as they can be in English. But it alarmed Dr. Connor. He went around and pleaded with this man that they had not had a chance; that they had not got under way; give him another month, and if there was not a substantial modification the ban was to be off, and they might cut loose. So he watched for January with great interest. In January there were 78 cases, showing not much of a reduction, but they were keeping under. Then came the returns—for February, 37; March, 13; April, 2; May, 1; June, 1, July, zero. August, zero; September, zero. And when I left New York a week ago, no further cases of Yellow fever had been reported. (Great applause)

There you are; that is characteristic of laymen, going off at half-cock. (Great laughter) That is just the way I felt about it, you know; but the scientific men, like lawyers—I have to associate with them all the time—said, "Oh, we are not out of the woods yet; probably there may have been cases of Yellow Fever that were not reported during the serious season for Yellow Fever; wait, the season is new; there may be more cases; this is just encouraging; that is all that can be said about it." So that is all I dare say, only it looks to me as though something had been done, and the people in Guyaquil think something has been done, and they have given Dr. Connor a watch, and have made speeches to him, and the legislature has passed resolutions thinking that something has been done; but we know better, of course; we know that something else may happen. But if this thing can be continued, it is going to look awfully encouraging.

So now you can understand that Gen. Gorgas, though he sees the end, is on his way to Toro—there has been a little epidemic in Toro—and then he is going over to London, and the British Government have detailed two of the best men in public health —one a specialist in Yellow Fever—and they are going down to that place on the West Coast of Africa with Gen. Gorgas to make a complete diagnosis. They are going to have a man who has been trained by Neguchi, and then to leave the man there to stick by that job until whatever it is—Yellow Fever or whatever it is—has been examined. Another group is in Venezuela, and another is going down to Merida just as soon as proper arrangements can be made, and those seed-beds are going to be kept under surveilance. If we can judge by the success in Guyaquil, we are going to finish Yellow Fever, and Gen. Gorgas is going to write the last chapter of the history of Yellow Fever. (Loud applause)

It is a rather inspiring sort of adventure, this adventure in public health. Why have I described this to you? For two reasons. First, because it is an awfully good story; it seems to me it is a mighty interesting thing. One of our own lawyers came to me

after he heard that address and he said, "Is it really true about those fish?" (Laughter) I had to go to Dr. Connor's report and lay it before him and ask him to read it and he said, "I beg your pardon." So far as the facts that I have reported to you are concerned, they are accurate and they make a good story.

But I told you this story for another reason. It seems to me that in these times, when we so easily misunderstand each other, when it is so easy to view with alarm, and take a gloomy view of the future, like those who see nothing but disaster, who see this old world going to pot, who see the British Empire on its last legs, and see even the glorious United States of America on the point of disintegration, isn't it a comfort to fix your attention on a few striking things? Is it not a satisfaction to see men working together confidently with good will, using the resources of science, and to know that this is a type of communion that is going on all around the world?

What a lot of things are going on! This last year I have been about half way round the world. Last summer I was in Hong Kong, and I went the whole of this magnificent journey around on the great highway of the Canadian Pacific and on those fine boats across the north Pacific and then down to Honk Kong; and I went up on the top of the peak at Hong Kong and in my imagination could see what Hong Kong was in this great circle of the British Empire all around the world; and when I thought of all the fine things that have been done under the British Flag and all the fine things in the future that are going to be done under the British Flag, in the way of bringing order and peace and health and all the benefits of the thing that we still, in spite of cynics, call civilization, and then when I thought of all the other co-operative nations of the world, I could not help feeling this kindling of my imagination and the stirring of my heart, and I said, "There are great days ahead of this old world of ours." (Great applause) If we will only come to understand each other, (applause) if we can only seek not for the differences but for the things we have in common; if we can only get great constructive tasks upon

which we can organize ourselves with splendid courage and a good fellowship, and work together, heart to heart and shoulder to shoulder, in great enterprises to make life all around this world a thing worth living for man women and children,— aye, the old world will be patched together again. (Applause)

I think of all those things that are going on; I think of the medical and public health work under British auspices—I suppose you know that the British Public Health administration has set the model for the whole world. So far as scientific discoveries go, a great deal has been done in France, and a deal was done in Germany, and a little has been done on the other side of the line here; but when it comes to administration, to the socializing of medicine, to making health a great undertaking, fundamental to community, nation, and empire, there is a glorious record of this British Empire of yours. (Loud applause)

When I think of all the different peoples joining in work for the great common cause when I think of medical missions in China, when I remember the British and Canadian centres, and other Canadian centres that I visited over there, when I remember this splendid enterprise in which the physicians of Toronto are loyally organizing themselves for establishing in the far Western Province of China a modern medical centre, a centre for public health education and for the public education of the people in regard to those things, I feel a new courage; I am not ready to give up, by any means, and I, with you, congratulate ourselves upon having this chance to work together.

If I may mention, in closing, the object of the visit which brings Dr. Pierce my colleague, and myself to Canada, it seems to me beautifully to symbolize this thing of which I have been talking. The founder of the Rockefeller Foundation, in that Christmas gift of his, properly paid personal tribute to the splendid record of Canada in the great war, and expressed the hope—you will remember how he did it in the letter of instruction under which the money that is given to the Rockefeller

foundation is given to the Trustees of the Foundation to use as they deem best within the great purpose of the Foundation, which is the welfare of mankind throughout the world (applause) in that letter of transmittal you will remember that he said that, if it should seem best to the Trustees of the Rockefeller foundation to make some contribution toward the aid of medical education in Canada, he would feel personally gratified. One does not need instructions, one does not need any exhortation, to come on an errand like that; and so, at a meeting of the Foundation Trustees the other day in New York they set aside for this Canadian work the sum of $5,000,000. (Applause) and Dr. Pierce and I have come to make a very little trip to get acquainted with you.

Saturday we spent in Winnipeg; here we are for two or three days; we go on to Montreal, Quebec and Halifax; and then Dr. Pierce is coming back to all those places, and is going to spend a long time, and enter as intelligently and sympathetically as he can into the problems of the various communities. We come with no patented American scheme—you will be surprised at that. (Laughter) You know that working in all the nations of the world makes you modest. Working in all the nations of the world makes you feel that no nation has a monopoly of wisdom. The great thing is to get all the wisdom you can from each source, remembering that each group has its trouble, that each community has its own set of circumstances, and that therefore no made idea can be imposed on people, even if you have an idea to do that.

So we had our meeting this morning with representatives of the medical faculty in the University, and they have prepared a most statesmanlike and most interesting and most carefully thought out plan to develop the medical school of the University of Toronto, extending over a period of years. It is a gratifying thing, gentlemen, and I congratulate you heartily on having in your medical school a group of men with the scientific training, with the imagination, with the capacity to plan, with the statesmanlike vision. Those are the things, after all,

that make for the most important institutional development. Money is important, but money is wholly subordinate to personality. It is only when you have highly trained men, men of ability, men of vision, men of imagination, that you can build up institutions in permanent form for the welfare of any community. (Applause)

And so I want you to know that we come in no spirit of self-satisfied and self-complacent omniscience. We come to learn. We come to enter sympathetically into the plans of this group, and we hope that we may have some little part with you—it is too early to say more than that —in the development of your medical school, which, with the splendid history already behind this institution, will enable it in the years to come to be one of the great centres for medical education and research not only in the Dominion but throughout the British Empire and in all the world. (Loud and continued applause, the audience rising and giving three cheers)

THE VICE-PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I have now very great pleasure in asking Dr. Bruce Taylor, President of Queen's University, to tender to the speaker the thanks we feel for this delightful and thrilling address.

## DR. BRUCE TAYLOR.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—I am positively certain that we never in our lives listened to anything more delightful than this. (Applause) I have seen many men called upon to move votes of thanks who did not know when they got up what they were going to say, or how on earth they were going to steer around awkward corners. But I have no such difficulty whatever. I do not think I was ever moved to such admiration as by this rapidity of thought and utterance, and the co-ordination of those two things. Now, you have not had half the fun out of this that I have had. I have been watching three men. I have been watching the official reporter. (Laughter) I can say about him that not only is he a very first-class stenographer possessing a great stenographic facility, but he has an unusual disposition. I

have been watching also two of my friends here, Sir Robert Falconer and Canon Cody. (Laughter) Those are men who are no slackers when it comes to linking thoughts with words, and I have noticed them, and I have seen in the back of their minds this question, put with greater familiarity perhaps in one case than the other, but I can imagine my friend Sir Robert Falconer saying, "How the dickens does he do it?" and Canon Cody saying, "Well, that is a very wonderful piece of co-ordination." (Great laughter)

Now, it is a wonderful story, this that we have been listening to, (hear, hear) and we are apt to forget just how wonderful it is, in all the humour and the flash and the good nature with which it has been put before us. I do not know whether you, gentlemen, ever go back to the things of your childhood, but it was just this week that I had been reading my old friend, "Tom Cringle's Log," and many of you may remember the epidemic of Yellow Fever in Jamaica when he went out there as a youngster, and, when you heard to-day that old story, you listened to hear about those old water fevers, malarias, and typhoid and how they had been overcome by the progress of science, and you feel that it is a most amazing story. It was a wonderful thing that, amid all the dirt and muck of the war, men should have lived as wholesomely as they did, and that the actual percentage of sickness among the men groping about up to their middles in all kinds of filth, was less than it is in civilized life; that on the evidence of scientific men the percentage of typhoid was less than in all previous wars.

We have listened to-day to a man whom we have so often heard about, and it is a great thing to feel that there is no let-down. So often you hear about people, and then you meet them and you think, "Well, after all, that is pretty plain Jane." There is no plain Jane about Dr. Vincent. (Laughter and applause) I have heard of Phillips Brooks, and of his rapidity, and of his power of sweeping people off their feet. Well, in this other sphere of life, in the sphere of administration, we are getting some evidence. It is a wonderful thing that in-

vestigators are apparently given full swing, and that out of this effort of men to make money for themselves we should have society reaching a point where money no longer can mean anything to the individual and where the only possible use of it is for society as a whole. That we get in the Carnegie foundation; I remember in my student days how the work of that Foundation entirely altered all the scientific and medical teaching in schools, where large libraries had hitherto been lacking but were formed for the purpose of scientific research. Now we are finding this Foundation, which already has done so much, not merely in the medical sphere but in social life of a City like New York, where the report of the Rockefeller Foundation reveals conditions that have improved that old city, as far as the stranger can see it, until it has been made one of the cleanest of cities that it has ever been my good fortune to visit. That was subsequent to the report of the Rockefeller foundation. And now we are getting that same work offered to Canada, as Dr. Vincent has said, not in any spirit of carping investigation but simply with the broad idea of doing the best, first of all, for medical training and research in this Dominion, and through the Dominion the British Empire and the other places where our men may go. For after all, certainly in this northern continent of America, as far as medical education is concerned, there is neither Canada nor the United States; it is a unity. (Hear, hear) We cannot draw any line between those two great bodies of mankind, were we inclined. What the Rockefeller Foundation proposes to do will be found in the years to come to have been perhaps the most important thing that ever happened to scientific education in this Dominion. I am sure we extend to Dr. Vincent the very heartiest thanks for what will be to all of us a most memorable address. (Applause and cheers)

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE, ITS GROWTH AND POWER

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MICHAEL CLARK, M.P.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, March* 18, 1920

VICE-PRESIDENT GILVERSON in introducing the speaker said,—Gentlemen, I congratulate you, as I pride myself, on belonging to a Club of such sound and loyal principles as are reflected in the Motto of this Club, "Canada and a United Empire." The potency of those principles, it is very gratifying for us to feel, is evidenced by the appeal they make to the choicest and best of this and other lands who grace our table from week to week; and this alone explains our good fortune in having with us to-day Dr. Michael Clark, M.P. for Red Deer, Alberta. (Applause) Our distinguished guest's speeches are read by the Public with the same eagerness with which he is heard and listened to by his confreres in Parliament, and I therefore feel that we know him so well that he comes to us, less as a stranger to be introduced than, as an old friend to be welcomed. I have now great pleasure in calling upon him to address you upon the subject, "The British Empire, its Growth and Power."

DR. MICHAEL CLARK, M.P.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—My first duty is one that is not at all perfunctory, I can assure you; believe me I am very sincere when I thank those present for the invitation to be with you to-day, and for the distinguished and numerous audience which has done me the honour of coming to hear what I have to say.

Two days ago in the House of Commons, select members from the two front benches spent the afternoon in

trying to find out whether Canada was a Nation or not—(laughter)—and when she became a Nation, and who was the first to say that she had become a Nation. Personally, I was reminded, greatly to my mental and spiritual benefit, of the story of the intelligent American to whom the inquiry was addressed, "What do you think of the British Empire?" and the answer, "It is the biggest thing out of doors." (Laughter) I have always been glad when I found myself on any portion of the biggest thing out of doors. (Applause)

It behooves us from time to time to recall the great men that begat us, to recall the little Islands from which we sprung, and take mental note of how these little Islands are linking up with the enormous Countries beyond the sea which constitute the outlying portions of the British Empire—at least that is how we used to talk about them in the Old Land. It had grown almost into a fashion, before the war in some quarters, to talk about the decadence of Britain, or rather, I think they used to say the decadence of England—people who talked in that way, (laughter) and I had always a shrewd suspicion that the people who did the talking with that qualification of the Island Heart of the Empire were from the two branches that are not English. (Laughter) While I do not know that there has been such a disposition, since the war, to talk of any decadence there at all, (applause) the talk was not new in the world in the few years that preceded the war. In the early Fifties, when Great Britain and Ireland were sending a thousand people away from their shores daily, people wondered how long the Islands would stand the drain of their blood, and the stress and strain. We found out the other day that those who came away from the Islands which constitute the heart of the Empire had gone into Nation-building all over the world, and some of the young brood were back recently to join the Mother in the greatest military task that ever fell to a Nation upon the face of the earth. (Applause) At the time to which I have referred, there were considerably less than thirty million people in the two Islands. To-day, they are reaching out towards fifty millions, (ap-

plause) so there has not been much decadence there yet, anyhow. (Laughter)

In what condition did Great Britain and Ireland manage to keep her people before the war? Take a test, which I am afraid comes too readily to the people of this continent, the test of material prosperity. What was the condition of the prosperity of the Islands as compared with previous times in her history? In Macaulay's Third Chapter, he mentions the fact that in the time of Charles II there were 250 paupers to the thousand of population—a pretty large proportion. That was written as you know in the first half of the 19th Century, and, when that third Chapter was penned, the paupers had fallen from 250 per thousand to somewhere between 80 and 100. In 1870 they had fallen to 40 per thousand, and in 1907 they had fallen to 25—not a bad record. That is, the population increased by millions; the paupers, per thousand, decreased by hundreds.

Take another figure. In 1870, the Savings Bank deposits in the Old Country amounted to 33 shillings per head of the population; in 1907, the Savings Bank deposits had gone up from 33 to 95 shillings per head of the population.

Britain exports, of course, manufactured goods; she imports her food. In 1800 her exports were 40 millions of Pounds worth; in 1842, after the advent of Railways, they had gone up to 50 million Pounds worth; in 1878 they had gone up to 218 millions, and in 1910 they had gone to 344 millions—which at that time constituted the record for all Nations and all time. It was beaten by the United States in the War, but that was the record in 1910 for all Nations and all time. (Applause)

I think I have probably told a Toronto audience before that those two little Islands had the enormous cheek to build and own more than half the shipping of the entire world before the war—another evidence surely of great material prosperity. But people said, "It is true the Islands have progressed materially, but what about the fibre of her people, will they stand the test of war?" Well, the test came along. The events are too

recent for me to need to say a single world about what the Old Country did in the war, and what the Empire did in the war. You know the facts. Perhaps the most significant claim that has been made as to her greatness was made by Lord Grey when going across the Atlantic. In a little speech he made recently, he said, if it had not been for the Merchant Marine of the Old Country, the United States would not have been able to take her part in the war at all. (Applause)

You know that after nearly four years of war; after England—after Britain and Ireland rather—one stumbles against the feelings of Irishmen and Scotchmen—after she had established a ferry boat service to France and transportation to other portions of her own Empire, after she had put millions of men in the Field and hundreds of thousands on the water, after all that, she had to send her ships to transport the major portion of the American troops. (Applause) Perhaps you would allow me to quote from one of Emerson's Essays, a striking passage from Roger Bacon. Roger Bacon was born in the year 1214. It was a far cry from 1214 to 1914—700 years—yet Bacon said, "Machines can be constructed to drive ships more rapidly than a whole galley of rowers could do; nor would they need anything but a pilot to steer them. Carriages might also be constructed to move with an incredible speed without the aid of any animal; finally, it would not be impossible to make machines which, by means of a suit of wings, should fly in the air in the manner of birds." A very remarkable prophesy, and it needed this war for the children of the far-flung Empire to fulfill the prophecy by taking the leading role in all three departments of human activity. (Applause).

In war or peace, the signs of British decadence are not very tangible. (Applause) Napoleon's dearest wish was to invade Britain, and his dearest wish was later the Kaiser's highest ambition. One ended as a prisoner in St. Helena, and the other is couped up in the little country of Holland. Neither of them managed to carry out their ambition; for we learned in our school days that the last battle which was fought on English ground

was at Sedgemoor in the year 1685. Yes, they wanted to invade Britain and reduce the British Empire, and put the human race in slavery.

> "But the ships that should have conquered us,
> They rusted on the shore
> The men that would have mastered us,
> They marched and drummed no more;
> For England is England,
> And a mighty brood she bore."

(Loud applause)

Now, what is the cause of the figure that these little Islands have cut in the world? What is the explanation of the work they have accomplished? I am fond of telling people, when I go to England—and telling Canadians sometimes also—that you could put the two little Islands twice into my own Province of Alberta, and have about thirty thousand square miles to spare. (Laughter) They have cut some figure in the world, after all, for their size; and it is surely worth our while in the united Empire to try and find out what is the secret of its tremendous power and wealth. (Hear, hear)

Well, will you pardon me for invading the realm of the preacher for a moment. (Laughter) I think the first secret of their greatness is that they are a people with a purpose, people who believe in their destiny, and if you come to think of it, that means that they are a religious people. I do not think I need offer any apology for saying that, in the Empire Club of Canada. (Applause) I do not mean that in any canting or conventional sense; they are religious in what is after all the essence of religion, they have a purpose; they believe in their own destiny; and all purpose argues a Purposer, and the people who have done this work in the world had their destiny linked to the great Purposer of all things, in their minds continuously. That is what I mean by saying that the Old Land is composed of people who in their conscience, in their heart and in their character and life, are a religious people. You remember the story of Queen Victoria—whether it is true or not, it is a very pretty story and I always like to think it is

true—she was asked, so the story goes, what was the secret of England's greatness, and she said, "The Bible." Prof. Bryce, that distinguished man who is still in tolerable activity as he is running fast on to the 90th mile stone, once said that no man is educated who does not know the Bible. I am afraid that there will be a great many only partially educated people in Toronto. I give you, however, Lord Bryce's thought—he was a Professor before he was a Lord—for what it is worth, and if it stimulates you who have not educated yourselves along that line, you will be surprised what an entertaining book you have been missing, as well as a very useful one. (Applause)

A great thinker on this side says somewhere, "All the great ages of the world have been ages of belief." If we lose our beliefs, there will be no greatness about us or our age, according to Emerson's teaching. Well, what has sprung from this fundamental element in the character of those who, after all, preceded Canada, New Zealand and the other parts in the work of Empire Building? The result of what I have just said to you is seen in the characters of the people. They are a sincere people. You know the old saying, "An Englishman's word is his bond?" You know what the Englishman swears by? Nothing so common as I hear out here sometimes; he swears continually "on my honour." That is the most sacred thing he could pledge—"on my honour." Yes, a sincere people; sincere in speech, no triflers, these people. Their lives are filled with serious purposes, and the greatest of those purposes from the material point of view has been in the building of an Empire flung across the world. Carlyle, you will remember, in his "Heroes and Hero Worship," rings the changes upon one proposition—that while a man may be sincere without being great, a man cannot be great without being sincere. That was the belief of the great sage prose writer, Thomas Carlyle—a man cannot be great without being sincere; and if there is anything that is going to happen in the political world in the near future in this and other countries, I do hope that, in the British Empire at any rate and in Canada,—because that is

where our immediate duty lies—we shall develop this quality of sincerity in the public life and beliefs. (Loud applause)

With a religious basis of true character, sincere and honest in speech; rather a bluff outspoken man, is the average Englishman. The Englishman usually says what is uppermost in his mind, and I must say I admire him for it. Somebody has said that cunning is the natural defence of the weak; the strong man does not need to be cunning; a strong animal does not need to be cunning. The hounds give mouth the moment that they scent the smell of a fox; the fox doesn't do any mouthing particularly. (Laughter) I do not think that point needs to be further rubbed in. (Laughter) So, they are great workers; they have been great workers, and naturally arising out of their destiny is this element of work, growing as it does out of regard for their honour and regard for their sincerity in speech. Whatever text needs to be rubbed into them, they have not in the past needed many sermons on the Old Testament text, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." I do not know that that is as popular a text as it was when I was a boy. It is doubtful whether the same value is put upon work to-day as our forefathers did, (laughter) although you have got a healthy amount of effort in your bones and sinews in Canada, and you work it out in splendid style. Well, they have been workers with the world for their sphere of operations; they have sent their children across the world.

They are all politicians, and they are politicians all the time, not once in four years at Election time (laughter) where you get up a cry for the purpose of winning an Election all too often. This is pretty plain speaking; I do not know what your political complexion is here, but it doesn't matter, the cap fits you anyhow. (Laughter) They are politicians all the time. They have a passion for order and good government; so the Old Land is a land of law, a land of order, a land of law and justice. The Law of England is the embodied commonsense of all history with the purpose of working out the greatest and most beautiful thing in the world—Justice.

(Applause) The Common-law of the Old Land is quoted continuously in the Courts of the United States. (Hear, hear) Emerson is just a little testy in one sentence for so calm a philosopher as he was. In his reference to this, he says he wishes his people would not quote Common-law so much; but they cannot help themselves; he might just as well ask them not to quote the Sermon on the Mount. (Laughter and applause) Let me hasten to say that Emerson's "English Traits," in spite of that testy sentence, is the very acme of a fair and dispassionate piece of appreciative criticism. A Land of law, a Land of Justice! There's no country in the world where a man gets a squarer deal than in the Old Country; but it is also a land of liberty, and there is no country in the world where a man has less consciousness of being ruled than in the Old Land—no country in the world. (Applause) Perhaps you will allow me to enforce that position by authorities more impartial than I might be considered on that subject—two Frenchmen and an Irishman. (Laughter) Philippe de Comines, the famous Historian said, "Among all the Sovereignties I know in the world, that in which the public good is best attended to, and the least violence exercised on the people is that of England." If course, he meant Great Britain and Ireland. (Laughter) Montesquieu, a Frenchman equally celebrated as Comines, said, "England is the freest country in the world. If a man had as many enemies as hairs on his head, no harm would happen to him." And it is the freest country in the world, if that claim can be made for it, just because law is respected. You can have no real liberty without law. Law is the insurance of your liberties. (Applause) Curran, the Irishman, said, "Liberty is commensurate and inseparable from British soil. The law proclaims even to the stranger and sojourner the moment he sets his foot on British earth that the ground upon which he treads is holy and sacred to the genius of universal emancipation. (Applause)

Implicitly believing in their destiny, armed with the qualities I have merely enumerated, and having principles of Government, probably the best on the whole

that history has revealed, it was inevitable that these people should become the greatest Colonizers of all time; and we are the result of those qualities, we, with the other outlying portions of the Empire, constitute the result of those qualities.

But mark; Britain has not extended her realm in the sense of domination. She has not appeared to rule at all. Her influence in the world has been extended to the far confines of the Globe, simply because she has not ruled in the sense of domination. She learned her lesson once, and she has practiced it ever since. She has ruled because she does not rule; she has ruled by the Law of Liberty; she has ruled the outlying portions by introducing certain principles and certain institutions and allowing her children to work these principles out and these institutions out in new fields on the earth's surface. Now, the Empire—to use a word which might better be replaced by "Commonwealth"—the Empire will endure just so long as through its wide domains these principles are maintained and these institutions are held sacred and glorified. (Applause) It is a bad time to prophesy just now. I said in the House of Commons the other day that no man would want to go into an election at the present time unless he was very fond of adventure. (Laughter) I daresay that Sir William Hearst will give a ready mental assent to that opinion. (Laughter) I have tried to show you that there was no ground for believing that there was decadence in the Old Lands before the war, and not any during the war; how have they done since?

I think there are three things that are remarkable, that will be written down in history as remarkable, in the eighteen months that have elapsed since the armistice. The first of these is the swiftness and despatch with which the Old Country has put her industries on their former standing. (Hear, hear) Four days after the armistice, every British bottom was still engaged in some kind of war work. A month after the armistice every British bottom, that the submarines had left on the surface, was heading out across the four seas to carry England's productions. (Applause) I do not

know whether you will consider the second point a great one, but I think it will be written down in history as much greater than her shipping. There has nothing more remarkable happened on the face of the earth than the efforts made in the Old Land to relieve destitution and suffering among the women and children of our recent foes. (Applause) There is no land to-day where Britain's name stands higher among the rank and file of the people than Austria. I am afraid this continent is too materialistic for you to give a proper amount of applause to what I have just said. I am very, very disappointed. I thought that you would have applauded that enthusiastically. After all, it is a wonderful achievement because it is the working out of the Sermon on the Mount in the life of a Nation. (Applause) Field Marshall Haig made a request a little while ago to the Churches of the Old Land to set apart a certain Sunday for making a collection on behalf of the starving women and children of Austria and there were few if any Churches in the Old Land that did not respond to his appeal. (Hear, hear and applause) So Toronto, the Good, has got to look to her laurels. I do not know that you have had so general a response on the part of the Churches even in Toronto; I am sure I can repeat what Sir Wilfrid Laurier was so fond of saying, that you are the most energetic people in the world in Canada, in Toronto, and the most enthusiastic meeting attenders—and applauders—in the world. (Laughter)

There was a meeting in London the other night with two overflows, attended by 18,000 people, four-fifths of them women, to do, what do you think? To boost the League of Nations. The women of the Old Country are out to keep the peace on the earth, and after all, if women give themselves over to the sacred cause of those of the succeeding generation, there is no end to the good they may do in the world, and there is no end to the solidity of the foundation upon which the world's peace will be built. After all we men did not suffer over the deaths of our dear ones as the women did. The women suffered as only women can suffer. Some people fear their advent into politics, because they will be too manly.

Well, we can stand a little more of women in our politics in Canada without being ready for Kingdom Come. (Laughter) Personally I think that, if that be true, they will clarify and improve some of the worst elements in the mere men in Canada, and that they will improve our Canadian system. (Applause)

The names of Rome, Carthage, Greece, Babylon, all remind us the world is full of decayed civilizations, and history is full of the stories of Empires and their departed glories. Whether the British Empire joins that woeful list or not depends, let me repeat, upon the extent to which we in Canada and our brothers and cousins in the other portions of the Empire work out the ethical principles that I have claimed for the heart of the Empire to-day, and the extent to which we work out those institutions. A great responsibility rests upon your shoulders and upon mine; it is to see to it that we reproduce these various qualities in our own persons, in our own Countries. Then we need have no fear about the permanence of the Empire. She will endure if she deserves to endure; she will extend, and she will only secure that endurance, that stability which we all want her to have, by each Country in the Empire reproducing those qualities and building within its confines a land that may be described as the Old Land was described by the great Poet Laureate of the past generation, when he talked of,

> "A land of settled government
> A land of old and just renown
> Where freedom broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent."

(Loud applause)

VICE-PRESIDENT GILVERSON: Just a line that comes to ones mind after having listened to this thrilling address—

> "England, great and free,
> Heart of the world,
> I leap to thee."

We are happy in having with us to-day, Sir William Hearst who has consented to extend the thanks of this Club to our distinguished visitor.

## SIR WILLIAM HEARST

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—A very great honour indeed has been conferred upon me in asking me to move a vote of thanks to the distinguished speaker who has just addressed us. I am sure we have all been charmed by his eloquence, as we have all been instructed and educated by the information he has imparted to us in such a delightful and pleasant manner. In summing up the many qualifications and attributes of the men of the Old Land, I think there is just one thing he overlooked —the love of the spirit of adventure that has ever characterized the men of the Old Land. I am a Briton, Sir, I have something of the Briton's spirit of adventure; I have had my adventure, and I am a Briton still. (Laughter) I am sure we are always delighted to have Mr. Michael Clark with us. His well-known loyalty, his patriotism, his faith in the great British Empire, ever makes him a welcome guest in this loyal and British City of Toronto. If he required anything more to make him a welcome visitor here, the splendid service and the noble sacrifice of himself and family in the late war give him that claim upon us. He spoke of the talk before the war of the decadence of the British Empire. I do not think that we will ever again hear talk of that character either in the Old Land or in the new.

During all the trying years of the war through which we have passed, the British Empire was a great bulwark of liberty. I believe that, during the trying days of reconstruction through which the world is now passing, the record of Great Britain will be as glorious as it was during the trying days of war. (Applause) It took the war to prove not only to the world but to ourselves the force of the British Empire, and the great and important part the overseas Dominion played in making that force, which the British Empire was able to exercise in that war. It is a great privilege to me to have this opportunity of moving a vote of thanks to you, and to wish you God-Speed in your good work of preaching the gospel of a great British Empire, and the influence it may have in the years that are to come. (Loud applause)

The vote of thanks was carried with enthusiasm.

# INDIA AND THE EMPIRE

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REV. THOMAS CARTER

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, April* 1, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Gentlemen, through circumstances entirely beyond his own control, Dr. Finley almost at the last moment found it impossible to keep his engagement to address the Empire Club to-day. He has promised, and gladly promised, that at a date suitable to us he will fill that engagement a little later. (Applause) I am greatly pleased, however, that we have been able to secure Dr. Carter, who will speak to us on the subject of both India and the Empire—that Empire within an Empire. Dr. Carter, beside the official position which he holds in the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, a very important organization having to do so vitally with some phases of Indian life, has during the whole period of the war served, with very splendid results, as a chaplain in the King George Military Hospital, London, containing 2,000 beds, through which 8,000 soldiers have passed during the time of his service there—Presbyterians, I think he keeps track of particularly, and he is none the worse for that. (Laughter) Of those 8,000 that he had to do with, 3,000 were from Canada, so that he comes to us with a good deal of familiarity, because Canadians may be pretty well known from what they did in the hospital. (Applause) He was also secretary of the Comforts sub-committee of the Indian Soldiers' Fund, and some of you who have youngsters should know that he is the "J. Claverdon Wood" of the "Boys' Own Paper." Any man who has rendered such signal service to the Empire as the Doctor is specially welcome as a guest to the Empire Club, and I have great pleasure in introducing him to you. (Applause)

## REV. DR. THOMAS CARTER

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,*—I little expected that I would have the privilege of addressing this very distinguished assembly, but I welcome the opportunity because in a great city like this—a city which, if you will allow me to say so, is only on the threshold of its greatness—it is a great privilege to meet men of force and influence, and it is one which I prize highly. I do not know that I shall be able in any way to fill the place of Dr. Finley, but at any rate I shall say something, and I shall say that something as an Englishman—(applause) —as one who has an intense love for the Old Country, who rejoices in the fact that she is far from being played out (applause) and who knows perfectly well that no matter how strong you may be in the great natural resources of this wonderful Dominion, in your own power of body and mind and spirit, you can feel absolute confidence that we shall give you a good run for your money, and I believe that we won't be very far from the prize when we come to the end. (Laughter)

I say this is unexpected, so far as I am concerned; but after all, Gentlemen, the unexpected is one of the most interesting phases of the British character. It has given the world some considerable surprises. It seems to be inexhaustible. A very powerful combination of nations expected that, when the first mighty blows of war were struck, the British Empire would reel and be shattered into various weak atoms; and even competent and close observers held strong opinions that the Empire was a conglomeration bound together with a kind of rope of sand, and that the first shrewd blow would break it. These men were wise in their day and generation, and they staked a good deal upon their opinion, and they lost because the unexpected happened. (Hear, hear) The Empire found itself united in a oneness that amazed those who knew it best. The Empire in finding itself, began to know the quality of its enemies and the quality of its sons and daughters, and it was astonished and gratified by the response which came to it from all parts of the world. For the war, and I speak now of Canada,

brought the Old Country and Canada into a better understanding of each other; and we, who used to look at each other largely from the outside and from the remittance-man, (laughter) to-day know each other as we are in our homes, and in that sterling quality of the heart which beats at one in a noble response to great ideals and great ambitions. (Applause)

I say that the new spirit of national and inter-imperial fellowship has opened our eyes, and the old Nation and the new Dominion have realized, amid the horrible clash of war, and will realize yet more clearly amid the activities and successes of peace, the oneness of the race in speech, tradition, ideals, ambitions, loyalty, affections, and even follies. We have to realize that a new Empire was born in the fierce travail of those blood-stained fields of France and Flanders, and that at Vimy and at Passchendaele and other places Britain and Canada realized that they were mother and daughter, or brother and brother, or friend and friend, just as you like it; but the furnace made us one, and we were welded together for ever on the fierce anvil of war. (Applause) Therefore, Gentlemen, I submit to you that, in matters political, commercial, social, and international, when the British Empire is concerned, it is always a safe axiom to look out for and to estimate for the "unexpected." It works out all round.

There is a great Imperial indebtedness in money. Will Britain repudiate her debts? Absurd, on the very face of it; for a nation which went to war and spent eight thousand millions to uphold the integrity of a "Scrap of Paper" is not likely to repudiate any kind of debt. (Loud applause) Therefore, in the payment and discharge of Imperial indebtedness, in the face of a depreciated currency, in the face of possible labour difficulties, in the face of a crippled mercantile marine, of disturbed trade, of world need, of world rivalry—in the face of it all, I say to you, always estimate for the "unexpected." For there is a race—and thank God, we belong to it—which stubbornly refuses to look at the map, though the enemy implores us to do it: "You are beaten! you are beaten! look at the map!"—not a bit of

it; away with the map! this is not the map; this is the actual field; this is the arena of fight for great ideals. We shall look at the map when we are going to rearrange it. (Loud applause) A race which stubbornly refuses to look at the map until its business has been done, and which after all has a straightforward—I speak in the presence of a Bishop—"cussed" honesty about it. (Laughter) In spite of occasional lapses, the British race goes straight to the centre.

Gentlemen, I am now going to speak about the Old Country. Have you realized that that poor old, crippled, worn-out, enervated—all the rest of it—Country has, since November, 1918, returned more than five millions of soldiers and sailors to civil life, and a million and a half of women transferred from munitions to civil pursuits? Have you realized that in less than six months, more than 250 million pounds, or 1,250 million dollars of new capital have been subscribed for industrial enterprises in Britain? Have you realized that over four and a half million tons of food-stuffs were delivered by British ships to France and to Italy in less than twelve months? We speak of our indebtedness to the United States! Do you realize—and what a wonderful people we belong to—do you realize that Britain borrowed fifty million dollars from the United States in order to give them in food to the starving women and children of Austria, the people whom we fought against. Britain went fifty millions of dollars into debt to give bread and food to the women and children of Austria. (Applause) I say, Mr. Chairman, that a nation which can do that, and can do it without saying much about it, (applause) is a nation which has to be reckoned with.

Now, consider this: in the midst of the tremendous chaos and difficulty of reconstruction, when thrones and crowns have tumbled down, and the captains and the kings are departing, if they have not already departed, and when the whole is in unrest and turmoil, this stubborn, cussedly honest Empire sets out on the most stupendous adventure in India. There are three hundred and fifteen millions of people there, and at this time the

Empire is making an attempt to bring new freedom to the people of India. Isn't it amazing? We might have said, "Now, please be quiet, we must have time to turn round; we have only just emerged from four years of the furnace of fire and of blood; we can keep you quiet by force; lie still until we have time to look around." Not a bit of it. Remember what we did after the Boer War, when you think of what we are now doing for India.

And try to think of the immensely difficult business it is; the complex nature of India and its people; 315 millions of people divided into diverse and oftentimes antagonistic races. It is because of the hand of Britain that India knows peace. The Pathan of the North, and the Bengali away there in the East would soon be at daggers drawn, because the Pathan loves a fight and would finish any opponent very quickly; he would simply sweep the subtle, intellectual Bengali out of his path with one thrust of his keen knife. It is the British power, it is the British Raj, that holds India. You tell me India is disturbed. I reply, so is Canada. Wherever there is life, there will be disturbance. Wherever there is growth, you may look for growing pains. If you are going to spoon-feed people forever, you will never create a democracy that can stand; and if you are going to believe in democracy and in the rights of people, then you must open the door, sooner or later, to their advance.

Now in India there are diverse languages, diverse races; English alone is the common medium of communication. There are diverse and antagonistic religions, and the whole of the 315 millions of people are divided into inflexible castes, where a man's destiny is considered to be eternally fixed by Divine decree, where the son must follow his father's profession, where the whole thing is not a matter of commercial adaptability or anything like that, but the belief is that man's condition has been fixed from all time by infinite and divine decree, and, if the man dares to break it, he is thrown out of his caste.

Now, in these people, who have only the most elementary idea of democratic ideals, and have been domin-

ated by the Brahmin and other castes, you are going to develop, or attempt to develop, a system wherein democracy, as we know it in the West, will be allowed to grow, and where, instead of people spoon-fed, you will have men and women who will stand up as men and women of a great Empire. Mr. Chairman, you will agree with me that it is a great scheme. There are many dangers in front of it. It is intended to grow from small to larger. It is intended to spread out until all the masses of India are brought within its sweep. To my mind, its success or failure will lie in the education of the people. A democracy is a danger unless it is a trained one, and a well-trained one. (Hear, hear) All sorts of wildcat ideas come in. Take Bolshevism, which is opposed to everything, and which has its fatal and fundamental error in that it nationalizes the home. Anything which attempts to nationalize the home is going to bring about tragedy; you cannot nationalize the home; what you have to do is train it and make it grow upon the right principles, and it will form its own part of national life; but to try to nationalize a people by abolishing the homes and by abolishing the right of husband and wife and father and child is simply to be rushing upon the road which leads to absolute destruction. (Applause)

Remember that the German enemy is not dead, and he is not sleeping. He has had a tremendous rap on the head and on the knuckles. In the words of a music-hall song, which the Bishop will probably remember, the chorus was, "He don't know where he are!" (Laughter) Now our enemies are knocked out, they are defeated, but they are wide awake, and they hate the British Empire with a hate which has been burned into whiter ferocity because of what has happened. I am a Christian minister, but I believe I am justified in saying that the British Empire has to reckon upon the unsleeping hostility of the militaristic forces which brought about the war, and that those forces are working subtly, cleverly, in propaganda by means of the Bolshevists and others. Any man here, who knows the conditions of the East, knows perfectly well that tons of printed propa-

ganda are being sent right through. Do you remember what the Kaiser said some years ago? I don't want to waste much time about the Kaiser, but I remember I took a note of one of his remarks which he made to Bethmann-Hollweg in July, 1914, when he said, "The whole Moslem world must be incited to a savage uprising against this hated, lying, unscrupulous nation of hucksters"—you, Gentlemen. Now, that has not been forgotten, and you will find that the enemies of the Empire are endeavouring to work through the Russian power by subtle propaganda, and to inflame the excitable people of the East against one another, against the Empire—anything, so long as they may be involved in a common ruin. But the same statemanship and the same calm wisdom which enabled the old Empire to weather the big storm of 1914-1918 will, under God, guide the ship through the shoals and perils of the present day. (Loud applause)

I am sure you in Canada realize the importance of sea-power. Lord Halifax in 1694 said, "The First article of an Englishman's creed must be that he believeth in the sea;" and then he said, "Look to your moat." Well, we have looked to it, and the world knows it; and the challenger to its supremacy lies under the tossing waves of Scapa Flow, (applause) the suicide fleet. Do you remember what Shakespeare said—and here I speak not as a Canadian but as a representative of the finest on God's earth, the English-Scot—you will pardon the conceit—"Be Canadian right out and out, and let Canada be the finest place on God's earth;" that is the spirit. (Hear, hear) "Be British out and out and never be ashamed of it." (Hear, hear)

Well, what does Shakespeare say?—

> That white-faced shore
> Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides,
> And coops from other lands her Islanders.
> England, hedged in with the main,
> That water-walled bulwark, still secure
> And confident from foreign purposes.

Gentlemen, I feel that you in Canada here to-day are very much like those good Elizabethans who, in the spacious days of great Elizabeth, stood upon the thresh-

hold of immense development. If you will allow me to say so, in the Canada of to-day there should be a spirit of light-hearted romance, a spirit of keen intellectual daring, a spirit of confidence and adventure in commerce and in the arts, a spirit of intense national unity. You have a wonderful Dominion, but that Dominion will be as nothing unless it is developed by the strong hands and the stronger hearts and minds of the people who call it their own land. (Loud applause)

Now, I have been a long while coming to India; but may I remind you that after centuries of ignorant mismanagement, misgovernment, tyranny, oppression, the middle East—and distinguish between the middle east and the farther east—the middle East, with all its wonderful potential wealth, its immense economic possibilities, its diverse races—all this has now been thrown open to the impact of a new civilization. Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, all those countries are ready for development, or the beginnings of development, on modern lines. Because of the war, because of the opening of the East so wonderfully, the industrial and commercial life of the world are affected. British responsibilities, the responsibilities of Empire, have been greater and larger; but Britain has always taken a world-view of its responsibilities. (Applause) To be parochially minded is death, and the British Empire has never been parochially minded; it has sought and it has accepted world-wide responsibilities.

Now, it is only the British Empire that looks upon the world in this way, and that is the reason of its world-wide campaigns. Remember, Britain fought for the places in the East—Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Egypt—fought for them, freed them, crushed the enemy and all opposition; and Britain will administer them. (Applause) And in what spirit? Lord Canning many years ago defined what he called the true attitude of the British Foreign Office, and it is very interesting to remember what Lord Canning said, and to follow the policy of, say, Sir Edward Grey, in these days of crises and difficulty. Now, this is what Lord Canning said: The true attitude of a British Foreign Office should be,

"respect for the faith of treaties; respect for the independence of nations; respect for the established line of policy known as the balance of power; and last, but not least, respect for the honour and interests of this Country." That is the British Foreign Office policy. Now, what underlies it? An administration which, in the main, is generous, is honest, is fair, is straight-forward; it is practical, it is kindly. Take it in India: take it in Turkey. What does Turkey need to-day? I will tell you what Turkey wants to-day—a fair, square, straight-forward government which will sweep away all political abuses, all bribery, all corruption, and will say, when massacres or anything else are on the carpet, "By the grace of God this thing shall stop, and if it does not stop, well, we will start in." That is what Turkey needs.

Take the Moslem world, which has a common faith and common philosophy, but which has very little unity; which is divided into the bitterest sects and factions. Will the Mohammedan world rise if the Sultan is bundled out of Constantinople? Yes, say some; no, say others, because the Mohammedan who fought loyally against the Turks in the war is possibly not quite of that kind which would see, in the moving of the Sultan, a deadly menace to his faith. Here is an interesting fact to remember. The sacred places of the Moslem world have been delivered by the hands of British soldiers; Mecca, the holy place, by British soldiers; Jerusalem, by British and Indian soldiers. Cairo, by British and Indian soldiers. You find this, that while the Mohammedan is being incited by subtle propaganda against the British power, he cannot look upon a single holy place of his religion without being reminded that he owes them and their maintenance to the British power. (Applause)

We are getting to India. Think of the Bagdad railway which is going, from Constantinople to Aleppo, some 850 miles; then to Jerablus on the Euphrates; thence to Mosul on the Tigris; thence to Bagdad, in all about 650 miles; and then on to Persia, across Baluchistan to Quetta, and before very long you will find that we can get to India in fourteen days by rail from London.

Now come to India; and will you let me say here that I believe that in the kind of work in which I am closely engaged lies probably the best solution of the difficulties and the dangers of India. I believe that one missionary is worth more than a battalion, and that a missionary society is worth more than a fleet; and that, if you are going to move a people profoundly, and in the right direction, you will do it by laying your hand sympathetically and kindly upon the home. If you can train the children, if you can be the friend of the women —for after all the women, whether behind the curtain or in front of it, have the destinies of the race in their hands; and when you think of our opportunities in the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, which has four hundred women workers in schools and hospitals and homes and villages, and when you have, as we have, a welcome in every home, and a "God-speed you; come back soon" when you leave it, you are going to influence the people for good. (Applause) You sometimes hear it said that men don't care a great deal about foreign missions. Now, that is true only on the surface. A man cares a great deal about foreign missions if you put them on the right plane. Point out to him that there are 400 millions of pagans in China and 315 millions of pagans in India, that the whole world is all the while on the move, and that you cannot keep those people out, and he will have a mighty objection to the pagan coming in. There would be little hosility to the Indian as an Indian or a Chinaman as a Chinaman, but the objection arises when a pagan intrusion is made upon a civilization which is based upon Christian principles and ideals. You must depaganize China and India if you are going to have any close intercourse with these people and races. (Applause)

I hope you will follow, with sincere and prayerful interest, that far-Eastern portion of the British Empire, India, so wonderful, so attractive, so full of interesting problems and wonderful possibilities, which is part with us in the Empire, and that in your interest you will remember those struggling missionary administrators who, in these days of adverse currency, have an added

burden upon their work—for the rupee which in pre-war days cost us £1 /4 now cost us £2 /8. The adverse currency adds a yearly burden of seventy-five thousand dollars to this Interdenominational Gospel and Humanitarian work and when you think of it it will be I hope sympathetically and prayerfully.

I thank you for this opportunity of meeting so distinguished an assembly. I value it highly, and I am exceedingly grateful to you for giving me the opportunity of coming. (Loud applause)

The President expressed the thanks of the members and their grateful appreciation of the Doctor's kindness in coming so opportunely to the aid of the Club.

# THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA TO-DAY

## AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. MARK SHELDON

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, April* 8, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speaker, said,—Gentlemen, any representative citizen of the Commonwealth of Australia visiting our city will at all times be very welcome at the Empire Club. When we are honoured with an official representative of Australia, it gives us infinite pleasure and satisfaction. We are very glad to have the opportunity of showing our admiration for the noble part which Australia displayed during the war. We are proud for the efforts she made. I don't think I quite agree with the man who lost his ideas of democracy because Russia came first and Australia second. (Laughter) I leave that to Mr. Sheldon to deal with.

Mr. Sheldon is the Commissioner for Australia in the United States, and he has come to-day with a real message about Australia. No matter how much we think we know about Australia, it is not enough at the present time, and it is very important that we should take advantage of every opportunity of learning all about that great country. I am glad to see that this gathering, so markedly representative of industry and commerce and finance—this Empire Club—is anxiously waiting to receive Mr. Sheldon with open arms. (Applause)

Mr. Sheldon was received with prolonged cheering, intermingled with the cry of "Coo-ee" by several members of the Club.

### MR. MARK SHELDON

*Gentlemen of the Empire Club,*—I am an Australian, and I know what that cry means. I notice, in a little

pamphlet that has been put out with the object of boosting me, some remarks that are not quite true. It says that Mark Sheldon is a speaker of more than ordinary ability. Gentlemen, Sheldon never made a speech in his life before (laughter) he left Australia six months ago. However, in being here to-day, Gentlemen, I cannot tell you how much I appreciate meeting you members of our common Empire. It is a long time—six or eight months—since I had the pleasure of meeting a body of men like you.

Before getting on to the subject to-day perhaps a little general description of Australia will be necessary and I am afraid that you, like your cousins across the line, know very little about it, except that the inhabitants are a very pugnacious lot. (Laughter)

First of all, I must tell you something about the traditions and history of Australia, and what Australians are trying to achieve. Australia is a country of three million square miles with about twelve thousand miles of a coast line, and situated away from any other white people; the nearest are the people of the United States. South Africa on the other side is a little bit further away from Western Australia. One-third of the country is in the tropics, and the other portion has what you might call a very temperate climate, perhaps the best climate in the world. But the tropical climate of Australia is not what you might call very enervating. The large coast line and the breezes that come up make the tropical part of Australia different from other tropical parts of the world. When you go south to Melbourne or Victoria, you do not get any severe climate there; in fact frost is unknown. Another feature about Australia is that the farmers do not need to house their stock at all. I have never seen them do it, and I have travelled over the length and breadth of Australia. Another striking feature about Australia is that the labouring man works all the year round in the open without intermission; he has no need to have a heavy top coat or warm gloves; he has no need for a fur coat. In fact, as you know, we send our furs to you and the United States—our beautiful rabbit skins. (Laughter)

The population of Australia is only five million people, of whom ninety-five per cent. are either Australians born of British parents or British immigrants. (Applause) A very important fact to remember is that we are the most homogeneous people in the world, outside of the older European countries. Another point, which is rather extraordinary for this far-off land, is the literacy of the people; the want of education is at a minimum. There is only one-half of one per cent. of the people who cannot read or write. (Applause) That, I think, is something to be proud about. Then again Australia is a country always spoken of as suffering from severe droughts. But remember the size of the country. While we may have a drought in one part, we have what is called a rainy season in another. In some parts we have a very great rainfall. The rainfall in Sydney is higher than the rainfall in New York. The rainfall in Queensland goes as high as eighty to one hundred inches in the year. That is where the sugar comes from.

Now about the Constitution of Australia. Australia, as you know, was discovered by Captain Cook about one hundred and fifty years ago. The first white inhabitants landed in 1788, long after this country was discovered. At that time there were sent out about a thousand people, convicts from the Old Country. It was about the time of the revolution in the United States. In 1823 the first Responsible Government was established—by Responsible Government I mean Government by the people. This Representative Government and Constitution was established in the State of New South Wales. In 1900 the Commonwealth of Australia was created by the federation of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. These States handle all their own domestic affairs. The Constitution (Federal) provides the right to appeal to the Privy Council for certain cases, and this has been very beneficial. (Applause) The Constitution of Australia is framed largely after that of the United States, that is in the relation of the States to the Federal Government. On the other hand, the Administration lies with the Legislature in much the same way as in this country. The Gov-

ernor General acts in much the same capacity in Australia as in Canada. In the interpretation of the Australian Constitution, there is no appeal from the Australian High Court. The High Court of Australia is like the Supreme Court of the United States which interprets the Constitution if there is any dispute in the matter.

In Australia we have universal suffrage; we have had Woman Suffrage in all the States from the time of the Federal Constitution in 1900. We also have the Referendum. In any great point that concerns all the people, they take a referendum and the whole people vote on the subject. The Senate is a body elected for the whole of the States by the representatives of the States who vote as a whole, and as time has gone on, it has turned into a conservative body. For instance, in the last election, which took place in December, the Labour Party had twenty-five representatives in the Lowest House, and I think it held about twenty-two or twenty-three seats out of about seventy-three in the previous Parliament, that is, on the direct labour ticket. In the Upper House (the Senate) they only got one man out of thirty-six in the recent election. Some of the States go in for very progressive legislation, especially the State of Queensland.

The question of Labour as a political body dates back to the year 1890. At that time the great maritime strike had tied up Australia for two or three months. I remember it well. The Labour Unions were beaten very badly. Well, they went away and pondered over the matter, and decided that from that day forward they would enter the Legislature, to amend their difficulties and improve their conditions. In 1893 they got into the State Parliament of New South Wales in considerable strength, and some years afterwards they became the dominant party and held office until the year 1914, until the War started. And remember this, when the War started the Federal Labour Party was in power, and it was that Party who prompted Australia to support the British Empire in the prosecution of the War. The saying, "The last man and the last shilling," was originally made by Mr. Andrew Fisher, at that time Prime Minister, a labour man.

Now what legislation had they introduced? They

introduced what is known as the Land Tax, the purpose of which is the breaking up of big estates. This was looked upon by the grazers as a great hardship. This Act meant that it was going to make it impossible for a man to hold up large areas of land for grazing purposes which were suitable for agriculture. After awhile legislation came in and the tax they proposed as a maximum was a graduated one—a maximum of two and a half per cent. of the unimproved value of the land. Gentlemen, that tax has never been removed although the Labour Party is now out of power. It breaks up the big estates and tends to more settlement on the land.

Another feature of the legislation is what is known as the Commonwealth Bank. When that Bank had been established, they did not indulge in any extravagant method. I mention these facts to you because you will find that, if the time ever comes in this country when the Labour Party assumes power, it cannot hold that power three months unless it uses it with discretion and realizes its responsibilities as our men have done. (Applause)

Another important feature that the Labour Party introduced to Australia, and which may seem rather startling to you, is the Compulsory Military Service Act of 1908. I think a short description of this Military Service Act would not be of any harm. A boy from twelve to fourteen years of age joins what is known as the Cadets and he goes in for physical training, which helps to develop his physique. He is trained only fifteen minutes each school day in the ordinary exercises. He is taught to swim, box, run and other healthy pastimes. From the period of fourteen to eighteen the boy is taught to march, the handling of arms, musketry, physical training, section and platoon drill, and extended order drill if he belongs to a school. Most of the boys also go through the battalion drill once or twice a year. From the period of eighteen to twenty-six years he has to go to camp for seventeen days each year in such corps as the artillery, and field telegraphy, or if in any other branch, for eight days. This was all introduced by the Labour Party, and you can see the result by what the Australian troops did in the late war. (Applause)

Let me refer for a moment to what the result was. Australia, as I have told you, has a population of only five million people. The enlistments during the war were a little over four hundred thousand, or about one in every twelve inhabitants. Australia had approximately three hundred and sixty thousand men in the field. Just imagine the getting of those troops there. Remember, the voyage was one of about 16,000 miles; it took some of them seven weeks, others three months. Unfortunately, the casualties were very heavy—60,000 out of 360,000; one in every six never returned. There is many a sorrowing home in Australia to-day; many a sorrowing family mourns for the one who will never return. Eight of every nine men suffered casualties, some more than once or twice. They fought in many fields; they fought in Gallipoli, Palestine, France, anywhere at all. I have seen young men who have been in as many as seventy or eighty engagements, boys of twenty-two or twenty-three. I don't think Australia has any reason to be ashamed. (Applause)

I am now going to say something about the conscription vote. It seems, at this date, rather a farce to have had conscription at all, because I don't know where they were going to get many more men. We took the referendum on conscription in Australia twice, the first time in 1916. The vote was a million in favour of it and a vote of a million and fifty thousand against it—a difference of only five per cent. Fifteen months later a vote was taken again but without success. The women, you must remember, have the vote there, and it was the women who defeated the bill. Many of them said, "I have lost a son; how can I send another woman's son to his death!" But, as I have already told you, it did not matter much because, at the outside, Australia could not have raised any more than another 25,000 men of the eligible age.

The total Federal debt is one and three-quarter billion dollars, and eighty-five per cent. of it has been raised in Australia (applause) and not by any undue inflation of the currency. We have a system much as you have here. The Federal Treasury issues notes, and the out-

standing notes to-day are somewhere about £52,000,000 sterling. As against this the Federal Government itself holds a gold reserve of forty-four per cent. In addition to this the Banks hold a similar amount, so that in the country there is practically a sovereign for every pound note issued. (Applause) The debts of the six States are very large; they amount to about two billions of dollars. That is a big amount but the debts are well secured as the States practically owns all the railroads, waterworks, and the harbour works. Sixty-three per cent. of the State debt is represented in these railroads, and I venture to say that the railroads, if sold to-day, would pay the whole debt of the state. By the way I might state that a very large number of Australians have a Savings Bank Account. Some have more than one. As a very conservative estimate, one out of every two has a Savings Bank Account and I think that there is something like $210 as the average of each account. (Applause) If you take Savings Banks deposits and the deposits in the issuing Banks together, the latest figures show that each inhabitant has on an average $350.00 on deposit.

Our occupation is primarily grazing. We have about ninety million sheep, about twelve million head of cattle, and two and a half million horses. But, although grazing has always been the great occupation, farming is now coming up very fast. To-day there are about sixteen millions of acres under various crops; the wheat yield for the previous year was something like 155 million bushels. But we did not get the same price for wheat in Australia that you managed to get in this great country. Further, remember, Australia did not make a cent out of the War. We had enormous quantities of wheat stocked up but could not get it away—our isolated position was a very great factor. During the War the highest price we got for that wheat was one dollar and a quarter. Take the price of wheat and wool to-day as compared to the price we were getting during the war, and the difference in that price would clear the whole Federal debt in five years.

Our exports and imports are in a very favourable posi-

tion to-day. We had last year a surplus of exports of $70,000,000. The first six months of the financial year show that our exports were $350,000,000, and there is not the slightest doubt that it will be $700,000,000 when the year is out. Our imports on the other hand are falling behind, contributed to by exchange difficulties. They amounted to only $190,000,000 for the half year.

There are one or two features in our legislation which I would like to refer to. The first is our Immigration Law—a white Australian policy. We have deliberately made our immigration laws very strict. We are opposed to coloured people whether black or yellow. On this point our policy is inflexible. We are against letting in certain Asiatic races. This policy perhaps has retarded the development of the country, but we must guard the present for the sake of the future. (Applause) Look at our geographical condition. We are practically isolated from the rest of the world. If we were to let these people come in, in a decade or two the white population would be out-numbered. Our standard of living would be reduced, and at present our people on the average have the highest standard in the world. We, like our sister dominion New Zealand, have no people other than the Anglo-Saxon stock.

And now to come to another point. There is the Arbitration Act which has been introduced into the various states. Arbitration, as Arbitration, has not been a success. I say that deliberately. It never will be a success while human nature remains what it is. Reflect for a moment and you will see what I mean. You cannot compel a man to work. No law of man that was ever made will make a man work if he does not want to. I think, personally, it is not fair play to compel a man to work if he does not like the work or the remuneration. To-day we have what is known as the Basic Wage—a wage for the unskilled labourer which will support him and his wife and family. We believe a man should get what is a straight, fair, and living wage.

I would just like to refer to one other feature of Australian life, and that is Crime. Crime I am glad to say is decreasing amongst our people. We have

adopted more humane methods towards criminals. Many of our jails have been closed up, although we have been getting more people. We have jails for first offenders, jails for the man who has been convicted before but for whom there is some hope, and jails for the incorrigibles. A man when he goes to jail is taught some useful occupation—not merely an occupation to keep him out of mischief—but something that will be of use to him in after life. In many cases offenders have been taken away out into the country and given a tent or a hut and supplied with necessaries. The results have been wonderful. The number of reclamations of these unfortunate people have been extraordinary. In this connection, there is yet another phase I would like to touch upon. You know that crime is mostly associated with disease. We have a law that any man who gets a penalty of six months imprisonment, if he is suffering from certain diseases, is not released at the end of that period, but is kept in jail until he is cured.

I suppose you know that Australians excel in sport. I suppose you do. (Laughter) If there is any game you have got here that we do not know of, we would like to try it. We would take you on at hockey if you brought your ice. (Laughter) We would give you whiskey in exchange. (More laughter) The Australian loves the open out-door life. Australian footballers can hold their own with those of the United Kingdom. We have beaten them time after time. We can play tennis, too, for as you know we hold the Davis Cup Championship. I hope Canada will come next year and try to lift it.

I have tried to give you, in a short description, some slight idea of our life. There are many points I could have elaborated had I more time. In conclusion let me say that there is no more loyal member of the British Empire than the Commonwealth of Australia.

## MR. LLOYD HARRIS

*Mr. Chairman, Mr. Sheldon, and Gentlemen,*—I am sure you have all enjoyed, as I have enjoyed, the infor-

mation given to us about Australia—the conditions, the financial position, and the great commercial possibilities. I think Mr. Sheldon and I have bonds in common. He is now allocated to Washington as the representative of the great Commonwealth of Australia. I think, however, that I had the privilege of being the first representative of this country, as I was called to Washington on behalf of the Canadian Government during the war. I am hoping to have an opportunity of swapping experiences with Mr. Sheldon. (Laughter)

I was particularly struck with one of the first remarks made by him which was, to the effect, that they in Australia and we in Canada know little about each other, or about the two countries. This was a fact strongly impressed upon my mind after reaching England where I spent over a year immediately following the War. I was sent to the United Kingdom for the purpose of investigating and studying trade conditions throughout the world which would be to the advantage and the benefit of Canada. I spent some time looking over the European situation, and as I got on with my work, I was more and more impressed every day at the great possibilities of trade for Canada within the British Empire. Last year, during the early part of the year, after the Peace Conference met in Paris, I had the privilege and the opportunity of spending every alternate week in Paris and living in the same hotel as the other British delegates. It gave me the opportunity of meeting the representatives of the various governments of the British Empire, including Mr. Hughes when Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Seddon, Mr. Louis Botha at that time Prime Minister of South Africa, and Mr. Massey of New Zealand. We discussed the interchange of trade and I became very enthusiastic about developing the trade possibilities within the British Empire—in an informal way of course. (Laughter) I suggested that the greatest thing that could happen to the British Empire and to ourselves (whether or not it would be possible) would be free trade between Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. I think this proposition was accept-

ed with a good deal of enthusiasm on the part of those with whom I discussed it. I am hoping this afternoon to have a talk with Mr. Sheldon along these lines—informally. (Laughter) One thing I found, as the result of my experience in Great Britain last year, was how little we knew of the British Empire. We in Canada know comparatively little of our own country; we are altogether too provincial and local in our views.

We have every resource in the Empire, everything that is necessary to connect and to provide the links between the various parts of the Empire. The Empire has the various means of transportation and trade channels, and all that is needed is the means to link them up. This is not a business for politicians to think over and discuss and try to make out schemes of development; it is for the people to get a picture of the whole situation, and then go to the government and say this is what is needed to bind and hold the British Empire as it ought to be.

I am not going to detain you any longer; I know I have voiced the feelings of all of you to-day. I think you will agree with me that we have to get together and work out this Empire proposition, not as a Canadian proposition, not as an Australian proposition, but how best to bring this great and glorious British Empire together more closely, and allied in such a way as to make it the greatest league of nations in the world. (Loud applause)

# SALUBRITIES I HAVE MET

## An Address delivered by MR. JOHN KENDRICK BANGS

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Monday, April* 19, 1920

(This was "Ladies' Night," and the programme included, in addition to the address, violin solos by Frank Blachford and singing by Frank OldField and Arthur Blight. There was a very large audience.)

President Hewitt in introducing the speaker, said,—Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great privilege to-night for the President of the Empire Club to be able to welcome the Lady members of the Club. (Applause) You will remember that on the last occasion when this privilege was offered me, Dr. VanDyke was the speaker of the day. To-night we are to have another distinguished American in the person of Mr. John Kendrick Bangs. (Applause) This applause is not for Mr. Bangs, Ladies and Gentlemen—you cheered a little too soon; this is one for the discriminating sense of the Executive of the Empire Club in knowing when to invite the ladies. (Laughter) If you, Ladies, were to see the tired business men listening to some philosophic discourse in the middle of the day, you certainly would feel sorry for them, (laughter) we do not invite the ladies on those days. Mr. Bangs is well known to most of you in spirit; I shall only have to introduce him in the flesh to-night. He could speak to us long and learnedly on almost any philosophic subject that might be suggested, such has been his experience and such his preparation for his life's work; but the Executive of the Empire Club rather insisted that, as we are under some strain and stress in these days in meeting our daily

duties and striving to do some little, as maybe, for the common weal, we would like to have something in a lighter vein; so to-night Mr. Bangs has promised that it shall be so arranged. (Applause)

However, I am not going to lose this opportunity of saying a word or two with regard to the Empire Club and its objectives; because, Ladies, we need your support quite as much as we need the support of the men. It was shown during the war, and in connection with all the problems of the war, that the women were the best men. (Hear, hear) The problems of peace are greater than those of war. Ladies and Gentlemen, we are just beginning to realize it. (Hear, hear) The Empire Club stands for a United British Empire. (Applause) It stands for the closest possible friendship that can be gotten between the English-speaking nations of the world. It stands for peace and righteousness, and it is going to get it even if it has to fight for it. (Applause) It is not a mere incident nor by mere chance that those celebrated men—those well-known men from the various countries of the world, from the Empire as well as from the United States—are brought here. We do not merely carry on a lecture bureau so that those men may come and talk to us from week to week; we see our serious duty, and we are trying to prepare ourselves for it from day to day. The success of the Empire does not depend on the big things the Government do from day to day; it depends on the little things you and I do from day to day. (Hear, hear) I want to read a few lines that express, in far better language than I can, what I wish to say, and I believe that you will appreciate with me the sentiments that are expressed in these few lines:—

Oh, we've got to pull together when the work of war is done,
For the truth that is triumphant and the peace that we have won;
We may let down just a little from the striving and the strain:
But, as soon as we have rested, we must go to work again.

Oh, we've got to pull together for the bigger, better day;
There are problems grave before us, there are doubts to clear
away;

We have fought for right and justice: now we've got to make it plain
By the manner of our living that we haven't fought in vain.

We have triumphed o'er the tyrant, we have made his cannons cease,
We have fought for human freedom and a just and righteous peace;
Oh, our tasks are uncompleted; we must prove by all we are,
That we served no selfish purpose when we sent our boys afar.

We have sacrificed for freedom, side by side to death we've stood;
Now we still must stand together for our Nation's greater good.
There are many tasks before us, we shall all be sorely tried:
We must live the peace and justice for which every soldier died.

As I have said, Mr. Bangs is well known to you. He tells me, sitting on my right, that he has met more people in Toronto who told him that they knew him in spirit and read his books than in any other single place he has been in. That speaks well for Toronto. (Hear, hear) When Mr. Bangs consented to come and address us at our meeting to-night, it seemed to be very easy. We got a favourable answer to our invitation with almost no trouble; and when he arrived in Toronto we learned the reason. But I am going to let him tell you that reason himself, because he can tell it far better than I can. Mr. Bangs, as you know, has a keen sense of humour. He would like to know if there are any Scotchmen here, I think, (laughter) because, from what a friend of ours told us the other night, if a Scotchman thought he had any sense of humour he would crucify it. It is said that a small political meeting was being held in Scotland, and when the candidate for office had addressed the audience and completed his speech, the Chairman, a real Scot, said, "Is there any person present would like to speir a question of the candidate?" A man from the far end of the room came up, and instead of "speiring" the question found fault with him and denounced him. A supporter of the speaker, in the front ranks, got up and laid the opponent flat, and upset the proceedings for a time. As they carried out the wounded man, the Chairman without the slightest evidence of anything peculiar in his manner, said, "Is

there any other person who would like to spier the candidate?" (Great laughter). Mr. Bangs, there are no Scotchmen present. Our guest has spoken in 42 States during the past year, to between 250,000 and 300,000 people. He can tell you about some things for himself, but I want to say that, when a distinguished person like Mr. Bangs comes to address us on an occasion like this, it is a very great pleasure indeed for the Executive Committee to be able to introduce him to the audience. (Applause) I have asked Mr. Bangs, as a personal favour, to make one or two personal references at the beginning. This, I am sure he would hesitate to do if the pressure had not been put upon him, and when he makes them I think you will be able to understand why that pressure was applied.

## MR. JOHN KENDRICK BANGS

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,—*

I am not among those Americans who consider that the British mind is obtuse when it comes to an appreciation of humour, and I should never have thought that there was anything obtuse about the President of this Club (laughter) but I did not ask him if there were any Scotchmen present; I asked him if he had any Scotch (great laughter, renewed) and I am going to give him the next two hours to see the point. (Laughter) That was altogether one of the most gracious identifications of the remains that I ever listened to (laughter) and it was a great pleasure to me that your charming President did not go into any of the notorious details of my criminal career, because in the past six or eight months I have been positively inflicted by Chairmen and Chairladies in all parts of the United States of America and in France, and in a certain portion of the occupied section of Germany, who, obsessed by the great and more important affairs of the hour, have not taken the trouble before going out on the platform with me to acquaint themselves with any degree of detail as to any of the items of my career. The result has

been that I have been held responsible for pretty nearly every published work in fiction, from Foxe's Book of Martyrs down to the contents of Hearst's newspapers,—(great laughter)—with sometimes very embarrassing results. How embarrassing that sort of thing might have been at times, I can perhaps best convey to your minds by telling you of a little incident that occurred some three or four years ago, when I found myself on a beautiful Easter Sunday morning in the little village of Riverside in Southern California, where I had gone to attend the very beautiful Easter ceremonials which they hold annually there upon the summit of Mount Robideaux. At the conclusion of that ceremonial, I found myself so tremendously exhausted emotionally that I repaired to the Mission Inn, and while seated in the office, in one of the arm chairs, gazing out upon the lovely mountains abroad, I became conscious of an intrusion on my silence by two eyes of the most beautiful created and charming thing, and I found that those two beautiful brown eyes were fixed intently upon me—not an unusual experience, but always thrilling. (Great laughter) In response to the implied interest in the lady's gaze I rose up, and although I was born in the United States of America, my friends, I have been trained—(laughter)—and I knew enough not to address a lady to whom I had not been properly introduced—that is the reason they have invited the ladies here this evening.

I stood there in that embarrassed silence, which she proceeded to break. "You will excuse me for intruding upon you, but your face bothers me." (Laughter) I said, "I am very sorry to hear that, my dear young woman; it has bothered me for the last fifty-four years." (Laughter) She said, "I don't mean that in the same sense that you do; I mean, I cannot place it." "Well," said I, "You need not worry about that, because as a matter of fact you don't have to place it; that face is already located" (laughter)—and I fear, with a certain degree of prominence; (laughter) if it were not so, you don't suppose I would have brought a face like this all the way from Maine to California with me?" (Laughter) She said, "You don't quite catch my

meaning; what I mean is, that I don't know where I have seen it before." "Well," I said, "In stating your problem you have advanced its solution; that is exactly where I carry my face—before. I am one of those rare individuals to whom the messages of the President of the United States referred as a 'forward-looking person.'" (Laughter) She said, "I am afraid you are a very frivolous person, because you have not helped me in the slightest degree; my problem is—but you know—when I saw the face I thought I should know the name that would go with it. No matter how simple it is, it worries me, and I keep awake wondering who he is, what has he done, why should his face be familiar to me?" "Well," I said, "I am perfectly willing to tell you who I am; Bangs, John Kendrick Bangs." She held up both of her hands and said, "I should have known instinctively who you are; I have always taken such supreme comfort and pleasure from that charming little classic of yours, 'Three Men in a Boat.'" (Great laughter)

But, my friends, that was not the most embarrassing part of it. The most embarrassing part came the following morning when that charming young woman, prior to her departure to the East, brought me a copy of Jerome K. Jerome's book and said, "Mr. Bangs, I shall not be quite happy until I have the author's autograph." It was then with tact, and consideration for the lady's feelings, that I wondered whether I should be guilty of the crime of forgery; but, finally, I enquired her name and inscribed, "With the everlastingly affectionate regards of your dear friend, Jerome K. Jerome." (Laughter) I trust you will regard that story as told you in the strictest confidence; I have not told it to more than three or four hundred thousand people in the last five years, and I should hate to have it go any further. I don't wish Mr. Jerome to discover how I have trifled with his good name. (Laughter)

The personal remarks which your charming President has made may perhaps weaken the force of some things that I am going to try to say to you to-night, but I am not so far away from home when I am in Canada. (Hear, hear) There are one or two things which, if

your President had really known anything about me—(laughter)—he might have included in this wonderfully non-commital address of his. (Laughter) He might have told you that one of the greatest books of poems that ever came out of Canada was published under my supervision; and I have never ceased to be proud of the day when I succeeded in procuring the publication in the City of New York of "The Habitant" by Dr. Drummond. (Loud applause) Among the treasures which I guard on my library shelves is the copy No. 1 of the limited edition of that beautiful series of poems of Canadian life.

The second thing is that I am not at all surprised to find here in Canada such large groups of fine forward-looking, upstanding-character men and women. Why should there not be, when back in 1814 the highest ideals of the Christian Religion were brought into Canada by Nathan Bangs, the grandfather of your present speaker? (Applause) As I look around me and see the fruits of my grandfather's work—(laughter)—I congratulate myself upon the high pre-natal intelligence which caused me to pick him out. (Laughter)

But the third reason which makes me feel more at home in Canada than a great many of those who come to you from across the border, and which may serve to weaken the sense of high affection and regard which, as an American citizen, I have always had for the citizens of Canada, is the thought that while my grandfather brought you the inestimable boon and high moral character, Canada gave me an inestimable boon of the kind of a grandmother who makes the best kind of an American citizen if she only lives up to her ideals and principles. (Hear, hear and applause) One of the things which Nathan Bangs took back with him from Canada into the United States of America was a Canadian woman who became the grandmother of the speaker who stands before you to-night. (Applause) I have come to you more or less in the guise of a prodigal son, and am waiting for that ring which is to be placed upon my finger. (Laughter)

I must confess, Ladies and Gentlemen, that when I

first promised to come before this organization, I promised really to come and speak for fifteen or twenty minutes at the luncheon; and I was filled with serious reflections which I felt it was quite necessary for a citizen from the other side of the border to bring into this land. But I have promised not to be serious to-night, and I have been wondering what it would be that I would talk to you about. I concluded that I would give you, in somewhat modified form, some of my impressions of men of power whom I have had the rare privilege of coming in contact with in the past fifteen or twenty years of a very active editorial life, which has confirmed me in the optimistic impression I have always had that the measure of a man's greatness is his unselfishness. (Hear, hear and applause)

A great many years ago I found myself in a little City called Billingham, in the northern part of the State of Washington, not very far from the Vancouver line. Upon my arrival in that town I picked up an evening paper and found that I was to lecture upon the subject, "Salubrities I have met." (Laughter) I had never promised to lecture upon that subject. I did not know then what a salubrity was, and I don't know that I shall be able to convince you to-night that I know what a salubrity is. All I know is that when I first reached Billingham and picked up that evening paper, there was the title of my lecture—"Salubrities I have met." I immediately rang up the Chairman of the Lecture Committee and asked him where on earth he had ever found such a horrible subject as that. He had got me mixed up with a man who was to talk in several weeks on celebrities he had met, and the printer had done the rest. "But," he said, "I have been hoping all afternoon that you would know what a salubrity was, for, while we are neither a raw nor a red community, we are sometimes vigorous in our treatment of those who don't do what they are advertised to do, and my advice to you is that, if you would desire everything to end comfortably and pleasantly, you will lecture on 'Salubrities I have met' if you can possibly get away with it." So, being desirous of leaving town by the ordinary means of trans-

port which a sick man chooses in preference to the monorail system which they might choose to operate with an unsatisfactory speaker, I talked for an hour and a half about "Salubrities I had met."

I showed that every individual is either a salubrity or a celebrity. If he be a salubrity, and have the qualities of salubrities that constitute him a salubrity, he may consider himself a salubrity, and the fact of his being a celebrity has nothing whatever to do with it. (Laughter) If, on the other hand, he be a celebrity and lack the quality of salubrity, he may not consider himself a salubrity in spite of his celebrity. I said, "Now that I have made that definitely clear to your minds, I am going to tell you about some salubrities I have met." Then came a murmur from the rear rows, that surely convinced me, that if I sought to leave that town without any fuss—and better still without any feathers—it were just as well that I should be a little more explicit in my definitions; so I gave them two stories out of my own personal and professional experience dealing with the two types of individual.

The first story I gave to show a salubrity was once referred to by the late lamented King Edward VII as a man who is half English, half American, and wholly undesirable.

I trust you will mark my prophecy that in the very near future there is a very fair chance that Mr. David Lloyd George, should he decide for one reason or another to step to one side, will occupy a very high official position in the public life of Great Britain, because the British public, as undoubtedly do we of the United States of America, owe him a deep debt of gratitude for the high state of preparedness in which your magnificent Navy was found at the outbreak of this war—without whose instrumentality this war would have been lost at the beginning—an instrumentality which, as an American, I rejoice to see has protected the liberties of all the grandest men of all this beautiful earth. (Applause)

Gentlemen, at that time your Chief Lord of the British Admiralty was a gentleman named Winston Spencer Churchill. He must not be confounded with

our Winston Churchill, who is a salubrity of the highest order. (Laughter) Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill of London discovered that he carried in the back of his head all knowledge that ever has been in the world, all the knowledge there was in the world to come, with a few important things that had not yet occurred to the Creator himself, and he decided to come to the United States of America and lecture to the people of my benighted land upon such subjects as he felt, without his intervention on our behalf, we should know nothing of. His Manager in New York, Major Pond, in order to give his first appearance greater distinction, invited all the notorious characters of New York, who were not at that time under indictment by the Grand Jury, to come and serve as a reception committee. There were just a hundred of us at that time, acting under the Major, Mark Twain, Andrew Carnegie and Bishop Potter. We all gathered at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel to see that Mr. Churchill was properly launched on the American waters.

On that occasion Churchill developed qualities as a hand-shaker that would have made him supreme in all the political parties we have had. He would seize the nearest New Yorker and pull him along and thrust him over on the other side; and so rapidly did he do this that, in seven and a half minutes, he had shaken hands with the whole hundred of us, and the reception, which was designed to last for an hour, was over in ten minutes. As I came on he grabbed my little finger and the fourth finger and the middle finger, and with Mr. Churchill's pressure I was projected like a bomb from a catapult, to land upon the form of Andrew Carnegie, who was cowering in one corner of the room. Major Pond came to me and said, "You are the youngest man in this room; can you do anything to break up this ice and save this situation for me?" I said, "Major, I am afraid I can't break any such ice as this; I am freezing myself; I feel very much as Dr. Cook must have felt when he discovered that he had not discovered the North Pole." I said, "What do you want me to do?" He said, "Go up and meet Churchill." I said, "What, again?" He said,

"Yes, you have been there once, and you will know how to go there and meet him the second time." So we came to where Churchill was studying the autographs on the wall, and he said, "What is it?" Major Pond said, "I want to introduce Mr. Bangs, Editor of Harper's Weekly." I stood forward and held out my hand, but recognizing me, Churchill withdrew his hand abruptly and said, very impertinently, "I have shaken hands with you once already." I said, "Well, Mr. Churchill, I have come back to get your thumb and forefinger." (Great laughter) But did I get them, Ladies and Gentlemen? I regret to say that I did not. Churchill turned away from me and began again to study those autographs on the wall; and I got as fine a view of a human back as any living creature has had since the days when Adam and Eve went out from the Garden and left the serpent behind them.

Mr. Churchill was of fifty-seven varieties of your highest type of a true celebrity, but, Ladies and Gentlemen, I regret to say that he was not half a millionth part of one-eighth of a salubrity; he had not the qualities of mind and heart that allowed him to appreciate and be careful for the fervor with which all the youth, beauty and chivalry of New York had gathered to do him honour; nor had he that fine sense of humour which would enable him to see and laugh at and crack the finest joke that had ever been perpetrated on the American continent. The United States have their highest honours in store for the men who have richly deserved the gratitude of all the free men of the earth; but without that sense of humour and that gratitude, our young men cannot possibly aspire to the true honours of your true salubrity.

Then, as a specimen of the other type of individual—the salubrity who was no celebrity—I told those people of Billingham of a good neighbour of mine, my next door neighbour in Maine, an old gentleman eighty-seven years of age, bent and broken with the pangs of rheumatism. I doubt if once in the past twenty-five years he has been able wholly to stand erect without suffering pain in his miserable old feet; and for ten years of my acquaintance

not once have his knotted fingers been stretched to their limit without agonies of suffering. Yet when I meet that old gentleman, irrespective of conditions, his greeting is always the same. When the world is a fit understudy to paradise, we may be suffering from one of those terrible northeasterly storms that play havoc on our coast, but he raises that poor suffering arm as far as his pain will enable him to go, waves his hand, and his creaked and quivering voice comes, "How do, Mr. Bangs? It's a fine day, ain't it?"

One autumn afternoon, after having for two hours been battling with a fierce drizzling rain of a northerly storm that was coming through my oil-skin coat, so that with all my strength I could hardly make my way against it, I passed this old gentleman on the way to put his cattle out for the night. When I came near him he said, stretching that suffering arm and waving his withered old hand feebly, "How do, Mr. Bangs? It's a fine day." I said, "Mr. Perkins, do you tell me that you really consider this abominable system of meteorological cussedness a fine day?" Mark his reply; "Why, yes, it as fine of it's kind as I ever seen." (Great laughter)

That man, my friends, is a true salubrity. He has the qualities of mind and heart which enable him, under the most distressing and depressing conditions, to see something of the sweetness and beauty which may be said to be underneath almost every phenomenon of human existence; and when he feels that his neighbour may be blind to those beautiful things which have revealed themselves to him, he insists that his neighbour shall face and contemplate and share those beautiful things with him. It is that kind of character and quality of mind in man that I am going to refer to in the four or five hours at our disposal to-night.

Very seriously speaking, I consider it a great privilege to be permitted, as I have been permitted in the past six or seven years, to take the stories of my salubrities into every single State of the American Union. And over here into Canada; for I honestly feel that in our land particularly—not my own country, but our land of

America, the North American Continent—it is time that somebody should stand up in the public places of this land and try to do something to counteract the wild and slanderous teachings of our malicious muck-raking magazines (loud applause) which for the past twenty-five years have given themselves over to a concentrated effort to destroy our confidence in our fellow man, trying to make us believe that selfishness is the slogan of the hour, and that no man yet ever climbed high on the ladder of success without wickedly and consciously thrusting some other man down in the mire and ruin and defeat, until the young men of your country and mine would be perfectly justified in believing, if it is the case as the yellow muck-raking sweepers say, that the only avenues to success in business are trickery and fraud—an abominable libel on the manhood and womanhood of the day and generation in which we live. (Applause) When the time shall come that I must lay down the burdens of this life and enter upon that last little speculation in real estate, which is supposed by the pessimists to be the final portion of us all, I hope that someone passing that way will pause long enough to place a stone at my head or feet—I don't care which end, so long as the end shall justify the act—and testify that I was found to be an antidote to the malicious, slanderous muck-raker, whom I heartily despise whether he be the proprietor of a muck-raking magazine, a contributor thereto, or the proprietor and editor of a chain of yellow newspapers that have their origin in the City of New York and drag their slimy trail across the American Continent to San Francisco. (Loud applause)

Included in which category, let me as an American citizen say to you, I place your Canadian newspapers which, at a time when the relations of the whole world are in the most delicate condition, and when we need calmness and judgment and truth and accuracy of statement, place headlines over the utterances of irresponsible Americans on the other side of the border, and try to make them indicative of the true feeling of the people of the United States towards the British Empire. (Applause)

The first of the salubrities I spoke of to those people in the West, was a man who was a great lover of your country. He was a man that had suffered at the hands of the offensive literary muck-raker. He was a distinguished war correspondent, a novelist of brilliant charm, a short story writer of distinction, and a dramatist of some power. I hope you know him well in this country, and that you loved him as I did. His name was Richard Harding Davis. (Applause) This abominable sniping press for years pursued Richard Harding Davis with the statement that he was a cold-hearted literary snob who had none of the qualities of tender human sympathy in his heart, and was therefore likely to fall short of the highest position as a fictionist of true value. For five of the most beautiful years of my professional life I was associated with Richard Harding Davis in the management and control of Harper's Weekly. For five successive Christmases I have known this man to come to his office in Franklin Square and there draw out from the cashier $500 worth of his well earned riches, and then go over to the crowded East Side streets in the City of New York where, in one side of a square I have been in, there existed, rather than lived, three thousand souls, ranging from the infant to the boy or girl of eighteen years of age. Davis dropped into their lives out of the blue skies above, like a gentleman bountiful, every penny of that $500, putting into their lives some of the sweets and the joys of the Christmastide, of which they would have known nothing but for his hand; and doing it so sweetly, so unostentatiously, that those who shared his hospitality never knew even the name of their benefactor. (Applause)

In thirty-five years of our delightful friendship, I never knew that man but once to fall short of my highest standard of a truly sympathetic and unselfish human being; and I am going to tell you about it, because I think it will amuse you; and he even then did not fall so short. He wrote a series of short stories called the Vanbibber experiences. They seemed almost to bubble thought. I congratulated him upon them, and I said, "Those stories are perfectly fine; how long does it take

you to write one"? He said, "Why, it takes me ten days." "Nonsense," I said, "I could write one of those Vanbibber stories in three hours, and bring greater delight than you have." I added, "I'll bet you a dinner that I will write that story between dinner and eleven o'clock; and you don't owe me a dinner until that story has been accepted and paid for by a New York editor." The next day, at mid-day, I said, "What about my dinner? It is written." He said, "You have forgotten the condition; I don't owe you any dinner until that story has been accepted and paid for by some New York editor." I replied, "I have not forgotten anything; you have forgotten that I am a New York editor. (Laughter) I wrote that story last night between eight and eleven o'clock; I brought it down here to Franklin Square this morning, and submitted it at ten o'clock to myself; taking a special interest in the author, I gave it an immediate reading; at half-past ten, I decided it was good; at a quarter to eleven, I decided to sign it for payment, and at twelve o'clock, I drew myself an order on the cashier for $150 to pay for it. I went down and cashed that order, and there is the money"—at least I didn't say, "There is the money," I said, "Here is the money." (Laughter) Davis was a man of very prompt decision, extraordinary reach, and firm grasp, and I thought it was a little safer to have that $150 where he could comprehend it rather than apprehend it. (Laughter) Then he rose up, like the wonderful salubrity that he had always shown himself to be in his beautiful life before, and gave me my dinner; but I regret to say that for the first time he fell short in large measure of his true self. He fixed a cold and glittering eye upon me and said, "Well, if you have made that much money out of it, you can afford to pay for your own dinner." (Great laughter) I leave it to you, Ladies and Gentleman, to decide whether any man, who could treat an honest gentleman, a true friend, and a faithful craftsman in any such cavalier fashion as that, is a true salubrity; yet, lest I be misunderstood by any deeply insulated man who has crept into this meeting to-night,—I don't see one before me, but you never can

tell—I wish to say right here and now that, in thirty-five years of a very active professional life, and having been brought into contact with large souls—great-hearted men and women this world over—I have never yet found one to whom Davis ever needed to lift his hat as having been in the presence of one superior to that beautiful and salubrious spirit of tender human sympathy, especially where it might be exercised for the relief of the necessities of the starved and denied little children of God's beautiful earth. (Loud applause)

Then, Ladies and Gentlemen, there is another literary salubrity who at one time or another, I am quite confident, has done so much for every man and woman in this audience to-night that it will strike some of you perhaps as a great shame that anybody should consider it necessary to stand in a public place and say anything in his defence. Yet the name and fame of Rudyard Kipling, the muck-raker has been unusually busy with. They told us that Kipling was the worst mannered man that ever came to this side of the Atlantic from the other side. Friends of mine who had never met Mr. Churchill told me that. (Great laughter) They have said that Kipling never had a moment of natural buoyant humour, that his humour was always the crude, coarse humour of the camp, or the artificial humour of the lamp. Finally, a college professor in one of our great institutions of education—I will not say learning—(laughter)—which I shall not identify except to say that it is located in New Haven, Connecticut (laughter) has not hesitated to state, before the young men there committed to his charge, that it would have been better for Kipling's literary reputation had he died in 1898, when he lay so perilously ill in the Hotel Grosvenor in New York.

In undertaking to prove him to you as a salubrity, I am going to take up two counts in that indictment. In the first place, his manners. In order that I may bring him to this charming company to-night, let us get rid of that. It was said that Kipling's manners were so bad. I must say that I was astonished at the strange variability of his manners; that a man who was the per-

fect pink of deportment should apparently not be what my old friend Maupassant joked and satirized as having all the urbanity of a Chesterfield. (Laughter) So I subjected Mr. Kipling's manners to as keen an analysis as I was capable of, and I discovered in a profoundly salubrious virtue the real reason for his seemingly bad manners at times. It is this: In that great heart he had so supreme an affection that he felt there was no man ever yet made in the image of his Creator but possessed some markedly good quality which he would demonstrate to your entire satisfaction, if you only paused long enough to give him the opportunity to do so. Kipling would get at that man's level—either climb up or down to it—with the result that his manner's took the colour and manners of that other person. So that, if any person comes to you and tells you that Kipling's manners are coarse, you will know the reason. (Laughter) As a matter of fact I happened to be present upon the occasion when this remark in respect to Mr. Kipling's bad manners had its origin. He had the kind of humour that bubbles up out of a soul that is always ready, that is a delight to the human ear. I was standing next to him when he came to us in New York, with his honours well won and modestly worn. We gave him a little reception at the Authors' Club. Right in the middle of that reception, the door opened and there entered into our presence one of the editors of one of America's most distinguished magazines. He seized Mr. Kipling by the right hand, shook it up and down as if it were a handle of the town pump, and addressed him thus:—"Why, Mr. Kipling, I am delighted to meet you at last. I have just had a letter from my friend, Edmund Gosse, who tells me you are not such a boor as you would have people think." It was like a slap in a man's face, and I turned to see how Mr. Kipling had taken this outrageous assumption upon his nature. I was delighted to see him smiling pleasantly, bowing to this gentleman, and rubbing his hands together like a man who is trying to sell an oily preparation to a stranger; he was saying, "Why, my dear sir, I have manners of all kinds con-

stantly in stock for those who lack them; may I take your order?" (Great laughter)

My friends, let me say in passing, in regard to that distinguished college professor, that that one mistake which I have referred to is the only one that I am conscious of his ever having made; and I, as the father of two beautiful boys of Yale, owe him a deep debt of gratitude for their appreciation of the best in literature; and if he should have the good fortune which has come to me, and should be allowed to stand in this presence, and should venture to repeat that one mistake —to tell you that it would have been better for Kipling's reputation had he died in 1898—I hope you will rise up like one man and twenty thousand women—and I hope you will invite the ladies on that night for this purpose —(laughter) and give him back, as in one voice, this wonderful specimen of Kipling's writing not less than ten years later than that period when he should have died. This is one of the surest immortal poems of our time, a poem which I would rather have written than anything else that came from Kipling's pen at a time when his genius was supposed to be at its zenith, not only because of the lyric quality of the lines, but for the high standards of character and dignity which they hold up for the contemplation of the young of all ages; a poem which, through these years of stress that the world has passed, has been the refuge of many a strong soul:

IF——

If you can keep your head when all about you
  Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
  But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
  Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
  And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise.

If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
  If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
  And treat those two impostors just the same;
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
  Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools,

Or watch the things you gave your life to broken,
And stoop and build 'em up with worn-out tools.

If you can make one heap of all your winnings
And risk it on one turn of pitch-and-toss,
And lose, and start again at your beginnings
And never breathe a word about your loss.
If you can force your heart and nerve and sinew
To serve your turn long after they are gone,
And so hold on when there is nothing in you
Except the Will which says to them: "Hold on!"

If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue,
Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch,
If neither foes nor loving friends can hurt you,
If all men count with you, but none too much;
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!

You see, my friends, it is unnecessary for me to go any further in thus trying to prove to you that in those lofty conceptions of character and conduct which Rudyard Kipling expressed from the very beginning of his work to this hour, when he sits in the loneliness of his home mourning the loss of his only son on the battlefield, whose ashes even he cannot find, he has been a true salubrity. (Loud applause)

If it were necessary for me to do so, let me say, as a citizen who comes from the other side of the line, that I hold Mr. Kipling in the highest esteem because of those lines, and for the especial reason that another quality of your true salubrity is a fine, sweet, broad tolerance. Those lines are lines written by a man of whom it may be said that he is probably one of the most deeply settled British Imperialists of the hour, and yet they are his tribute, not to the name and fame of an Imperialist who appeals to that spirit, but, according to Mr. Kipling's own statement, they were a chaplet woven to the memory of no less a person than that of George Washington, the first President of the United States. (Applause)

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, in a company of this sort I would not have it that I think all the salubrities are men. (Laughter) They are not, by any manner of means. There are many salubriettes in the world.

(Laughter) And the finest example of a salubriette was the lady who once made the greatest of our American explorers the best of men,—Sir Henry M. Stanley. When Sir Henry had seen enough of the dark continent, he retired to London, there to live in peace and sunshine for the balance of his days. While there he had the good fortune to meet, fall in love with, propose to, be accepted by, and marry Miss Dorothy Tennant. They came to the United States on their wedding tour, and a little club of which I was a member gave a reception in their honour. The reception committee, with that rare tact for which they were distinguished, fitted up the reception room so that it resembled an African jungle so closely that even Stanley could not have told it from the real thing. It would have been just as appropriate to give a reception to Peary or Cook in a cold-storage plant, or if your president Hewitt had made an arrival at this station here, to accompany him to the nearest gas-house. (Great laughter) Into this reception room, large enough to accommodate comfortably 150 people, we proceeded to admit 750 members of the New York "Four Hundred." (Laughter)

Through an open door it was impossible for those in to get out, or those out to get in, by which there came to be a great state of social congestion. Many New Yorkers who never realized that anybody else was on the earth had actually to come in contact with other human beings—in some cases their own next door neighbours—which was so extremely mortifying to all parties concerned that, as chairman of that committee, I felt that something ought to be done to relieve the situation. So I perceived a small door which opened through the back down to the street, which I thought would give some of the "Four Hundred" a natural, homelike, exit to the different places. (Laughter) I tried to go over to open the door, but I found I could not penetrate anything quite so hard as New York society was at that particular time; so I went back to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, whom we had stood up under a bower of blooms at one corner of the room. It was constructed of the remnants of unsold Christmas trees which we had bought at a

bargain at the Fulton Street Market. Down from the middle of it there trailed one lone stream of smilax, the top of which tickled Stanley's head at the point where his hair was beginning to give him absent treatment. (Laughter)

As I passed back of Stanley, he followed me with his eyes as far as he could, and then whirled around and caught me on the other side. I said, "Stanley, what is the matter?" He said, "Well, I guess I've got too much sense to let any man stand behind my back in a jungle like this." (Laughter) I said, "I am sorry I haven't got a spear about nine feet long, because if I had you would see the point if you turned around." That shows you what kind of salubrities he and I were upon that particular occasion. But Mrs. Stanley showed herself a salubrity of another particular order, with her wonderfully gracious charm, to another dear lady named Mrs. Richard Henry Stoddard, the wife of our distinguished American Poet, who in the early sixties of last century had written half a dozen volumes which the public had probably, and unfortunately, forgotten—because they well deserved praise. Mrs. Stoddard had a keenly analytical mind, a good sense of humour and a fine prose style, but she had married a poet, and had suffered the inevitable extinction. She had lived to see the day when everybody had forgotten that she had written two books. She had been over-shadowed by the larger fame of her own distinguished husband, so as to be nothing more than the female of the species, a sort of phenomenon annexed to her husband, and known not by her name but by his—the wife of Richard Henry Stoddard—an unhappy ending of what promised to be a distinguished literary career. I rushed up and said, "Mrs. Stoddard, is there anything I can do for you?" She replied, "No, there isn't anything that anybody can do for anybody in a crowd like this." "Have you met Mrs. Stanley?" "No, I have not; I have been up there to a point where I could almost seize her by the hand, but the New Yorkers have shoved me back again." Her case was like that of the old woman who wanted to get on a railway train, and nine polite men came

along and bustled her back on the rail again every time she attempted to get on. (Laughter) Well, I said, "Mrs. Stoddard, don't you worry; you put your arm in mine and we will wiggle ourselves up to where Mrs. Stanley is standing, or die in our tracks!" So we blundered and thundered right through the throng till we came to where Mrs. Stanley was standing, and then, pushing our way to the front, I said, "May I present Mrs. Richard Henry Stoddard?" And then, Ladies and Gentlemen, came that wonderful exhibition of tender tactfulness and womanly graciousness, both of them qualities of your true salubrity, whether the salubrity be a man or a woman. Mrs. Stanley drew herself up to her proud and regal height and said, "No, Mr. Banks, you may not present Mrs. Richard Henry Stoddard; I have not the slightest desire to meet Mrs. Richard Henry Stoddard; but if I could only meet Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard"—giving the lady her own proper name—the author of "Temple House," to mention one of the long-forgotten books, "it would please me to the bottom of my heart." (Applause) This exhibition of gracious tactfulness and sympathy, that I have only indicated, caused Mrs. Stoddard, for the first time in her wonderful life, to be unable to find fit words to express her emotions. She simply gasped, threw her arms around Mrs. Stanley's neck, and kissed her—and I was mighty glad she did, for I was having all I could do to refrain from doing it. (Laughter)

But the most quaint, wonderful, and gracious tactfulness and courtesy and sympathy that were shown in the very wonderful attention paid to me by another great salubrity, came from your Mother Country. He is perhaps best known to the younger element here—I see some people here almost as young as I am—as the creator of that marvelous detective in fiction, Sherlock Holmes, and I hope to many of you as the creator of that very much favored figure, the knightly and chivalrous old Sir Nigel in the "White Company," a historical romance which has caused some critics of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle to say that the Holmes romances are not up to his usual style. When Doyle's name was on the

lips of all people in the civilized world, it was thought that he should go to the United States and show himself, as Dickens and Thackeray had done. His manager, however, with rare delicacy, had so arranged his tour that Doyle would be one night in Buffalo, the next in Brooklyn, the third in Erie, Pennsylvania, and the next in Newark, New Jersey. This kept poor Doyle running up and down the Hudson River until he came to believe that the United States consisted of that silvery stream, a few lecture platforms, and the Pullman cars in which he travelled.

I found him gazing moodily on his boots one morning, and, desirous of putting his mind on higher and more polished things, I addressed him cheerfully. (Laughter) "Well, doctor," said I, "what do you think of our great and glorious United States of America?" He replied, "Well, it puzzles me, and I will ask you a question, and I hope you will answer it truthfully." I said, "Well, doctor, that is rather a large order, for I am connected with the newspaper press, and we rather like to keep the truth for special occasions; we don't want to make it so common that anybody knows it to tell it." "But," he said, "really, have you Americans any homes?" I thought the question was frivolously conceived, and I answered it in the same spirit—"Why, yes, Mrs. Bangs and I have a typical American home on the bank of the Hudson River; it is a little steel cage with eight bars in front, eight bars in the rear, and four bars at either end, and out in the backyard we have three trees where we keep our children, and are educating them in the higher branches." (Laughter) He looked at me with that peculiar expression which you find on a man's face when he gets a somewhat unexpected answer, and I knew that I had him, and I proceeded to rub it in. I said, "Why, doctor, if you would be interested in the rather primitive way which we Americans live, come out some time; like most animals, we are most interesting when we are being fed; come and watch us eat, and after we get through, if there is any left, you can have some." He said, "When do you

dine?" I said, "Every day." (Laughter) He said, "Well, anybody could tell that by looking at you, but I mean, what time of day?" I said, "From six to nine." He asked, "What, a three-hour dinner?" "No, it is longer than that; it is a fifteen hour dinner; we keep at it from six in the morning till nine at night; it is the only way by which we can keep American children from eating between meals." He perceived by this time that I was truthful and veracious, and became, in his charming English way, quite delightful. He said, "Suppose I come to you at the time you are serving that great institution of yours—what do you call it?—Punkin pie?" I knew then that he was human. If he had said pumpkin I would have given him up—(laughter)—but when he said "punkin" with the Greek Aspirate on the "unk" —the way it is pronounced by all Americans, and all true maniacs like myself (laughter) I knew that he was good enough for me.

The following Saturday Conan Doyle arrived at my house; and when my front door opened and that great literary demi-god entered as my guest, I understood that there was standing on my floor this great literary personage of whose work all the critics were saying that it was equal to all the great literary geniuses of the past —Moses, Shakespeare, Johnson, Milton, Emerson, Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray, myself (laughter) and all the rest of them. Why, I was so overcome by the high honour that had been done my roof-tree that I could not think of anything worthy of this occasion. I stood in front of this Titan in my library like an embarrassed elephant at the circus, wondering what on earth I could say that would be worthy of Doyle's distinguished career; and Doyle apparently felt the same in respect to me, too (laughter) because he hadn't anything to say, either. He retired to a window-seat in one corner of the room, and sat there gazing over the silvery waters of the Hudson as though he had never seen that noble stream before. In the midst of this conversational impasse, I suddenly became conscious of the figure of a small boy in the open door of my library. He was my

eldest son, five and a half years, and he carried a doll that had the same relation to his amusements that the Teddy Bear came to have in later times. It was a stuffed Cologne rag baby, with ruby eyes, and clad in green waistcoat, red trousers, and blue shoes—one highly calculated to instil ideals in the minds of the young. I may state that the thing was stuffed with absorbent cotton. He passed his father, paying no more attention than boys pay to their fathers nowadays, went over to the window seat, studied the doctor's shoes a few minutes, followed the creases up as far as his waistcoat, and decided he was tolerably well-dressed. Then he backed up, took in the breadth of Doyle's splendid shoulders—he is a perfect giant, six feet three in height, and broad in proportion—and then, the doctor still unaware of the youngster's coming, the boy hauled off with his Brownie, and in this company I hesitate to use the word, and I apologize not only to you as president of the Empire Club, but to the Mayor of your city (laughter) to the members of your Board of Health (laughter) to the Superintendent of Public Instruction (laughter) to the chairman of the Board of Directors of the local chapter of the I.W.W. (laughter) to anybody here who is capable of accepting the apologies—I apologise for the use of the word, but it is the only word in the English language which adequately describes what followed—he hauled off with that Brownie, and he "swatted" that literary demi-god squarely in the back of the neck with that Brownie. (Laughter) That broke the ice. (Laughter) It started a few ideas in my mind, whatever effect it had on the intellectualism of Doyle. I sprang forward to do something; I didn't know what to do; I hoped the Lord would inspire me to do the right thing, but there was no time for action on my part; there was an immediate avalanche of humanity on the floor, and I had the pleasure of witnessing as fine a scrap as could possibly be wished for. First, 296 pounds of British genius would be on top, and then 37½ pounds of American perversity would emerge from the wreck and skin over to the other side. With despair the idea flashed

on my mind that, if this 296 pounds of British genius was really to roll over on the 37½ pounds of American perversity, there would be at least a flat Bangs upon record. (Laughter) I sprang forward to the rescue of my son, and Doyle supposing—as an English parent naturally would—that I was going to chastise the lad for his untimely intrusion on our meditation—Doyle, sitting with his right leg over the prostrate form of my son, held up his right hand, and with a quivering lip and a smile upon his eye said, "Bangs, its all right; its nothing but the irrepressible conflict between Great Britain and young America." (Great laughter and applause)

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am going to tell of a salubrity who is not a celebrity, and perhaps the connotation of this story may be a little more to the point in days of possible misunderstanding than in these. It was my good fortune some years ago to find myself on the way to the city of Phoenix, in Arizona, to deliver a lecture. After I had left the city of Los Angeles, and was pounding on my way on the Southern Pacific Railway, I suddenly heard my train coming to a grinding stop, and we found ourselves almost on the verge of a catastrophe. The roadbed of the Southern Pacific had been washed away. We were kept waiting there for a period of sixteen hours before our train could go on to our destination. I went back into the observation car, and while I was seated there looking out at the beautiful blue skies overhead and the rare alkali dust which came in, and the wonderful hills by which we were surrounded, the door of that car opened, and there entered into my presence one of the most stricken specimens of a human being that I have ever looked on in my life.

I don't know what you would call him in Canada. In the United States we would call him a tramp—the most perfect specimen of your complete hobo that has ever dawned upon the vision of a human being; old, sick, weary, worn, bent and broken with the pangs of poverty. He wore about his poor old shoulders and body the remnant of a once proud Prince Albert coat, buttonless and forlorn, thread-bare; it was fastened about his mid-

dle with an ordinary rusted safety pin. His trousers matched his coat. He wore a hat that looked as if it had been through several wars, and on his feet were the remnants, the soleless remnants, of a pair of shoes, fastened there by ordinary grocer's twine. He shambled into my presence, and I thought to myself: Well, here is one of the worst specimens of a human that I have ever looked upon, and I don't want to see him; my present woe is sufficient, without having him added to it. I gazed out of the window, and he sat down on the other side of the car. All of a sudden, I felt his eyes boring through me. You know that sensation, when you know that somebody is looking at you and wanting to make you look at him, and you are resolved you won't, and resolved you won't look up. I resolved that I would not yield to the lure of this old man's gaze, but instinctively, every second, I kept turning curiously, and finally I felt myself turned fully around and looking squarely into that man's eyes—the most wonderful, wistful blue eyes I have ever looked into in all my days, with a mute appeal in them, as if he was saying, "For God's sake, speak to me; nobody ever does." I know I yielded.

I did not say anything characteristically brilliant. I spoke about our trouble, as men will do. I said, "This is particularly distressing business, waiting around here, isn't it?" He came back at me with this answer—"Yes, Mr. Bangs," he said, in a drawling voice, "I should think for a man in your line of work it would be particularly distressing." I said, "Why, what do you know about me?" He replied, "Oh, you are going to lecture at Tucson the day after to-morrow night." I said, "I am if I ever get there." He said, "Well, they are all ready for you; they have got your face plastered all over that town; got 'em posted up in front of every church; got five of them in the railway station; I saw two of them tacked to ash barrels." He added, "That's plain, isn't it? One can't look in any direction but John Kendrick Bangs is staring him out of countenance. Why, Mr. Bangs, I left Tucson to get rid of you."

(Laughter) He went on, "I stepped on board the train, and by George, there sits the original!" "Well," I said, "now that you have seen me, I hope you realize that I am not as black as I am lithographed." He says, "You're all right, Mr. Bangs, and let me tell you something; if you ever get down and out, the way I am, just you sue that man that made that picture of you, and any decent jury in the United States will give you $100,000."

Then his face grew very serious, and he said, "Mr. Bangs, I judge from what I have heard about you, that you must read a great deal in the course of a year; would you mind telling me something you think I would like"? I was very patronizing. Here was this thing—tramp—springing into my life out of the alkali desert. I said, "Well, my friend, that is rather a large order for me; I don't know anything about your symptoms, and I don't like to prescribe for a man until I know something as to the kind of thing that is good for him; you know you might not like the thing that I do." He said, "Well, suppose you try me and see?" I replied, "Well, I prefer biography to fiction; I would rather read the story of a real man's life than any number of novels delineating the characters of fictitious personages drawn by the novelist's fancy; I don't care for that sort of thing. 'Tom Jones' by Fielding is all well enough, but give me 'Johnson' by Boswell." He said, "Well, it is the same way with me, but there hasn't been any good biography in the past twenty-five years, has there? There has not been the raw material." (Laughter) I began to see that my old tramp had something in the back of his head which might touch on what we might call satire. I still was patronizing. I said, "Well, I am afraid you have interested yourself in the wrong kind of people—United States Senators, and things of that kind. (Laughter) There has been plenty of raw material in the men of the spirit—the great painters, great poets, great soldiers—men who have done wonderful things along the line of the spirit; no end of raw material in the world for the past twenty-five years. Why, my dear sir, I have just been reading aloud to Mrs. Bangs one of the most de-

lightful books I have ever read in my life; it is called, The memorials of Burne-Jones, by Lady Burne-Jones.' "

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to tell you something, and I hope you will believe me when I say that I am telling you this story exactly as it happened. The minute I mentioned the name of Burne-Jones that old tramp's face lit up, his eyes fairly sparkled, he leaned forward and he fairly gasped out the words, "Who published that?" He pulled a greasy old envelope out of one pocket, fished a stub of a lead pencil out of another, and he leaned forward eagerly waiting what I had to say. I said, "Why, that is published by the Macmillan Company of New York; but would you be interested in the life of Burne-Jones?" "Oh, Mr. Bangs," he said, —this old tramp—"since I was a youngster and first realized the wonderful beauty of the world, I have always been a lover of that whole pre-Raphaelite movement." My friends, that old tramp, who had sprung into my life out of that alkali dust, and whom I was patronizing, and wishing he had never come into my life, judged by superficial conditions, began to talk to me about that most marvelous movement in Art and Literature which may be said to be the greatest contribution of the time to which we may be said to belong.

He discussed the paintings of James MacNeil Whistler for fifteen minutes, and there was not a subtlety of line and colour that that old tramp did not appreciate in the full of its exquisite touch on the canvasses of that master; and when he got through with Whistler he began to talk about the contribution to decorative art of William Morris. He discussed the achievements of Haydon. He delighted my ears, for fifteen or twenty minutes, with a series of texts from the lectures on Art by Holman Hunt. Then he ran on, and he finally came to the Rossettis, and when he got through with Rossetti, as a painter, he turned to me with a peculiar look in his eye and said, "But, Mr. Bangs, I suppose it is Rossetti, the poet, that you know like a book."

I began to make up my mind it was time for me to play safe. I was not going to tell him that I knew my

Rossetti like a book, for fear that he would quote some poem that I had perhaps read years ago. I began to suspect that the old man might suggest, or might improvise, a couplet that would be like Rossetti and sound like Rosetti, and I would be fool enough to say, "Oh yes, I remember that; it is one of my favourites." (Laughter) I felt it safer to tell the truth. I said, "No," I don't know Rossetti like a book; I can't say I know any poet like a book; I have three poets to whom I go for rest and refreshment—Whitman, Emerson, Rossetti." "Well," he said, "of course you know the sonnet 'The House of Light'?" I was on familiar ground then, more or less, and replied, "Yes, I have read that." "What"? he said, "Mr. Bangs, only read that?" I said, "Well, what else can a man do to a sonnet?" He replied, "Why, you could live them; haven't you lived them?" I replied, "Well, I don't know, but I guess—yes, perhaps I have lived one or two of them, anyhow." He said, "Every man who lives and thinks has loved the sonnet of 'Lost Days'." I said, "Well, I just remember that there was such a sonnet, but I don't remember how it goes." "Why," he said, "it goes this way"—and that old man threw his head back and began to recite Rossetti's sonnet on "Lost Days." As he went on, his face took on some of the mellow, lyric quality of the speaking voice of Mark Twain, which was one of the loveliest speaking voices I have ever listened to, in which almost every word seemed like a measure of music. The contrast between the thing that that man was and the thing that he was doing, was so great that I closed my eyes. I was afraid that my senses were deceiving me, and that something I had eaten or otherwise consumed was causing me to have a peculiarly agreeable kind of delirium; so I kept my eyes closed while that old man recited the "Lost Days":

LOST DAYS

The lost days of my life until to-day,
  What were they, could I see them on the street
  Lie as they fell? Would they be ears of wheat
Sown once for food, but trodden into clay?

Or golden coins squandered and still to pay?
Or drops of blood dabbling the guilty feet?
Or such spilt water as in dreams must cheat
The undying throats of Hell, athirst alway?

I do not see them here, but after death
God knows I know the faces I shall see,
Each one a murdered self, with low last breath,
"I am myself,—what hast thou done to me?"
"And I—and I—thyself," (lo! each one saith,)
"And thou thyself to all eternity."

When the old man had finished I kept my eyes closed; I did not want the spell of this enchanted moment to be broken; but in a moment the spell was broken by a sob on the other side of me. The old tramp sat with his head buried in his folded arms, and was crying like a child that had been struck and was smarting under a sense of injustice. I realized that the time had come for the expression of some kind of sympathy; and for the first time in my life, I realized that the English language was inadequate for the expression of what was in the human heart. I knew that sometimes the touch of a hand could express more than a spoken word, and I rose up and crossed the aisle and placed my hand on that shaking shoulder as much as to say, "Never mind, old man, I understand." The minute he felt the touch of my hand, he began to shiver and straighten up, and he threw his head back and rubbed his eyes and looked up at me and said, "Ah, Mr. Bangs, the trouble with a thing like that is that it takes you with it and makes you think. My God, I don't dare to think; if I ever dared to think I could not consent to live. In moments of that kind I get so depressed that I turn to the other Rossetti —Christina Rossetti's lyric; and oh, the comfort I have got out of her song, 'When I am Dead'."

WHEN I AM DEAD

When I am dead, my dearest,
Sing no sad songs for me:
Plant thou no roses at my head,
Nor shady cypress tree:
Be the green grass above me
With showers and dewdrops wet;

And if thou wilt, remember,
  And if thou wilt, forget.

I shall not see the shadows,
  I shall not feel the rain;
I shall not hear the nightingale
  Sing on, as if in pain;
And dreaming through the twilight
  That doth not rise nor set,
Haply I may remember,
  And haply may forget.

When he finished that he looked up, and the tears were still coursing upon his cheeks, but there was a smiling light in his eye and the quiver of a smile on his lips, as he turned to me and said, "Ah, Mr. Bangs, that is the sort of thing that doesn't take you here (pointing to his head), but takes you here (touching his heart), and makes you feel that you have courage to go on, because, after all, life is a beautiful thing." (Loud applause)

That man stayed with me until I got to Phoenix. When I got to Phoenix I discovered that he was a true salubrity. He not only had shown himself to be a wit, to possess the gift of humour, a master in the arts of song, and a poet in his powers of interpretation of lyric beauty and authors' thoughts, but, when he got to Phoenix, he also showed himself a profoundly salubrious philosopher. When I descended from the train, I held out my hand and took his and said, "My dear sir, I want to tell you something; you have given me one of the most delightful experiences that I have had in all my life, and I thank you for it from the bottom of my soul. Now I want to strike a bargain with you. You have the advantage over me; you know who I am, but I don't know who you are. Now, we all need friends in this world; the world is better if we all remain friends together; let us, you and me, be friends. You tell me where I can find you, and I will promise you I will not let a month go by in the next twelve months in which you will not receive some kind of a word from me, if it is nothing more than a postal card, to let you know that somebody somewhere is thinking of you affectionately." (Applause) That man reached out his hand and placed

it upon my shoulder and looked at me very carefully—he was twenty-five years older than I. He fixed his eye upon me and said, "Mr. Bangs, who I am is one of the least important things in God's beautiful world; the really important thing for a man to remember is the kind of person that I am. I am one of those unfortunate beings who began life at the top of the ladder, and moved in the other direction until only the foot was left open to me." He turned and bent downward, he turned away from me; then he reached back and seized my hand, gave it an affectionate pressure, dropped it, passed up the street, turned the first corner, and passed out of my life forever. Ladies and Gentlemen, in my mind, the connotation of that story is that there is nothing in the world that is more fallacious than the thing that appears to be obvious. If you will only look below the surface, below the superficial manifestations which are full of irritation and attritions between one man and another, you will really get down to the genuine gold of the human heart.

And let me say to you, in respect to my own beloved country and in respect to yours, can you not sometimes look down below the surface, beneath the thing which for the moment seems to be obvious, look right down into the heart and the soul of the true American? You will find there the something that will tell you, beyond the possibility of any contradiction, that in his ideals, in his hopes, in his aspirations, he is most truly your brother. (Loud and long-continued applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Our good friend, the orator of the Empire Club, Mr. Monro Greer, will express your thanks on behalf of the club.

## MR. R. MONRO GREER

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I find myself in an exceedingly difficult position at the present moment, not that I have failed to enjoy with you what we have heard, but rather that I have enjoyed it so much that the things which in a sort of rough way were in my

mind to be spoken by me have been almost entirely dissipated, and really my mind and heart are simply whelmed with this thought, that to-night you and I have met not only a celebrity—a comparatively insignificant being—but a salubrity, in the person of John Kendrick Bangs. (Loud applause) Since I have been asked to try to speak your thanks, and since, in fact, a portion of time has been allotted to me, I shall try to say one or two things; and in my effort I shall simply try to indicate to you somewhat of the modesty of Mr. Bangs in making no reference to his own works this evening, and to indicate to him and remind ourselves that he is well advised when he supposes—indeed, when he knows—that the hearts of the men of good-will of his country and the hearts of the men and women of good-will of both countries are just the same, and beat responsively the one to the other. (Applause)

Now let me tell you a few things in regard to the speaker of to-night—I made enquiry, of course, as to some of the matters. (Great laughter) I am not to speak of books, but I am to speak rather of the salubrity than the celebrity. In the allusions which I shall make to him, I shall refer not so much to him as a writer, but rather as a man and a prophet.

I met our old friend Baron Munchausen and asked him something about Mr. Bangs. He said, "My dear fellow, Mr. Bangs is one of the most remarkable beings that ever was known in the series of incarnations that he had before this present one. He was suddenly asked, 'Will you meet Socrates? Will you meet Xantippe? Will you meet Shakespeare?' and so on. And he replied, 'No, I'll see him or her in Hades first.'" (Laughter) Our guest this evening is a man of immense imagination and fertile in design. He built a comfortable house-boat and set it afloat on the Styx—for he sticks at nothing (laughter) and in that appropriate river he made the acquaintance of those several gentlemen referred to. You who, like myself, have read not alone the "House-boat on the Styx" but the "Pursuit of the House-boat," will be pleased to be reminded that, in the preface of

that second volume, there is a testimony of thanks paid to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle for the untimely end of Sherlock Holmes, without whose aid in the Shades the pursuit of the house-boat could never have been properly carried out. (Applause) But mark you, again, the prevailing instincts of the man. Who, of all the great literary men, at all events in fictional character, in England to-day, is occupying himself chiefly with the Shades? It is that man whose type in fiction was Sherlock Holmes, and who in real life is Sir Arthur Conan Doyle himself, (Laughter) Thus you will see that our friend has had an immense influence, quite outside of his work. But why need I say anything of himself? That he has demonstrated to us. We welcome him as the author of his own written words; we welcome him almost more as the spokesman of his uttered word this evening; but we of the Empire Club welcome him in another aspect to-night. The vast Empire of this Club is the British Empire, but there is a still vaster one; it is the Empire of Letters, because it includes the whole British Empire and all empires and all nations and kingdoms.

To-night we are welcoming whom?—one who represents the British section of that stupendous empire of words; and I venture to say this, which will not be gainsaid by any, that much as we admire other tongues upon the face of the globe, and appreciate the splendid qualities they possess; for our own part we cannot find anything quite so fine or fitting or beautiful, for all the virile purposes of life, as the tongue which is spoken in common by the countrymen of our visitor and by ourselves, the language of William Shakespeare—the English tongue itself. (Applause)

He comes, then, representing that language, and he comes as the author of books, those things which have brought such happiness into the lives of all; as some have said, food for the young, comfort for the old, adornment in prosperity, and a solace in adversity. To some of us there possibly may not be exaggeration at any time of the worth and value of books. Many who have

known what sorrow is, and have wished for a while to be transported from their griefs have found surcease from care in books. It matters not whether they have chosen for this purpose the stupendously grand lyrical qualities of Christina Rossetti or some other author according with their tastes, the result is that, at a speed greater than that of the most noted flying man on earth, they have been wafted away from the realm of sorrow in which they live to a splendid realm peopled by the great of old. This man represents books to us to-night; we say to him that we speak the common language, and we welcome him as representing the British section of this wonderful Empire of Letters. Is there anything which cannot be done by this stupendous language of ours? Have we not already learned it from the poems which have been given to us incidentally by the speaker whilst he has been speaking to us? Who could possibly listen unmoved to those wonderful words of Kipling, or to those lighter poems which he gave? None of us. What words better than English can describe some of the exquisite music, for instance, that we have listened to to-night, whether vocal or instrumental? What does Tennyson say?

> There is sweet music here that softer falls
> Than petals from blown roses on the grass.

And that fine line from Longfellow:

> When she had passed, it seemed like the ceasing of exquisite music.

And then that wonderful language of a fellow countryman, in part, of mine, as well as of my own friend here, the great Burns:

> Oh, my luve's like a red, red rose,
> That's newly sprung in June;
> Oh, my luve's like the melodie
> That's sweetly play'd in tune.

Those are the things that can be done by our English tongue, but they can describe as well things of horror, things of splendour, things of warfare, things of patriot-

ism. What is the inspiration which presently some are going to feel amongst us, for instance, when later on we shall have the remembrance and the coming day of St. George:

> The game's afoot;
> Follow your spirit: and, upon, this charge,
> Cry—"God for Harry! England! and St. George!"

I will not take up more of your time, lest by any chance I should diminish by the slightest degree our recollection of the fine address which we have had this evening; but in giving the thanks of this meeting to Mr. Bangs I wish to tell him this—and I give it to him in the spirit of the English poet who, when addressing America, said—

> Gigantic daughter of the West,
> We drink to thee across the flood;
> We know thee most, we love thee best,
> For art thou not of British blood.

Sir, I have the honour and pleasure of extending to you the thanks of the Empire Club of Canada. (Loud applause and cheers)

# GALLIPOLI

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL
J. PENRY DAVEY. C.M.G.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,*
*Thursday, April* 29, 1920

BRIGADIER-GENERAL MITCHELL, who presided, in introducing the speaker, said: My Lord Bishop and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing to you to-day Brigadier-General Davey. He was one of the real padres in the war. (Applause) General Davey had the distinction of having served on a number of fronts at various times during the progress of the war, in Gallipoli—on which he is going to speak to-day—in Egypt, in France, and in Belgium. I am particularly pleased to have the honour of sitting beside him, because he was what we used to call the "boss" padre in the second army in 1918; and the second army as you know was my own old army. We cannot just estimate how much we loved our old leader "Plum"—Sir Herbert Plummer. I am sure that General Davey, if he had the time, would speak to you about the second army and the fifth army in which he also served, but he is going to devote his attention to-day to Gallipoli, and I am sure, of that particular campaign, he will be able to tell you many things of interest which I know you will all be glad to hear. I have great pleasure in introducing to you General Davey. (Applause)

BRIGADIER-GENERAL J. PENRY DAVEY, C. M. G.

*Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen,*—May I express very briefly my pleasure and my satisfaction at the honour conferred upon me in inviting me to speak at the EMPIRE CLUB. I am glad to hear the secretary announce that next week you are going to pay a dollar and a quarter.

(Laughter) I hope you will get your seventy-five cents' worth to-day. I also realize, of course, that one who holds the rank of Brigadier-General can't expect to occupy the same amount of attention as one who holds the rank of Major-General.

Well, Gentlemen, I have a duty this afternoon and it is to talk about the Dardanelles. It is a big subject, so big that I shall be unable to deal adequately with it in the time allotted to me. I want to say at the outset that I have often heard the Dardanelles campaign spoken of as a big mistake. Our critics, Gentlemen, were the armchair critics at home. As a matter of fact those gentlemen have conducted tactics and won battles that were never won on any battle-field. (Laughter) Generally speaking some of the great critics at home were usually responsible for some of the huge blunders and huge mistakes that were made. Many mistakes made during the whole of the war have been made in imagination by the mere on-looker. The Dardanelles campaign, however, was not the great mistake that many of you have been led to believe.

I want you to remember our position at the time; remember that Russia was then helping us; remember she was making her approach on Austria; remember that the Turkish army was the flower of the European armies on that part of the continent. It was a very, very courageous army. The Turks were never a mean foe, or a mean enemy. Their courage has never been doubted as fighters. It has been declared that there have never been greater fighters in the world. We knew that to be true; so it was necessary to hold the great Turkish army at some point, to prevent the Austrians from having their help, and to compel them to demand help from their German allies. The result was that Germany had to send troops to help the Austrians, which, of course, had the desired effect of decreasing the Hun's strength on the French frontier. You will remember that, at that time, things in France were very, very different to what they were later on. Our boys were up against an enemy

who was always numerically superior to themselves. If they, the enemy, could have had these added forces and thus brought all their power to bear on our boys in France, I have no hesitation in saying—and I hope you will permit me as a mere padre to express an opinion on grand tactics—I have no hesitation in saying that the Germans would have made a far greater bulge in our line in France and Flanders than they did later on, and perhaps have put a different complexion on the ending of the war. But we held the Turkish army, and held them well, for eight months, from the 25th of April, 1915, until the 8th of January, 1916, when the final evacuation took place.

As regards the campaign: It did not take us a long time to realize that we could not take possession of the peninsula by a frontal attack, and it was therefore decided to land on the extreme point of the peninsula of Gallipoli. Now you want to look at these maps. (Maps shown) These yellow parts indicate the full extent of the occupied territory, and this part, right at the point known as Helles, is where our troops landed in August, 1915. Preparatory to our landing certain engagements had taken place by our naval forces, and it was intended, if possible, to go through the Narrows and into the Sea of Marmora and shell Constantinople itself. That was found to be not only impracticable but impossible; of course they made an awful mess of some of the forts, and there was one huge fort which they blew to smithereens. In fact the place was simply bristling with forts. Having found it impossible to make their way there, it was finally decided to land troops on the extreme point of the peninsula. That has been criticised. I have read criticism from all parts of our great Empire, and it is a great old Empire. (Applause) It has been criticised as being a stupid thing to do, a foolish thing. In my estimation the criticism is an unwarranted one, a stupid one. Supposing we had not landed troops here—remember, Gentlemen, the whole point was to enable our troops to use the Narrows to

get into the Sea of Marmora. As I have already said, it was decided to land troops on the extreme point of the peninsula, and half way up, the reason of course being to clear the Narrows. It was then decided that the landing should take place on the morning of April 25th, 1915.

Preparatory to landing, the troops were collected in Tenedos on the Island of Lemnos, and were kept waiting, some for a week, some for a fortnight prior to landing—Australians, New Zealanders, the 29th Division, the East Anglian Division, the East Lancashire Division and the Royal Naval Division. Just a word about the troops of the 29th Division. These troops, Gentlemen, have made a name for themselves at Gallipoli, a name that will be undying as long as British History lasts. (Applause) To them was given the most difficult operation, and that was to land in Helles. As I have said, with these troops we had the Royal Naval Division. That Division, Gentlemen, was composed merely of boys, public school boys. As a matter of fact at one time, after we had been in the peninsula for some months, it was requested that all boys under nineteen years of age should be sent home. We found it was impossible to send home all the boys under nineteen years of age in that Division, because the great majority were under nineteen. And when you remember the great work they did, we can raise our hats to these gallant youths, these public school boys of the Naval Division. (Applause)

Well, it was determined to land on the 25th of April. They left late in the evening of the 24th along with the Australians and a portion of the South Wales Borderers. I should say that, preparatory to landing, a reconnaissance had to be made of the whole peninsula. It was found that it was a very difficult place to land. The landing had to be made on a beach from three hundred to four hundred yards long and not more than from thirty to sixty yards wide. As a matter of fact all the beaches were very narrow. Well, they came on the morning of the 25th, and it was arranged that the South

Wales Borderers should land on the right flank. Coming down here (referring to map) on the west side of the Peninsula, there was given to the K.O.S.B's (King's Own Scottish Borderers,) the difficult task of landing at 'Y' beach, the left flank of the Helles landing, which place was afterwards known as Y Ravine. The idea was to hold the road and prevent reinforcements coming down on that side. They managed to obtain a landing, but it was very, very difficult. They were supposed to land at five o'clock in the morning, but they were unable to land until seven o'clock. Fortunately they did not have the strenuous opposition that had been expected at that point. If they had had considerable opposition, it would have been impossible to have landed a large body of troops just there.

Now it had been arranged that the "River Clyde," with about two thousand on board composed of the Munsters and the Dublins, should be beached. Her sides had been so constructed as to drop down and throw out say a thousand of these men at a time on the beach. Lighters were there ready to take them to the beach. These troops were to be thrown out suddenly and make their way ashore. Up to the moment of landing not a shot had been fired from the Peninsula itself. As a fact only a few shells came over from the Asiatic side, but they were not very troublesome. At the same time as this landing from the collier—that is the "River Clyde" —took place, a landing was supposed to have taken place also with other troops from various war vessels lying off the peninsula in small naval boats. As a fact they were supposed to land first, but as things ofter turn out in war they were not able to do so. When the men were flung out on to the lighters, before they could get ashore the lighters broke away. Up to that moment not a shot had been fired, when suddenly it seemed as though Hell had broken loose on the top of the peninsula. The cliffs were very precipitous, and in every case the troops had to climb the sides of the Peninsula to get to the top. There was a sort of gully up which the

men had to climb, and it was wired, and heavily wired. It was no small thing for our fellows to gain the top, when you remember that the Turks were on top and were firing at point blank range with field artillery, machine guns, and rifles. You can perhaps imagine the difficulties of landing. As I have already told you, before the men could get ashore, the lighters had broken away and gone into deep water. The sailors made superhuman efforts to get them into their places again, a very difficult operation indeed as the tide was running very swiftly. Unfortunately some of the men jumped into deep water and, loaded down as they were with their equipment, a large number were drowned before their comrades' eyes. Finer men you could not find in the whole world than these gallant naval fellows who performed such heroic deeds endeavouring to save their mates. (Applause) The lighters were secured, but unfortunately only a few men had got ashore when some of them broke away again and many more brave men were lost.

However, to come to the landing: When the men did ultimately get ashore they had to lie down flat on the beach. They had to lie there unable to do anything for themselves, unable to fire a shot in reply. Finally they all got into position, but they had about a hundred and thirty-five yards of sand to cross before they could get into the shelter of the cliffs. After a great deal of trouble, the men were got into some sort of formation and an attempt was made to climb to the top of the cliffs. The cliff ran to a very considerable height and that made the Peninsula itself a very strong fortification. I want to mention that hundreds of our men were killed before they reached the shelter of the cliffs. However, the remainder managed to get to the top by way of a short ravine, and finally secured a position, though it certainly was a very precarious one, at the top. The attempt showed magnificent endurance on the part of these men, but they certainly made good. (Applause) There were heaps of wounded to be attended, lying around everywhere.

A the same time another landing took place by the Royal Fusiliers. They had managed to get ashore on the first day but were driven back and had to re-embark and come down to 'W' beach. The whole battalion then advanced up the cliffs on three sides. They entered as it were a gully, and from the left, right, and front of them, shrapnel, pom-poms, and rifle fire came down on top of them. They also had to negotiate a huge mass of barbed wire. Many of you know what the barbed wire was like in France. Well, it was barbed wire of the same type that the Turks used. You remember, in the early days of the war, the old-fashioned cutters that were used to cut the wire. Well, that is the kind that we had; and one boy would hold the wire with his cutter while another boy would smash down on it with his cutter. At the same time shrapnel and rifle fire would be pouring down on the top of them. These lads worked as though they were working on the farm fields of Canada, thousands of miles from shot or shell or bullet. (Applause) Of course, they paid a terrible price, a tremendous price! Blood must be shed when making an attack of that sort. The gallant fellows of the Lancashire Fusiliers paid heavily with their lives that day, but they finally cut their way through and on to the top of the ridge of what was known as 'Hill 41'.

Now they wanted to make an attempt to form a junction with the troops of the Munsters who had landed at 'V' beach. The attempt was made that morning, but they found it was impossible and they had to dig themselves in, and it was not until the following day, the morning of the 26th, that this junction was formed. Of course we wanted reinforcements, and wanted them badly. During that night of the 24th they had not had any sleep and did not get any until the early morning of the 26th. You know the human frame can only endure so much, and these men had been tested almost to a limit. At this stage the Dublin Fusiliers had found things too strong for them, and the enemy too many. As a matter of fact they were driven off and had

to re-embark, and they came back and formed a sort of reinforcement for the Lancashire Fusiliers.

A landing had not been expected by the enemy at 'Y' beach. It seemed impossible that any troops would be daring enough to attempt such a feat, but the K.O.S.B's, had proved their mettle time and again, and no braver troops ever fought for the British Empire, than the boys that come from Bonny Scotland. (Applause) These boys as a fact landed without much difficulty. Had they attempted landing at the left of the beach, they would have found tremendous odds and difficulties, and it was fortunate that they landed where they did. The Turks, however, rushed up a couple of battalions and lined the tops of the ravine and fired down on our boys. Our men fought their way to the top; the Turks rushed up reinforcements and our troops had to fight for their lives the whole day through. It was a very, difficult feat indeed and we lost tremendously, but our men made good their ground. Our men fought all day long and well into the night, and to show you how mixed up you can become on such an occasion, in the morning just when dawn was breaking they found a Turkish battery of machines right in their midst. I leave to your imagination what became of that battery. I can assure you, you will never meet any of those Turkish gunners if ever you visit Constantinople. (Laughter)

Well, our men held on and they were fighting tremendous odds, and they were far away from the rest of the troops. It was finally decided that they could hold on no longer as in some places they were outnumbered fifty to one, and waiting for the reinforcements that never came. It is well for us to remember this in our criticism, that there was always a shortage of men. Remember the superiority of the enemy in numbers and the difficulties we were up against. Remember the Turks had one of the strongest natural fortifications in the world. It took us a long time to realise that. When it was finally decided to re-embark, volunteers were called for to act as a rear-guard, and, to their everlasting credit, every one of

these men offered their services. A selection was made.

Now, it is bad enough to land troops; it is far worse to re-embark them—to take them away. It was thought that the rear-guard would certainly pay for their bravery with their lives. But these men held their position magnificently until their comrades were away and not a wounded man was left. (Applause) The rear-guard fought their way back yard by yard against an enemy that was never less than fifty to one. They fought their way back to the sea until they got to the edge of the ravine. All this time of course the Turks were firing on our men; many of them dropped but their comrades picked them up and took them along with them.

On the second or third day the French came and landed at 'V' beach. They were to take the right flank; we were keeping the west flank or west side of the Peninsula. Now, any officer here will readily understand that it is the most difficult thing in the world to manœuvre troops in such a small area. When you remember that we were opposed to a vastly superior force, and had to hold the line with barely sufficient men, and that every man lost meant a tremendous weakening of our forces, you will perhaps be able to realize the bravery of these gallant fellows.

Just a word about Anzac. The Australians were to land there, and some preliminaries had taken place in connection with the plan. It was intended that they should land as arranged, but by some mistake a batch of them landed a mile past where they should have landed. They landed a mile higher up. It was the most fortunate mistake ever made. In the British army, if you make a mistake and things go wrong, you hear all about it, but if you make a mistake and things turn out all right, you never hear anything about it. This batch of Australians made the mistake, as I have already told you, of landing a mile higher up. It seemed an impossible place to land. The Turks certainly never expected a landing there. If the Australians had landed where it was originally intended they should land, they would

have got caught in the wires and the Turks would have shot them down at their pleasure; in fact it would have been impossible for them to have made a successful landing there.

Fortunately they landed a mile higher up and went right through to the beach. They did not receive quite the same opposition there, and having landed so much higher up the Turks were not prepared to receive them. As soon as they landed they saw a couple of battalions of Turks on their way up to oppose them. The Australians were drawn into some sort of formation and went right through the Turks and kept them on the move until the gully and a good slice of land was actually occupied. In the meantime their units had become so mixed up that dozens of men of one unit would be at the other end of the line. We speak of a Philadelphia lawyer; it would have taken a Canadian lawyer to unravel them all. (Laughter)

The Turk, however, was not going to submit quietly. He rallied his forces and the Australians formed a sort of semi-circle. There were about seventeen thousand of them. Now, seventeen thousand is not a big army as we understand armies to-day. Against the Australians the Turks brought about thirty thousand troops. The men from the Antipodes held their ground magnificently, and even advanced; and around that semi-circle of Australians was a ridge of enemy dead, which took many days to clear away. Finer fighters than these Australians we do not possess. (Applause) They were brave, gallant fellows, every one of them.

A little about conditions. One of the worst was this: you could never get away from the beastly place. It was a beastly place; but, as a fact, I was peculiarly healthy, and though I tried to get a few diseases while I was there I could not manage it. (Laughter) Many of our poor fellows suffered terribly from dysentery and other diseases. When we landed first the place was not so bad; but afterwards we felt the heat very much, and we found the flies an awful pest; in fact they became a

terrible nuisance. I remember when we had to put our food in our mouths with one hand and with the other chase the flies away. As we heard one "Tommy" vulgarly say, we always had bread and meat. (Laughter)

Our dead had to lie out, and we could not get them in. It was impossible to get them in. They would lay out in front of the line for days at a time, and in the heat you know what that means. There was another thing: we were always short of men; I don't know when we were not short of men. We were always short of reinforcements, and consequently our boys did not get sufficient rest. As a fact they preferred staying in the line to going into what we would call the reserve dug-outs. We had not any nice French billets to go back to or any pretty French girls to wait on us. (Laughter) When the men were not working on the roads, they were in the line; and when they were not in the line, they were working on the roads. You know how pleased the soldier is to work on the roads. (Laughter) I may mention that, when we were resting in the dug-outs, on a normal day we lost more men than we did when we were in the trenches. When we were in the line, we were comparatively safe. When we were behind the lines, we were constantly under heavy shell-fire from the Turks.

In December word went round that evacuation was to take place. I remember when Kitchener visited us. Sir Charles Munro's advice had been to clear out and Kitchener came out and corroborated that advice. Suvla was evacuated and Anzac was evacuated afterwards, and to the astonishment of every one in the British Empire these two places had been evacuated without the loss of a single life. (Applause) Then came the question of evacuating Hellas. We held that long strip of land and it seemed impossible that it could be evacuated without very heavy loss of life. We next received word that we were to hold on, and you can imagine how pleased (?) we were to think that the other fellows were going and we had to stay behind. The reason was that

we were told that no British soldier should remain unburied, and let me say this; the padres carried out their work magnificently, for not a British soldier remained on the Peninsula unburied when we finally all cleared out. (Applause)

Preparatory to our evacuation, night after night not a rifle shot would be fired, every thing would be quiet. Two nights before the final evacuation, when we had just sufficient men to hold the line very thinly, the Turks made a desperate attack. We lost about one hundred killed and about the same number wounded, but the boys drove the Turks back. Had they broken through, every man on the Peninsula would have been killed or taken prisoner.

I may tell you that we were on hard rations and getting to be fond of bully beef and biscuits, and when you live on that diet for weeks at a time—breakfast, lunch, and dinner—well, you will agree with me that there are some things at home which could tickle the palate a little more. But I am standing proof that I did not lose any flesh eating bully beef and biscuits.

This final evacuation was a brilliant piece of work. Night after night the number of troops grew less, but I want to tell you that there was a great deal of rivalry as to who should stay to the last, and when I tell you that the rear-guard was almost certain to be doomed to death, you can readily understand the magnificent spirit of those brave fellows. All the sick and wounded had already gone and only the strongest remained behind. Everything was quiet except for an occasional round or two by our artillery to bluff the enemy. Every step we took we could hear the Turk coming closely behind us. Speaking about getting the wind up—well I am sure many of you know what that means. If you say you don't, well I won't believe you. It was a natural feeling, and we felt it would be hard luck to "pan" out on that last night. When we got to our place of embarkation, we had to remain absolutely silent and of course no lights had to be shown. Everything had to be perfectly quiet until we got on board. I was not the

last man on Gallipoli, but I have met about two hundred and fifty who were—(laughter)—but I was on the last boat. All the men were on board with the exception of a couple left to set lights to the various heaps of the different things we had left behind. They they were all piled up and petrol thrown over them and a match was put to the heap. As we were going away, word came that we could talk and say what we liked. Some of the men broke into a song beginning, "Good-bye, Johnnie, I must leave you." (Laughter)

I almost forgot to tell you that on the Asiatic side there was a big gun that used to be very troublesome. The boys called that gun, "Asiatic Annie." I hope you will permit me to quote an old song very popular at that time. It began,

"I am Annie from Asia
And I fairly play Hell
With those on the beaches
And the trenches as well.
The dwellers in Hellas
Will leave their wooden huts
For Annie from Asia
The Queen of the Sluts." (Laughter)

That is the worst of me, I can never forget a song if it has a "smack" in it. (Laughter)

Well, Gentlemen, I must now draw to a close; but before I do so let me recall to your mind the fact that on the other side of the Dardanelles we could see the old plain of Troy, where so many of the ancients fought so gallantly and so well, though not very often for a noble purpose and a noble ideal such as our boys fought for. Those lands on the other side of the Dardanelles are classic lands where the ancients fought for Helen of Troy. On this side now, there is ground no less classic where the boys of our empire have proved their valour and shown to the world that they were not decadent. This great old Empire is worth all the loyalty we can give it. (Applause) Our boys fought honourably

and well against tremendous odds, against overwhelming odds; and they fought equally as well on the fields of France and Flanders. Let us see to it that the victory so hardly won shall not be thrown away. (Loud applause)

COL. McKENDRICK:

*My Lord Bishop and Gentlemen,*—I am sure you can realize after having heard General Davey talk, the kind of man he is. I lived in the same mess with him for some months, but I don't think I attended his church very regularly. Perhaps it was because I thought I was better employed, and I could get a sermon from Davey any day in the week. Unfortunately, the British army thought it was necessary to work seven days a week. That is a mistake and we found it so the last year I was at the front. One of the things I did before I came home on 18 weeks' leave was to arrange that I would work six days a week and have Sunday for a day of rest. I always believed the Creator knew more about us than we knew about ourselves when he said we should rest on the seventh day. We find we can get more work out of a man in six days than out of seven. I will also say that General Davey endeared himself to every man of the Fifth army with whom he came in contact. I don't know how strong he was as a padre—I think I only attended one service of his—but he was beloved by the men and that means a lot in the army. He was long on humanity if he was short on other things. It is a great pleasure to me to move a vote of thanks to him, but just before I do so I would like to make one remark. The General told me that unfortunately when the Fifth army was driven back he lost his riding crop. I therefore have much pleasure in handing him another one to take the place of the one he lost. I would ask you to give a most hearty vote of thanks to this speaker. (Loud applause)

# IMPERIAL STRATEGY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES TOWNSHEND, K.C.B., D.S.O.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto. May 3, 1920.*

THE PRESIDENT, in introducing General Townshend, said: Gentlemen, you will agree with me that this is a very proud occasion in the history of the Empire Club. (Applause) It is a remarkable, but nevertheless a true fact that in all crises in connection with the Empire, whether they relate to the civil government—the foreign and domestic policy of it—or to commerce and finance, there always arises the man of the hour. We have seen various instances of that. Take the Premier, Mr. Lloyd George. (Applause) Regardless of politics or anything else, can anyone say that he was not the man of the hour? In the navy, Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty will go down in history for all time. (Applause) Admiral Jellicoe himself declared in our presence that it was the army that won the war, while men in the army will tell you that it was the navy who really won the war. Well, Gentlemen, we have with us to-night an equally great man in the Empire, a brave and true man. (Applause)

The campaign in Mesopotamia will go down in history as a highly important part in the out-come of the war, and upon the future status of the different people and races affected by the issues. In connection with that campaign, I think our distinguished and illustrious guest is entitled to every honour that can be bestowed upon him by a grateful people. It was fortunate for Great Britain, fortunate for us that we had a General Townshend who was available; it is fortunate for the

Empire Club that General Townshend is going to look us in the eye to-night and talk to us for a few minutes and let us understand something of what he has done and experienced. It requires no stretch of imagination to go back to the time when you and I would get up at four or five o'clock in the morning to find out what was becoming of General Townshend and his army. You remember it well. He is here to-night to tell us the story. I ask him to allow neither modesty nor time, nor anything else, to interfere with his telling of that story. Let him tell the whole story and we will be very grateful and delighted to hear him. We want him to know that we are good Britishers here. (Applause) We want him to know that we are trying to live for the Britain that he was willing to die for. I have great pleasure in introducing to you General Townshend of whom you have heard and read so much. (Applause)

## GEN. SIR CHAS. TOWNSHEND, K.C.B., D.S.O.

*Mr President and Gentlemen,* I am going to take the president at his word and talk ahead. Since I came to Toronto I have talked far more than I thought I was going to, but all I can say is that I am very glad and proud at the treatment I have received here. This place is indeed truly British, and when one crosses the border he soon realizes that it is Britain he is in. (Applause) We don't want to hear any more that a man is a Canadian, an Australian, or a New Zealander; we want to know he is British, and that is all. You know the smallest part of this great Empire is our little island itself. (Laughter) You can imagine the feelings I have for Canada; for I may say I have some connection with Canada myself, as it was my great-great-grandfather who received the fall of Quebec in 1769. I may say also that it was my great-great-uncle, Charles Townshend, who passed the Stamp Act which caused a bit of a stir at that time. (Laughter)

Now, Gentlemen, let us proceed to business. I may

tell you that just prior to the war, I was given a command in India. Everybody said that war would soon be coming, but we were told in perfect confidence that such was not the case, and even men of finance appeared to know nothing about it. Well, I arrived in India, and to my horror as soon as I had taken over command of my depot at Rawal Pindi war broke out. I thought to myself, here have I been wasting years of my life training and studying hard in the art of warfare and ready and anxious to fight the Germans, and now to think that Great Britain has declared war on Germany and I out here. You can imagine how pleased I was, when I suddenly received orders to proceed to Tigris and to take over command of an expedition to that place. My force consisted of some 13,000 men, and as you know, I was ordered up the Tigris. I will just skip over that part, as it would take too long to describe and it is all given in my book which I hope some of you will read. I think you will find much in that book that will interest you.

Well, after we had got as far as Amara and settled things there, I went back to India to have a talk with my Commander-in-Chief, and see what he wanted me to do. After considerable discussion I mentioned the fact to him that, if he wanted me to take Bagdad, I hoped he would make my forces up to 30,000 or 40,000 men. I pointed out to him that to take the offensive with an inadequate force was simply asking for disaster. He told me I was quite right, and that not one inch should I go beyond Kut-el-Amara unless I could make my forces up to 40,000 men. He wanted me to take Kut-el-Amara and I told him I would if I had sufficient troops. He was a very fine man and knew the difficulties that were in front of me. I had very fine troops—my 30,000 men—the pick of the British regiments in India consisting of the Dorsets, Norfolks, and the 57th Oxford Light Infantry, the late 43rd—a name well known to Canada—and my Indian regiment, a great regiment also. Well, I moved north from Amara and

came into contact with the enemy whom I found entrenched in a very strong position. He was in a very strong position indeed with every modern convenience as regards warfare, such as trenches, redoubts, and so forth. Of course you can readily imagine that I was not going to put my head into a noose by making a frontal attack against a position like that, so I made a big detour in the night and got on the right flank and rear of him and rolled him up like we would roll up a blanket. Directly we got in the midst of him with bayonet and grenade, the trick was done.

I thought that there I would take things a little easy, until my forces were increased and something decisive had taken place in the principal theatre of the war which was in France. You must understand that in war your principle theatre must have every force available. I knew that every soldier that could be spared was wanted in France. If everything went on well there, I knew that all other operations would fall into our lap like ripe apples off a tree. You can then understand my astonishment when I was ordered to advance on Bagdad with the small forces at my command, now reduced after the battle of Kut-el-Amara to 8,500 bayonets. I want you to realize what that meant. You know it is your bayonets you have to depend upon to win a battle. No matter how much good work the artillery has done in smashing the trenches, and so forth, there comes a time when the infantry has to advance if it is going to win that battle. Well, the enemy had been giving it to us pretty hot, and I knew that the worst was yet to come, but I went on with my unfortunate infantry. I advanced where the Turks were very strongly entrenched, and consisting of a force of 24,000 men. I had hoped before then to hear that reinforcements were arriving, but having been ordered to advance I lost no time in deciding this battle. Before I proceeded, however, I warned the Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia that to advance with my small force meant disaster. It was against my own wishes, but I had to obey orders.

In civil life if a man is not satisfied and disagrees with his superiors, well, he can resign. That cannot be done in army life. Imagine on the eve of a big battle if John Jones or Sammy Snooks said, "I am not going on!" Can you imagine the results? Why there would be nothing but disaster. However, I had done my duty in warning my superiors, and I was ready to carry out any order I might be given. That was my view, and if you place me in such a position to-morrow I will do the same thing again. (Applause) Well, after that battle—the battle of Ctesiphon, in my opinion, one of the bloodiest battles in the war—I was in a very desperate situation, but I did not consult anyone as to what I should or should not do. A man who is in sole command, on his shoulders alone rests all the responsibilities. I certainly listened to all that my officers had to say, but I never told them that I would do this, that, or the other thing. If the result turns out satisfactorily, the leader will get all the credit, but if he is defeated, he gets all the after-blow. If a man is instructed in the art of war and understands his business, he does not want anyone to prompt him. If, in a situation like that, you mistrust your own mind and your own judgment, you can only preserve authority by letting your men see that you have entire confidence in your own ability to pull through. If you have reason to think that there is anything wrong with your own judgment, you might send for this man or that man and talk over the situation with him, but you would never tell him your opinion of what you are to do. After talking over the situation with him, you would then dismiss him and consult somebody else and get his opinions on the matter, but you would never tell them what your thoughts were, and whose opinions you considered best. In that way you always preserve your authority. It is the same in business; once you start to listen to the opinions of your subordinates and ask for their advice you lose your authority.

To proceed to the battle of Ctesiphon. I occupied

the enemy in front with a small force, and with the remainder I made a long night march of fifteen miles around their flank, and fell upon him at dawn, and in an hour or so I had the supreme delight of seeing the whole Turkish army in flight. I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw that the Turks were flying in rout; it was a wonderful sight, and I jumped on my horse and raced over and galloped as fast as I could go to watch them. The battle was mine, and I thought, was there ever such a victory as that of Ctesiphon! We captured the position with most of the guns, when I was suddenly attacked by a new army coming up of about 70,000 men. You can imagine what that meant to me with only 8,000. It was a situation similar to that which happened at Waterloo in the critical moments when Napoleon made his last advance against Wellington, and when the Prussians appeared on Napoleon's flank. There was no help in sight for us, and the only thing to do was to set our teeth and fight it out.

The sea was 360 miles behind me, and there were no troops between me and it. We had to stand where we were. The morale of some of the Indian troops at this point was not all that could be desired, as they were coming back to the rear in groups. That fact alone was sufficient to tell me that the officers had lost control over them. Instead of a wounded man coming in alone there were three or four men helping him, and those of you who are soldiers here to-night will know what that means. I did not like that sight, and I gave orders that any man helping to assist the wounded to the rear would be court-martialed. I know what helping wounded to the rear means. Things were going very badly then, and there was a great loss of officers. I sent the men forward again, and told them that I was going to fight the thing out. But the force opposing me was too strong, and I could see that it was impossible for me to advance. I determined to retreat to Kut. It was the only thing that I could do, and I determined to make a stand and wait for reinforcements from overseas to

relieve the situation. I knew it meant disaster to go on with inadequate forces. I gave out I was not going to leave Ctesiphon; I gave out I was going to stay there, and told the men to make themselves comfortable. That was simply to give confidence to all ranks under me. That gave me time to evacuate my wounded. I was preparing to start for Kut one night when I found the enemy gradually enveloping my flank. Well, we managed to slip away in the night, and in that retreat of 90 miles, to show you the discipline and valour of those men after fighting a battle like Ctesiphon, I turned around and administered a severe defeat to the whole advance guard of the Turkish army. (Applause) Everything was now moving with clock-like precision. I cannot speak too highly of my troops; they were simply splendid.

On arriving at Kut I took the decision to stay. I knew from my study of history that a besieged force very seldom escapes from surrendering. I thought of Cornwallis of Yorktown, whose position was very similar to my own. I informed my Commander-in-Chief how the situation was, and that I could continue to retreat until I got reinforcements; but I was ordered to remain at Kut, and thought I would be relieved within two months. I thought that perhaps it was better to make a stand with my troops, than to be kicked out of Mesopotamia; for the result in India would have been most deplorable.

To come now to the defence of Kut. I had two months supplies for the whole of my forces, and I had been reinforced by the British regiment, the West Kents, the old half-hundred. We dug in night and day as hard as we could, and all the time the Turks were advancing on us. The answer came from down below, "Hold on and we will relieve you in two months.". Well, Gentlemen, I did all in my power with the small force under my command, and held out as long as I could. That siege lasted five months and two days, and it was starvation only that forced me to surrender. (Applause)

My men were dying at the rate of from twenty to twenty-four a day, hundreds were down with scurvy, and only then did I surrender when ordered to do so by my own government. (Applause)

On Christmas day the Turks made a great assault on Kut, but we were ready for them. That attack, however, probably would have been successful, but the Turkish Commander-in-Chief did not send up sufficient troops to the aid of the assaulting party which had gained an entrance. By using every available man I threw them out by 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning after great loss on both sides. After all, that fight was of great advantage to me, because it took all the fight out of them, it took the guts out of them in every attempt after that. They had a very bloody lesson that night, and never again did they attack me. Several occasions after that their officers tried to get their men to attack us, but they simply refused to do so. I may say that General Aylmer was the General who was trying to relieve me. He was a very gallant fellow, and I knew him personally. He was a skilful commander, brave and good in counsel, and I always touch my cap to Aylmer. I would rather have been relieved by General Aylmer than anyone else, but luck was against us. You know there is such a thing as luck in war. And when a great Roman general described himself as lucky rather than great, he revealed a profound knowledge of the art of war. You must never rail at luck.

Well, I told you I had two months' supplies, and I could see that I should not be relieved in that time, so I set to work to find more food. I knew from my experience in the Soudan that the Arab always conceals food. I said to them, "I hear you have got some grain hidden, and if you do not produce it, I will have to shoot you at sunset." The methods of the Germans are sometimes useful, you know. Of course I did not intend to shoot them, but the threat had the desired effect; for in a short time I had sufficient food to enable me to hold out for five months, although of course it had to be

served out in very limited quantities. They were wonderful, those men; I loved them and they loved me. I always went amongst them and mixed with them. You must let your men know that you do not mind going into the firing line along with them. (Applause) You must show that you are human; you must be as man to man. I know I express myself very badly, but you will understand what is in my mind. If you show that human touch, they will do anything for you. I enjoyed their confidence through to the last.

Finally, I could see that there was no hope; food was giving out, and the men were dying at the rate of twenty a day. An aeroplane tried to drop food to us, but it was an utter failure, as the Germans at that time had superiority of the air. The plan was not given a fair trial, as we had not the air power, and the Germans were bombing us night and day, and drove off our machines. Finally, I was advised to surrender by my superiors and told to make the best terms I could. You can imagine what my feelings were, for I never believed that I would have to surrender. I offered to cut my way out, but I was told to stay where I was, as I could never get away with my wounded and my guns. There are some critics who have said, not to me, because those critics were anonymous, why did not General Townshend cross the Tigris and join Aylmer? You will always find that kind of critics at the breakfast table with their morning newspapers; everything to them seems so easy; but there is a great difference between theory and work, and criticism and execution. Look at the map, look at the position I was in, surrounded on all sides and with no hope of getting help, and then perhaps you will appreciate the situation I was in. I met one of my critics —I only took notice of one— and he was pointing with his finger to the map. "Look here," he said, "why could you not have crossed the river at this point?" "I could," I said, "If your finger had been a bridge". (laughter) That is one way to answer your critics.

When Kut fell, I want to tell you of the chivalry of

the Turkish Commander. I offered him my sword. He said, "No!" He gave it back to me with both hands saying, "Wear that sword; you have worn it with honour and you must always wear it." He gave me a written declaration which stated that my men would be well-treated. I pointed out to him that my men would all die if they were forced to march, as they were mere skeletons. He agreed with me, and I am fully convinced that all the horrors which my men were subjected to were entirely due to the German staff officers who surrounded the Turkish leader; that so much pressure was brought to bear upon him that he could not do otherwise. It can easily be seen that the German staff wanted to humiliate the British, as much as possible, in the eyes of the people of the countries they intended to annex as soon as they won the war. As far as my own treatment was concerned, I was treated most honourably indeed, and I did not know of the men's treatment until 1917. I thought, of course, that the men would have been treated in the same way after I had been promised that they would. Before I surrendered, I blew up all my guns and destroyed the rifles by throwing away the bolts so that they would be of no use to the enemy. (Applause) As I said, they treated me most honourably, and took me to Constantinople. I had done my best, and I knew that I had done my duty. (Applause)

Well, I was taken on board a launch, and when the Turkish officers came to take me away, my own officers and men crowded down on the fore-shore, and though it may seem vain of me to tell you—I do not mean it that way—but those men cheered me as long as I was in sight. I don't mind telling you that I cried like a child. (Applause) On arriving at Constantinople you would have thought that I was inspecting the place. I was wearing my sword, and there was a guard of honour at the station, of Turkish officers. I thought to myself, am I a prisoner of war, or am I going to command Constantinople? Everyone saluted me—me, a prisoner of war—and I was given a house with a pretty garden,

and had a yacht at my disposal. You know I am very fond of yachting. (Laughter) I tell you there was no limit to the generosity of the Turks. I confess I feel a kind of hesitation in referring to it. At the same time, I think I will tell you the whole truth while we are here to-night.

The Turkish commander came to me one day and said, "I am sorry that your Excellency is fretting." It was perfectly true. We were sitting in the garden supping coffee and smoking cigarettes, and I said, "Of course I am, I wonder at times I do not go mad." I said, "Give me my liberty and let me go; I do want to go to the Western Front and fight the Germans." He said, "Yes, we will give you your liberty, we will be delighted to give it to you." Those were the wonderful sentiments of the unspeakable Turk. (Laughter) He then said, "We want you to make a marriage." I felt rather diffident. I said, "I am married, I married a French lady in Paris, a most charming woman." "Oh," he said, "this is only a temporary marriage." (Laughter) "We have some beautiful Circassians." I said, "Yes, I know; pray don't put me down as being qualified as a subject for a stained-glass window, but we don't do that sort of thing in our Club." The Turk seemed very upset at my refusal. I just mention this to show you that there was no limit to his generosity. (Laughter)

Well Gentlemen, I made three attempts to escape, but it would take too long to go into all the details. I had succeeded in getting a message to the British, and I had also succeeded in getting to sea several times in a small boat. I flashed a light up and down by means of an electric light, but with no result, and had to go back after a five mile pull, and had to climb cliffs, through gardens and windows and back into my "home"—in fact I may say that, after that experience, I am now qualified as a first-class burglar. However, there was only one thing to do and that was to keep on smiling. Words fail me to describe how I felt, and I must confess that my spirits sank very low. But I was determined I

should get away. One day the Turkish commander sent for me and asked me if I would help him. I was rather surprised at the request, and I told him I would. He then told me that Allenby was approaching Aleppo and had taken Damascus. I pointed out to him that in that case he was "in Queer Street." He said he was, but that he could keep the game going for another five months, and would I help him to secure good terms with the British? I told him I would, as he had treated me honourably. Remember, I had never given my parole, and never would. But I made a certain proposition to them, never thinking that they would listen to it for a moment. I told them that, if they were agreeable, they must authorise me to open the Dardanelles. (Applause) They accepted all my proposals, and I accomplished what I considered a great coup. You can imagine my satisfaction at having accomplished as a prisoner of war what I had failed to do with my army.

I was taken to Smyrna in plain clothes, and when the inquisitive ones asked who I was, I told them that I was a Swiss Admiral. (Laughter) The Turk, you see, has no sense of humour. Well, I arrived at Smyrna, and there was a guard of honour at the station, and the streets were all be-flagged, and the people shouting and hurrahing. I had now left Constantinople, and was very anxious to get on board a boat and shove off. At last I got away, and steamed down the Gulf of Smyrna. Just before we came quite close to the shore, the officer in command of the mine sweeper came to me and said, "Your Excellency, I propose to anchor." I said, "Why?" He said, "Well, there is a mine field—five miles of mines—and I don't know where they are." I was determined to get away, however, and I said, "Go very slowly, at half speed." He said, "No, I won't take the risk." However, I persuaded him to go until we discovered the island for which we were heading on our port beam, and made for the harbour, which was occupied by some English destroyers, the men on board of which I am told were never asleep. All was in darkness, and we

got alongside of a destroyer and climbed on board. Suddenly the whole place was full of lights. Someone shouted, "Who are you?" And I said, "General Townshend." "Good God!" I heard a voice say, "I never expected to see you here."

I stayed there a week, when I got on board a boat which the admiral had placed at my disposal, and I arrived two mornings afterwards at Tarantum, and ultimately arrived at Paris, at which place I received quite a reception. I went to see Clemenceau, as he had sent for me. He shook hands with me and said, "I congratulate you on having shortened the war by several months, saved millions of money and thousands of lives. (Applause) Well, shortly after everything collapsed in the Turkish Empire. I do not wish to say that it was by my diplomacy, it was only a remarkable series in the chain of events. One thing I will say, however, the Turks treated me most honourably. I think they used me as a sort of ambassador. It was stated in the press that I had been seen in London several times—a most extraordinary thing. Many people appeared to think that I was sent there secretly, and that was during the time of my captivity. It was purposely untrue, of course.

Well, Gentlemen, I thank you all most heartily for the reception given me to-night, and I hope some day that I will come back to Toronto again and see some of your magnificent buildings, which have quite delighted me. (Loud and prolonged applause)

## HON. AND REV. DR. CODY:

*Mr. President, Sir Charles, Gentlemen*:—From the earliest days of recorded history many famous soldiers have also been men of letters. Soldiers have been able to give marvellous accounts of their deeds. Many of you, I suppose, have read of the wonderful achievements of one Julius Cæsar. We remember the marvellous aptness of phrase and clearness of description that characterized the telling of his campaign. To-night we have

a living instance of the literary continuity between the great writers of the past and the guest of the evening. (Applause) It gives all of us a strange thrill to listen here in this City of Toronto to one of the great soldiers in the late war telling us in plain, straightforward language the story of the campaign in Mesopotamia. We have heard in this room Cardinal Mercier telling us of things spiritual and things moral, of what he had seen and suffered in Belgium. We have heard Admiral Jellicoe tell something of what he was privileged to do in the great days of conflict. And now we have to-night just had the privilege of hearing one of the great heroes of endurance in war tell us bluntly and in a straightforward manner of his heroic achievements, and still more heroic defence. (Applause) It is as though the great crises of history were being displayed before us. No man, I think, was more fitted to undertake the task which General Townshend was called upon to do. He has been a man of war from his youth up; he has been a fighting soldier, a brilliant strategist, one of the most brilliant students of the history of war, and one of the most scientific writers on strategy. He has also shown us that he is a man through and through, human and humane. (Applause) He never ordered one of his men to do what he was not willing to do himself. He is also indirectly a great diplomatist, and he has also revealed to us that he is a humourist of no small kind. (Applause) Now, as I was looking over my "Times' History of the War" this afternoon I came upon a cutting that carried General Townshend back to the days when he was in a pretty hot part of the world, where with his banjo and cheerfulness he whiled away hours of weariness in the writing of verse. Perhaps he would disclaim the authorship—but this is the chorus of his famous song of the "Camel Corps" written in 1884:—

"Oh, I have rode on a horse, and I rode on a bus,
I rode in a railway train,
I have rowed in a boat, and I rode in a pub,
And I hope to do so again.

But I am riding now on an animal
I never rode before,
Equipped with spurs and pantaloons—
I'm a member of the 'Camel Corps.'"

(Laughter)

Gentlemen, we can never forget the part he played in the sensational and brilliant defence of Kut. As we all know, so far as British soldiers are concerned, it is not the immediate and outward sense of valour that really counts, but whether a man did his duty; and some of the greatest and proudest achievements have been wrought out in dark days when men have had to act on the defensive, a position proverbially dangerous, as a rule, for the enemies of Britain. (Applause) We welcome him here to-night to Canada as one of the overseas envoys of Empire. He needs no defence; the part he took in Mesopotamia speaks for itself. He obeyed, and he did his duty. His great siege and defence of Kut-el-Amara will take its place in British history as one of the most inspiring events of our long and glorious record. We greet with admiration one of Britain's greatest generals, and we are glad and proud to think that he has honoured this Club by his presence here to-night. We feel that his presence throughout the towns and cities of Canada will make our Empire more real and true to us, and will strengthen still more, if they need strengthening, those invisible ties that bind us together in the greatest league of Nations that has ever been known—the glorious, invincible, optimistic British Empire. (Applause)

COL. MacKENDRICK:

*General Townshend and Gentlemen*,—I suppose that most of you know that the Canadians were given the name of being the biggest thieves on the Western Front. (Laughter) They sometimes surpassed our friends, the Australians. In 1916 I was in charge of some roadwork for the Canadian Construction Corps. A Canadian sergeant was in charge of a party, or perhaps I should say a Canadian engineer. He told me one day that he

had some souvenirs, and he would be very glad if I would accept a little present from him. One of the things he had was the bronze letter slot of the front door of the Cloth Hall of the Town of Ypres. Another day a portion of the bell from that same place had suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. This young man told me he had some wood from the door of the same Hall, and he said he would be very glad if I would accept the cane which I have to-day. He was afterwards sent to the Somme, and he bequeathed me the remains of the door, which I have had made into canes. I presented one to Byng and to Currie. Being of a Scotch turn of mind, I realised that this was thrifty business. Going through, I wondered if there was any more of that door left. I may say I found the whole of the front of the Cloth Hall had originally been enclosed with a pair of huge doors. The remains were shattered and blown off by shell-fire. Well, the doors were cut into canes, and the cross-bars were made into riding crops.

I presented one to General Gough, who was commanding the Fifth Army in those days. Shortly after, the King visited us. The next day I was told that His Majesty would like one of those canes, and of course I gave him one. Unlike some of his predecessors who had received the canes, he was thoughtful enough to return me his autograph. I then inquired if Sir Douglas Haig would like a cane. The answer came back, "Why, certainly," and I had a cane duly inscribed and sent him one. I got a charming letter. As I had met the Commander-in-Chief a couple of times I thought it wise to send him a personal note; for I wanted his autograph, which I duly received. In giving away these canes, I have only given them to men who have done something really good for our British Empire, men who have done something worth while. Coming here I thought it would be a pleasant memento for the General to carry away with him. I realise the able work General Townshend has done for us and the British Empire as a whole. I have much pleasure, General, in handing you this cane. (Loud Applause)

# THE FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE IN ALBERTA

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
HON. DUNCAN McLEAN MARSHALL

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, May* 6, 1920

THE PRESIDENT, in introducing Hon. Mr. Marshall, said, Gentlemen, We are hearing just now much about increased production and the back to the land movement; in fact, these are topics of paramount importance to-day. Now I want to say that the man in the East who has no interest in the West is not much good to the East. We are hearing much these days about a United Empire, but that must necessarily stand also for a United Canada. When any part of our great country is in need of help or sympathy, we expect to give it, and when we hear of its success, we feel that it is our business to congratulate that part of Canada; in other words we want to be one whole from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and not a divided country. (Applause) If you want to know something about the West, go to one who knows the West, and not to a man who thinks he knows. We have a man here to-day who knows the West and is going to talk on the subject of agriculture. That reminds me of a story, which, although some of you may have heard it before, I am going to relate. A mule and an ox were united for the purpose of doing some work on the farm. After a little while the mule lay down. The farmer came along and put it in the barn. The next day the ox asked the mule what the farmer had said to him. "Nothing," replied the mule. The next day the ox lay down and the farmer came and took him away. That night the mule asked the ox what

the farmer had said to him. "He didn't say anything." replied the ox, "but the last I saw of him he was talking to the butcher." (Laughter)

Well, Gentlemen, what is wanted to-day is increased production and, perhaps, also a little more economy. Greater production, as everybody has been telling us, is what we want, and I have great pleasure in introducing to you a man who is the Minister of Agriculture for Alberta, who I have no doubt will have something of vital importance and interest to tell us. (Applause)

## HON. DUNCAN MARSHALL

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,* in the first place I am not sure whether I ought not to congratulate this organization on the kind of secretary it has. I may say that he is the most persistent man that has been on my trail for some time. (Laughter) He has been wiring me for the last sixty days to come and speak to you, when he might have been sending wires to hire a good speaker. I may say, because of the fact that I am Scotch, I replied to them all "collect." (Laughter) He asked me to indicate what I should talk about, and I suggested that I should talk about the future of agriculture in Alberta. When I got down here, he persuaded me to talk about the "Future of Agriculture in Canada"—just a matter of extending the subject a little. Now, anything relating to the future is a matter of prophesy, and if you do not agree with what is said, then do not blame me.

Now, the few remarks which I am going to make to-night have a bearing on the whole of Canada. This is a good province in which to speak on the subject of agriculture at the present time, as you have a real farmers' government in power in the province of Ontario, and I am very pleased indeed to have beside me Mr. Doherty, the Minister of Agriculture of Ontario. (Applause) I have been on Mr. Doherty's farm before he was Minister of Agriculture, and if he handles his de-

partment as well as his own live stock business, I have no fear as to its administration during the next few years. This party, I believe, is known as the United Farmers, and I notice a great deal of deference towards it. Even your chairman, instead of saying that the mule was hitched to an ox, said that the mule and the ox were united. (Applause) I do not just know how I will get along with a gathering of this kind—a meeting of the Empire Club. I don't know that I am in quite as happy a frame of mind in addressing a gathering of this sort as I would be in the schools out in the country, talking to people who are vitally interested in the business. I am somewhat in the position of an Englishman who had a small part in a show of some kind. He was acting the part of some historical character and was sitting in a passage which was very badly illuminated. An old lady who saw him remarked, "Are you Appius Claudius?— "No", he replied, "I am as un'appy as 'ell." (Laughter)

Well, Gentlemen, this is a time when everyone is taking more and more interest in agriculture than ever before. There is more interest taken in agriculture to-day among business men and industrial men, not only on this continent but all over the world. We have just come through a period when the importance and value of agriculture have been brought very prominently before us, with the result that nearly everybody is talking to-day about ways and means of developing and improving agriculture in our country.

May I just say a few words with reference to my own province? You have heard some stories respecting the difficulties we have had during the past winter. Some of the stories have been exaggerated; in many cases I am sorry to say they have not. There were cases reported in the newspapers of farmers shooting their cattle, and shooting themselves, and nonsense of that kind. I took the trouble to make an examination of some of these localities to find out if anyone had resorted to such extreme measures, and in every case I found that it was just a yarn. Of course, there is no getting away from the

fact that we have had about seven months of winter this year, an extremely long winter for the province of Alberta, and there was a great shortage of food. However, there was not a week during the winter but that prices were good. It is true that the live stock population was decreased during the winter by one third, but this was not through death, but by sale. The farmers of Alberta are now firmly convinced that cattle raising is the safest kind of agriculture, and what is made through the crops this year will be re-invested in live stock of a superior grade. Despite the winter, conditions are such in Alberta that there will be more progress in a month or six weeks this year than there was in twice that period last year. There is more moisture in the ground than there has been for fifteen years. As I said, we have had a very difficult winter, and the conditions in our spring are somewhat similar to what has been here. But if we have had a difficult winter, we had only to face the hardships that pioneers have to face. It seems to me that it is necessary for pioneers to face these hardships in order to make them fit to live in their new environment. I believe the people who settle in a country and fight the battles incidental to pioneering, produce in the next generation the best class of people that can be met anywhere. It seems to me that the future of agriculture in any country to-day depends largely upon the men employed and engaged in it. At the present time everyone is interested in agriculture, whether he ploughs or not. Every business man and everyone in industrial life throughout the country is watching the development of agriculture.

We must keep the boys on the farm. I haven't much faith in the back-to-the-land movement, as city life spoils men for farming. We must make every effort to get the boys born on the farms to stay on the farms, and to do this we must have the very best facilities for the best education in agriculture. The theoretical part is all right, but no one should be allowed to teach in an agricultural college who has not been able to get a living on a farm.

The young people must get the right viewpoint and see the possibilities rather than be allowed to think that they are condemned to the life. We must make it possible for the boys and girls to stay on the farm, and impossible for them to leave. The farmer's child, who knows live stock and can judge it, is the one who gets the most pleasure out of life. Nothing has done so much for live stock in Canada as the Ontario Agricultural College classes in stock-judging. (Applause) If you ask me what are we going to do with our boys, I say there is only one answer to that question—encourage them to stay on the farm. In our province to-day a great part of it will not be seeded, because men cannot be secured to work on the farms. I think it is a great pity that to-day, when there are so many organizations of various kinds, there is not one which will hold out any inducements to our boys to remain on the farm. After all, it is a fine thing to have a business in which a man can take pleasure in life, and the place where a man should get the most pleasure out of life is the home. There ought to be greater inducement offered to keep men of intelligence and men of ability, men who were born on the farm, to stay there and earn their livelihood, where they can find satisfaction and enjoyment in the business in which they are engaged. (Applause) If the future of agriculture in Canada is to be what it ought to be, it has got to be encouraged.

The future of live stock in our country depends on getting the very best kind of men available. There is only one way to accomplish that result, and that is through the training and encouragement of our boys and girls who are on the farms. You know we are passing through strenuous days, when there are all kinds of organizations formed for raising wages and prices, and the big problem is to develop one industry where the manager is the hired man, and where he pays himself the wages he thinks necessary. The farmer is the one man who is going to escape the One Big Union. (Applause) The most important factor is to raise boys and

girls on the farm and keep them there. If we do this, we shall reach a state of independence. Quit "hollering" for greater production; hire or rent a farm and grow something yourself. (Applause) If we are going to have greater production in the future than we have had in the past, we have not only to grow boys on the farm but keep them there. You hear a lot of people talk about going on the land, but I am afraid that some of them only want their back to the land. (Laughter) It is the easiest thing in the world to go back to the land; all you have to do is to go out into the country, and the farmers will receive you with open arms.

In these days when there are so many organizations whose aims are to destroy individuality we should be thankful that there is one that encourages individual effort. Farming is the one industry that encourages a man for its direct benefits, and it should attract men of intelligence as one in which they can get a living and at the same time receive the maximum of enjoyment and pleasure. There is always a higher goal to be reached. If the future of agriculture in Canada is to be what we want it to be, we must be competent and progressive. (Applause) Our live-stock breeding, which is the backbone of agriculture, must keep abreast of that of other countries, and to do this we must have scientific training for the boys and girls on the farm. Other children get education, but the children of the rural districts are too far from the scenes of learning to get sufficient to make them appreciate the advantages of life on the farm.

I was with a man one day when he had three men at work on his farm. If I was to tell you the wages he offered them, you would all start for the west tomorrow. He gave them some money and told them to meet him at the station that night. When he got there, they were nowhere to be found. Gentlemen, the hope of agriculture rests largely, if not almost entirely, on the boys and girls residing on the land, and it is up to us to get them to remain there. It is true that occasionally we rescue some boys from the city who acquire a taste for the country,

but the future of agriculture largely depends on getting the boy born on the farm to stay there, getting them to understand that the glare and the glitter of the cities are not all that they imagine them to be, and getting them to understand and appreciate more of the possibilities and advantages of farming. They should receive more of an agricultural education. Agricultural education does not mean fitting a man to leave the land; that has been the result of that kind of education in too many instances. In England, and indeed all over the world, the people are just awakening to the value of an agricultural education to-day, and particularly in that branch relating to the breeding of live-stock. The raising of live-stock is a very scientific business. You can go through this province, or any part of Canada, and in some places you will find two or three men breeding good live-stock. Then, for some reason or other, on the next farm you will see the most miserable kind of scrubs you could possibly meet. You will find instances of that kind wherever you go.

While the future of agriculture depends largely on the men, the government can help by offering the boys and girls of the farms the very best and most scientific training. The great problem after all amounts to this: what are we to do in this country to make it not only possible for the boys to stay on the farms, but impossible for them to leave the farm? That resolves itself into the question of education. You must instil into the minds of the boys, by scientific training in the method of breeding live-stock, that here is an occupation at once interesting and profitable. I would suggest that means be afforded to these boys to visit different farms all over the province so that they may see what is being done in the way of breeding live-stock. If this were done, the boys would then get a wider knowledge and an incentive to go ahead and produce the very best kind of live-stock. I once visited a man whose land was supposed to grow nothing but stones, but I should like you to see that man's stables. He certainly knew how to keep his live-stock

in good shape. His cattle at all times were fit for the market or show, and he kept his stables so clean that you would almost as soon live in them as in the house. That man knew his business, but I wonder how many stables are in that condition. What in the name of common sense is the use of a man keeping scrubby cattle, allowing them to wander around in search of food, and herding them in dirty and ill-ventilated stables? You will never rear good live-stock that way. That is the kind of understanding we want our boys to get.

The rearing of good healthy live-stock is the foundation stone of good agriculture. I don't care what country you take, you will find in the final analysis that success or failure in the farming districts of that country will depend upon the production of its live-stock. Do you know that there is far more romance in the pedigree of a good Shorthorn cow than in the past histories of many men? (Laughter) If you can get your boys and girls to understand what that means, to realize that master minds have been engaged in the last fifty years in the production of our great show animals, to learn something of the efforts and disappointments to achieve those results, you will have accomplished something worth while. One of the things to get the boys to understand is that no one man, or no two generations of men, can become perfect in that kind of work. That is something that no man can ever achieve perfection in. When the time comes when a man has to drop out of the game of breeding good, healthy live-stock, let him hand them over to his boys and girls in his declining years and see whether they can improve upon what the old man has done. I hope when I am not very old—say eighty or ninety years, and not much good at addressing a gathering of this kind (laughter)—I hope when that time comes, and when I have to hand over the work of the farm to my boys and girls, they will say: "I guess the old man was right when he insisted that we should not sell this heifer; maybe the old man knew a little about his business." Let the boys and girls go on in this magnificent business and hand it down to another generation.

Breeding cattle is a very scientific business, and it should pass from the hands of one great breeder to the hands of another great breeder. You will find it an occupation in which you are getting the very best there is out of life, and you will find that you are a personality in the estimation of all good live-stock men in the country. If you wish to come into contact with the most intelligent and practical men of business in this class of work. you should go to the International Exhibition at Chicago. There you will find the greatest breeders of Shorthorns and Herefords and Clydesdales that can be found anywhere. At the present day there are thousands of men in America spending time and money and energy in buying up the greatest race-horses and cattle that can be found anywhere. The cattle market rules the world today.

Well, Gentlemen, I hope to see the day when there will be institutions solely devoted to the future of agriculture and household science. If the governments of our country will do that for the farmers, there is not much fear of the development of agriculture, and we will have the best farms in the world. We have a splendid heritage of land in this country. In old Ontario—I have seen a good deal of it—you have a splendid heritage here. I venture to say that, in my own province, there is not twenty per cent of the arable land that is under cultivation at the present moment. We have thousands of acres of good prairie land awaiting men of energy to cultivate and till it. I hope to see it under cultivation during the next few years. I do not understand why so many people want to stay in the miserable cities when there is so much land on which they could settle. Of course there are some men who will never make a success on a farm. Looking after live-stock to some men means nothing but cleaning out stables, and they are naturally prejudiced against that. A man will always be prejudiced about that sort of thing. There are some stables I would hate to clean out myself. But it should be a pleasure and not a toil to see the stalls well cleaned and the cattle well bedded down. I

want to see the development of agriculture all over Canada to-day, because, more than anything else, it will make for the development of good citizenship and the very best manhood of the nation. Maybe after a while when we have a well populated countryside, we may spare a few of our boys from the country to come in and put some new blood into the decrepit old cities. Some of your great cities, like New York and London, would have died out long ago if it had not been for the good red blood that was turned into them from the agricultural surroundings. (Applause)

## THE HON. MANNING DOHERTY

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,* I am sure we must all have thoroughly enjoyed the very excellent and instructive address to which we have just listened. Mr. Duncan Marshall is one of the most progressive and outstanding agriculturists that the Dominion of Canada has ever produced. (Applause) I have been thinking during the past few weeks that, at the conclusion of the session of the House and after my own strenuous in-door occupation, it would be necessary for me to pack up and go to some place where I could recuperate. After listening to the inspiring and breezy address of my honourable friend, I feel almost like a new man. He is one man who has made agriculture a profession, and has taken up his government duties and has performed them in a manner which has made him one of the outstanding men of agriculture, not only in the Province of Alberta, but throughout the whole Dominion. It has been claimed over and over again that we in the East have done a lot for the West. We have. It is also claimed that for every undertaking in the West the people of Ontario have paid fifty per cent. of the cost. That is true; but the greatest contribution that old Ontario has made to Western Canada has been in men, such as my old friend Duncan Marshall, who comes from Ontario. They have made the development of agriculture in the Western

Provinces the success that it is to-day. Mr. Marshall has placed many facts before you, the outstanding one of which is that agriculture to-day is occupying very much more attention in the minds of big financial men and business men than ever before. We have come to realize the importance of a vigorous agricultural development, and men to-day are looking anxiously to agriculture and the development of agriculture, not only in this country, but in all the food-producing countries in the world. We realized during the last few years that this old world has never been more than six weeks ahead of starvation. Mr. Marshall is considered an authority on agricultural conditions. He is a man after my own heart.

I was for some years a teacher of agriculture in the Agricultural College in Guelph. I realized that though that institution be ever so efficient, the staff ever so efficient, the courses ever so broad and satisfying, it was not the success it might be, because we never could hope for more than a small percentage of the rural boys of the province to reach that college. There should be no expense spared in providing an efficient educational system in the rural parts of the provinces. Only the other week, in presenting the supplementary estimates for education, it delighted me to hear member after member in discussing the estimates, instead of trying to cut them down, wanting to know if the amount was sufficient. They realized that it is necessary for the government to give the people in the rural districts equal opportunities with the people in the cities to educate their children. The farmers in the Province of Ontario, and especially the mothers, are determined that their sons and daughters shall receive as good an education as the children of parents in the towns and cities. I remember one time hearing a farmer in Guelph describe our educational system as being something like a ladder that reaches from the Schoolhouse in the country to the University in the city. The trouble has been so far that the ladder to the University is away from the farm, and there is no provision made for the man who does not wish to send his

children to the city. Gentlemen, I move that we express our sincere thanks for the very interesting and illuminating address which has been given us by Mr. Marshall, and for the honour which he has done us in coming here. (Applause)

# THE BRITISH LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY LT.-COL.
LEOPOLD S. AMERY, M.P.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Monday, June* 14, 1920

THE PRESIDENT, in introducing Col. Amery, said:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like at the outset to express my personal gratification at seeing so many ladies present. The visit to our country of members of the British Government are rare, far too rare, I am sorry to say. But when they do happen, we like to see the ladies have the same opportunity that we have to hear them. Col. Amery, as you know, the ladies had a large share in winning the war, and I do not want you to go back with the impression that the women of England did all the work, because our women in Canada emulated their example.

We have a further honour conferred upon us to-night; we have present with us Sir George and Lady Kirkpatrick. (Applause) Sir George has seen Empire service during a great number of years, in India, in South Africa, in Australia, and, Ladies and Gentlemen, he is a Canadian born. Chief of the staff in England during a number of years of the war, he had largely to do with organizing the Australian Army, which, like our own, did their full share as one of the sister Dominions in winning the war. We welcome Sir George and Lady Kirkpatrick who have not visited Toronto for quite a number of years. The changes that they will see will be very remarkable indeed.

It seems to me, after hearing something of what Col. Amery has to say on the subject of a British League of Nations, that it is the easier way out, and is the only

solution to a guarantee of peace. We are delighted indeed that Col. Amery has come to talk to us on this vital question. This Empire Club is exceedingly ambitious to learn, as much as is possible for humble citizens to know, about the affairs of the Empire, that its members might, perchance, find some little way in which they could serve the Empire; because we feel that there is a part for every individual in helping to build up an Empire such as the British Empire. If by these occasional visits of our friends from overseas, we are enabled to get a clear insight into the ways and means by which we can help to bind together still closer the bonds by which we are united, then it is worth while for these emissaries to come from across the seas and get into personal touch with us. We are delighted indeed in having Col. Amery with us here to-night. When we realize the many positions that he has filled and the long experience he has had in diplomatic affairs, his military life, and his services in various parts of the Empire, we realize what is possible for an able and young man to do; for let me tell you that Col. Amery, though yet a very young man, has accomplished a great deal, and has been most successful in the efforts which he has undertaken. We are delighted to have him talk to us to-night on the great British League of Nations. I want Col. Amery to feel that he is coming right into the bosom of the family; that in addressing the members of the Empire Club he is addressing those who are as true to King and Country as the people of the City of London are. I have great pleasure in introducing Col. Amery. (Loud Applause)

## LIEUT.-COL. AMERY

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—Let me state at the beginning that I don't feel a stranger here. I am delighted to see so many old friends, and also to see so many ladies here. I like to see them, as I was once more than delighted to meet a particular lady from this part of the world. (Laughter) It is a good many years since,

and as far as I can make out, your city has grown greater and busier than ever, and its outskirts more beautiful. I also find that my old friend, Col. Denison, appears to be getting younger. (Laughter) Well, why should a man not get younger when he administers justice among so crimeless and so virtuous a population as Toronto? (Laughter) When you see all those things for which you fought in good repute and ill repute from your youth up, and come to realize that they are being carried out on a far greater scale than you ever dreamed of, when you see your country doing that which all your life you dreamed it might do, it is enough to make a man feel proud and young. My dear friend, Col. Denison, may you have many more years of youth in which you will see, in increasing measure, all those things for which you so strenuously fought and dreamed of in the past.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, there has been an ideal which has been very much to the fore in recent years, during all the last agonies of the great struggle, during the long months of negotiations for peace. Bereaved humanity, hoped that something might be done which would eliminate from the world this horror, this waste, this wickedness of war. Something was expected to be brought about by wisdom of statesmanship by which war would be, if not averted, at least minimized, and made as rare as possible, by which great issues could be settled by compromise and discussion between the different nations of the world. It was expected that something would be accomplished by which the weaker and more backward nations should not be left to the selfish exploitation of the strong, but would be lifted up and protected by a common trusteeship of civilized mankind. It was a noble idea, and a noble and genuine effort was made to lay the foundation of that idea in the constitution of the League of Nations. When that was first framed, hopes rose very high, but since then experience has taught mankind not to hope too quickly for great results.

We have seen one of the great nations, through its representatives—indeed, the chief exponent of that idea—

finding it impossible in practice to accept that particular constitution. I impute no blame to the United States; they have looked into the question very closely, perhaps more closely than many other nations, and have come to the conclusion that the particular difficulties seem to them too great with which to bind themselves, and the obligations too many for them to assume, which some of us have assumed in good-will and in the hope that somehow or other the difficulties will adjust themselves as we go on. Again, many of us have discovered that after all there is nothing behind the League of Nations unless the individual members of it are prepared to put their money and their troops and their enthusiasm behind it. You will remember the case of Armenia. That mandate could not be carried out unless the people themselves were prepared to supply all those things which were necessary to its success.

Secondly, there has been a good deal of disillusion and a good deal of reaction. I do not think that is necessary. I think we realize that human nature is not so easily changed, that there is no short cut to any man's soul. The League of Nations embodied in the present constitution represents an idea, or ideal, which is still only in its early stages, to a large extent, an ideal dream of the distant future. Meanwhile do not let us forget that that ideal, that dream, is already a reality for more than a quarter of mankind. (Applause) Remember that 450,000,000 of India's people and 62,000,000 or more of the British Empire, covering all that is meant by the League of Nations, as we may hope at some distant date it will be, is already carried out in practice. There you have a nation of every race, every colour, every creed, every diversity of economic interest in every climate in the world, from the Equator to both poles; you have here all these immense differences, and yet binding them all together you have a common sentiment, a common sense of citizenship. Each of these diverse races has a duty and an obligation of loyalty which binds one to the other. That is one example of the federation of

mankind. It is a system under which we are capable of enjoying the freest government the world has yet ever known. It makes those, for whom a free government is not possible, very envious of our tolerant form of government, since this trusteeship gives responsibility to these people by gradual stages to the fullest and highest measure of mankind.

The British Empire exists not for exploitation but for co-operation in well-being and in the advancement of everyone. That, I venture to say, is a wonderful thing, and no League of Nations could make it more so. Your League of Nations is a scheme that men of wisdom brought in to the best of their ability in a week's time, but the British League of Nations goes far back in history; it goes back to Magna Charta, to the struggles between the Commoners and the Crown. It founded the great principles of democratic self-government, a task in which statesmen and soldiers and sailors and traders and missionaries thousands and thousands of such individuals have collaborated, generation after generation, slowly, from precedent to precedent. Right down through our glorious history and traditions, there have emerged those democratic institutions which have marked a country like this from the older Mother Country. These common ideas, these common traditions and great heritage which are ours are embodied and personified in the British Crown and in the person of the King himself. (Applause)

Other countries sometimes find it difficult to understand our particular type of government. We have in the British Empire the freest and most responsible democratic government in the world. (Applause) What the Crown stands for is the sense of common unity in ideas and common traditions which affect the whole. When we speak of our loyalty to the King, we do so in no spirit of servility. We are loyal as free men, and recognize in the Crown the simple elements of our national and imperial life which transcend local interests or the passing phases in politics, and which stand for all our

hopes and ambitions. All these are embodied and symbolized in the person of the monarch. When that symbol is personified in a man of noble purpose and high endeavour, as in the case of our present monarch, there is not much danger of the disentegration of the British Empire. (Applause)

Again, I would like to point out another difference between us and the other nations. That common tradition is also embodied in the fact of common citizenship. The British Empire consists of many states—autonomous states to a very great extent. That is another proof of citizenship. Our citizenship holds good throughout the Empire. A man who is a British citizen in Canada is a British citizen in any part of the Empire. (Applause) When I am here in Toronto at this moment, I am not here politically as a stranger; I am for all practical purposes a Canadian, and I have the same rights and the same privileges and the same liberties as any one of you here; and the same remark applies to any one of you who should go to any part of the Empire. There are many Canadians building up the Empire in recent years. We have Mr. Bonar Law, and the present Secretary of State for Ireland, not the least difficult task that any man could assume, and, if he is not a native of Toronto, he comes not very many miles from it. (Applause) Your chairman has mentioned Sir George Kirkpatrick's brilliant career and military service in behalf of the Empire. There is another man who holds a very high position, also a Canadian, the Governor of East Africa and Nigeria and now Governor of the Gold Coast. If there is one thing more than another that he has done, it was to bring trade between his colony and Canada.

Talking of the spirit of citizenship and loyalty to the Empire, I need not remind you of what happened when the first war clouds came and burst over us nearly six years ago. From one end of the Empire to the other our sons answered the call, and some of them came from places from which you would hardly expect such ready response. Look at South Africa, look at the record of

men like Botha and Smuts, and it is all the more marvellous when you think that not so very many years ago these same men were our enemies. Look at the wonderful record of some of those out-of-the-way places, the contributions in men and money from places you scarcely ever heard about—from the West Indies, from the West African Gold Coast, from the Straits Settlement. The records of these people teem with instances of devotion and heroism which have never been told in any book.

I think, Ladies and Gentlemen, it will be many a long year before the League of Nations can ever inspire that same instantaneous response, that same whole-hearted feeling, that wider patriotism, that breathes right from end to end of the British Empire when crises have come. We hope that may come about in time. We hope that there may be a time that, when any trouble arises, these nations joined together in the League will feel the same stirring patriotism, the same resolve to do the one thing necessary; but personally I am afraid you would only have large assemblies and long discussions and possibly no definite conclusion or agreement arrived at. I know that there are a certain number of people who put forward the view that a League of Nations would make the British Empire unnecessary, that we need no longer trouble about our own closer league, our own close comradeship, that the interests will all be applied in the wider league which they would have us think about. I believe the very contrary. I believe if the British Empire broke up, or the ties were loosened, that that would be the final end of any hope of building up a League of Nations of the World. (Applause) I believe that only through co-operating with us will the hopes of the other nations, of a lasting and enduring peace, be fulfilled. After all, we are the only power that can supply the traditions and the kind of interest that will make a League of Nations work. Our inhabitants have a home in every continent in the world. There is not a continent in the world where peace is not the first British interest, where we are not concerned in avoiding

the possibility of disputes, not only between ourselves and other nations but between other nations. Where our outlook is a world-wide one, it is an outlook that makes for peace among the nations. For that reason I do believe most sincerely that the best we can do towards the future unity of mankind is above all things to maintain our own unity among ourselves. (Applause) Strengthen the bonds that bind us together, fulfil the duties that lie upon you in that wider heritage that is yours, accept the responsibility that falls upon you, and a great and glorious future is before you. (Applause)

This British Empire is Canada's Empire just as much as it is Britain's. Your forefathers came and helped to build up this great country, your sons and daughters maintained it, and saved it on many a field during the last number of years. It is yours to build, and it is yours to save and to guard in every sense, just as much as it is ours. I cannot look upon Great Britain as a kind of solar system and the rest of the Empire only satellites more or less dependent on it and circling around it. Each link binds the whole chain together, and it is from that point of view, the point of view of Canada as the centre of the Great British Empire, that I want you to look at it. We have an immense problem of development before us. We have in the British Empire nearly four times the wealth of that of the United States; and the British Empire has come out from the furnace of this war the cleanest and newest of all the world's great powers. (Applause)

And Canada again—not only in consonance with Canada's history and traditions, but because of her future —Canada again, I say, must take up the great work of developing her material resources, and obtain the fullest development possible. You are in a very different position from the United States. Theirs is a great block of territory embracing every variety of climate from tropical to cold. It naturally looks within itself for its own development. Canada is a great, long stretch of territory, and more largely endowed in natural resources,

in natural harbours and in ocean traffic than any country in the world. With its vast resources, its future possibilities are tremendous. Your whole course of development will, in time, be far greater than that of your neighbour. I think the same applies in politics. With the wider responsibility of a world-wide Empire your outlook will increasingly be an Empire outlook, a United Empire Loyalist Outlook. I believe that in that way you will get the fullest development, not only from your material resources, but, what matters far more, from your human resources—the fullest, the richest, the most varied and most responsible national life. That is after all the highest that any man can desire for his fellow-citizens. I believe the choice lies before Canada of being a lesser United States or being a far greater Britain, and I believe, taking Canada's position, you will have no hesitation as to which will be her choice. (Loud Applause)

The President: I am glad to have the pleasure of calling upon Col. Denison. Before doing so, I wish to take the opportunity to make a small request of our guest before he goes back home. The Empire Club is never going to be satisfied until it gets Mr. Lloyd George over here to talk to us. (Applause) We hold him very highly in our esteem; just tell him from the Empire Club of Canada, when you see him, that we want him here to let him know directly what we think of him. Take that message to him. (Applause)

## COL. DENISON

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—I am very glad indeed to have the opportunity of being here this evening to say a few words of welcome and friendship to my old friend Col. Amery. When I say "old" friend, I do not exactly mean in years, because I was old when he was still young, and as you know the years are rolling on. He speaks of my being able to hold my own, on account of carrying on in my business in the Police Court. There

is nothing in it. (Laughter) The great secret of it all lies in the principle which I have laid down all the time, of letting the other fellow do the worrying. (Applause) I want to have the opportunity of saying a few words to-night. A good many of you must remember that a few years ago, while the war was going on, I made an address to this Club in which I expressed my views in the first place as to what I thought our allies should do, and in the next place I gave my prediction as to what would happen when the war was over. I told you that our men would fight and fight on until they had thrashed the enemy, and that, though the men in the field would win the war, the politicians and philosophical idiots would cause us to lose the result. (Applause) What has been the result? The war was won, and Foch said, "What is the need of an armistice? I have them now." Our allies had these people, and there was no reason in the world why we should have let them go; only some philosophical fools wrote a letter to the German Embassy which threw the whole thing open, and gave them an opportunity to plead for peace, gave our enemies an opportunity for entering into negotiations and discussing matters that never should have been allowed. There was one in our ranks, a representative of the United States, who was allowed to go to help them along during that crisis. What has been the result? Instead of having the war finished and settled satisfactorily in the course of a month or so, this thing has been going on and on and on, and they are talking and talking and talking, and everything is not settled yet. The whole thing is unsatisfactory and inconclusive.

There is only one bright point, and that is the point our young friend, Col. Amery, referred to, a League of British Nations. There is one power sufficiently strong, with the assistance of the French, and possibly the Italians, to be able to keep things from going to utter ruin. We could never improve on this League of Nations. If you want to have a League of Nations, have a League of Nations of the British Empire such as Col. Amery

has spoken of; let us have a League of people we can depend on; let us go into partnership with a League upon which we can depend. (Loud applause) I remember when I was a boy my father talked about the question of going into partnership. He said it is a dangerous thing to go into partnership with a crook—(laughter)—and as a Police Magistrate of forty-three years' experience in dealing with that particular class I can assure you that that would be my view of going into any kind of business with, or entering into negotiations with, a crook. I want to say this: that the only League of Nations worth bothering about is the British League of Nations, as suggested by Col. Amery.

We advocated years ago the idea of a Trade Treaty, a preferential tariff around the Empire. I have been two or three times to England advocating that idea, and I must take the opportunity now of thanking Col. Amery most heartily for the great help and assistance that he was always ready to give me during my various visits to the Mother Country. I wish to state now that I received nothing but the most sympathetic and friendly support from my friend Col. Amery, and he was in a position to help a great deal. He was one of the younger brilliant band of politicians, one who strove to do his best in the interests of the Empire. What has been the result? We have now got a real British League of Nations.

Some thirty years ago we tried to stir up that idea in this country, and there are some of the older men here who will remember it. We were laughed at, we were called political faddists and subjected to all manner of ridicule, and were caricatured in the newspapers because we wanted to carry out the idea of a League of Nations of the British Empire. We were told we could never get Canadian soldiers to fight across the seas. We were told that in the most positive manner. What has been the result in the late war? We have seen about 500,000 fighting men sent over to fight for the Empire, and we have spent millions of money in helping to win the war.

We were told that we Canadians would never make sacrifices for Britain. It was not true; it has been proved to be absolutely the opposite. I need not say anything more. You have all heard me speak before, and you know exactly what my feelings are. I hope my friend will carry out his idea, and let them know over there that we are as true to the Empire as they are, and that we are as British as they are. One word before I sit down, I don't want to go into any partnership. (Loud Applause)

# AFTER WAR, PEACE COMPLICATIONS, FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF EUROPE

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY ROBERT DONALD, ESQ.
LONDON, ENGLAND

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Wednesday, August 11, 1920*

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing Mr. Donald, said,—Gentlemen, in our guest of to-day we have an outstanding figure. There is perhaps in England to-day no better exponent of progressive journalism than Mr. Robert Donald. I do not know how many newspaper interests he is responsible for, nor am I very much concerned with that fact, but I do know that, during important years in British History, he had absolute control of the policy of the *Daily Chronicle*, of London, and that the *Daily Chronicle* did some wonderful things. In the first place, its strong support of the Right Hon. David Lloyd George evidently was a mighty factor in that man's progress towards the front rank of the Empire. (Applause) Mr. Donald knew Lloyd George as few could know him; he used to play golf with him one day every week, and any man who plays golf with another every day in the week knows him down to the ground. (Laughter) That is why during all the years of Mr. Donald's connection with the *Daily Chronicle*, its hearty and strong support of David Lloyd George must have told with very great effect on the history of Britain at that time. As a finder of men Mr. Donald has had a unique history, too. Philip Gibbs, the great war correspondent, is one of his "finds." Gibbs first chance to write was for the *Daily Chronicle* under Mr. Donald and we know what the chance resulted in.

We have been hoping, Mr. Donald, that in the not

distant future, Canada may have the opportunity of seeing and hearing Mr. David Lloyd George. (Loud applause) We have given special commissions to almost every speaker who has come within hailing distance of him, to tell him that we want him and we want him soon. When he comes, we want the Empire Club to have the great and distinguished honour of fathering his first public utterance, at all events, to the Toronto people. (Applause) This Club exists solely for the purpose of developing the ideal of the Empire, for filling whatever function is possible for it to fulfil in aiding in the prosperity and unity of the British Empire, and it is on such occasions as this that we value the opportunity of hearing from men who really know, who come from the geographical and financial centre of this Empire to tell us what they know and give us their views and make us better citizens and better members of that Empire because of their having come to us. (Applause) Mr. Donald, we welcome you with all the heartiness that it is possible for us to show you. We are glad you have come to us, we are grateful to you for coming, and we will now be glad to hear what you have to tell.

## MR. ROBERT DONALD

(Mr. Donald was received with three cheers and a tiger, the audience rising and giving him the Chautauqua salute.)

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Empire Club,*—I thank you very much for your cordial welcome, and I consider it a very high compliment that you should come out to-day in such large numbers to listen to a very dry address. I thank your President for the complimentary words he has said about me; he has magnified my importance very considerably, but nobody at home will know what he has said, so I won't have to live up to it. (Laughter) I would like to say that I see you are not afraid of the word "Empire" here. (Hear, hear and applause) I have come across people in Canada who rather object to the words "Empire" and "Imperial." I

have had to explain them as we see them—when I say "We" I mean Radicals, for I don't conceal my convictions—I am a Democrat and a Free Trader—The British Empire is an anomaly; there is no such thing; it is not known to the law or the constitution; it has no comparison with any Empire of ancient history or of the recent past. An Empire, in the historical sense, means a central domination of an individual or of an oligarchy. The British Empire is the exact opposite. The British Empire does not seek to dominate you or any other part of the British Dominions. We have a King, not an Emperor. We have a constitutional democratic government. The British Empire is a huge democratic organization, and we have no other word for it but Empire; but I think we know what we mean by Empire. (A voice—"It is good enough.") We have talked about it so long, we know that our Empire does not mean Prussianism or Bismarckism or anything else; we know what it means; we know it is a convenient word to express a great world commonwealth of nations, of protectorates and territories, and an Empire thrown in—India. Therefore I say I am glad that you emphasize the importance of your convictions in this Club by taking the name "Empire" as your own name.

Well, now, I have been asked to talk to you about some after-war conditions. At the moment the after-war conditions do not look very hopeful. To-day's news and the news of recent weeks have been thoroughly depressing. However, the recent differences between Russia and Poland will be settled, but you may take it from me that not a single British soldier will go to help in the settlement. The British working people do not intend to encourage any more military adventures. We have quite enough on hand now without straining our military strength and resources, and we certainly will not participate in any new war in Russia on behalf of Poland or any other country. (Hear, hear)

The chaos which exists in Europe to-day is due, I think, to causes which might have been avoided if states-

men had had the foresight which it is very difficult to have in these days; it is always easy to be wise after the event. If I may put my point of view—which may be altogether wrong—the chief cause which now, two years after the armistice, makes the condition of Europe worse in many phases than it was at the time of the armistice, is due to two or three causes.

First, there is the Peace Treaty, which made no provision for peace. It contained the germs of international jealousies and strife. Its chief weakness was that it ignored entirely economic conditions. It cut up vast territories that had formerly been economic units, and set them at loggerheads.

I will illustrate that point by the case of the Balkans. The Austrian-Hungarian Empire was a very rotten affair, politically, but it was an economic unit; it had one railroad system throughout the different countries belonging to it; it had one economic system. Now, when we set up the Jugo-Slavs and the Czechos, and Austria and Hungary and Roumania, and drew the new boundaries for Bulgaria, the whole economic unit was smashed to pieces. Each country set up on its own as the Robinson Crusoe Land; they would not have any communication by railway or anything else with their neighbours, even when they had formerly been fighting as allies. They would not allow their railway trucks to cross the frontier, because they were not sure they would come back. They set up tariffs to keep goods out and to prevent them from from coming in. For instance, when the British Food Mission went into Bohemia and bought food for the starving children of Vienna, before they could get the food out, the government put on an extra export duty of forty per-cent. They were independent. They had leaped from the Middle Ages—some of those people like the Slavs—and become a democracy leaving one leg in the Middle Ages, and they thought the great thing to do was to be thoroughly independent. The first thing they did was to spend money on new uniforms and army re-organization; then they wished to put barriers on inter-

communication. That is one of the evils that came out of the Peace Treaty. That will have to be remedied.

The other difficulty, which perhaps could not have been foreseen, was how to get Germany started working, because unless Germany works and produces there is no indemnity for anyone. Now, the French people, who had lived for fifty years under the terrible nightmare of Germany, always fearing for their very existence, when this war came staked everything on it—everything—because if Germany had won, France would have been wiped out. The British Empire would not have been wiped out, but France would absolutely have been a helot nation. Therefore they staked everything on it; without victory they were finished. But they had got this impression—all the French people and the statesmen—that when they did win, there was an inexhaustible fund of gold over in Germany that they would simply draw upon to help pay their war debt and to start working again. They held this illusion for four years or more, and when Peace came, France was like a man who has been blind for four years, and, recovering his sight, finds himself on the edge of a precipice. That is the financial condition of France. France is in a very deplorable financial position. It cannot get indemnity from Germany, and will not get it until we start Germany working. But Germany can only pay in goods, and there is no place where Germany can buy, and unless the German people are left something of the fruits of their labour, they won't work. The interest of Europe to-day is to get Germany working. I believe that if Germany is set to work, Germany will realize the situation and develop peace under Democracy. The interest of the Allies is to keep Germany in a middle course so that it will not go to the extreme of Autocracy or the extreme of Bolshevism; then Germany will realize that her destiny is to remain a peaceful country and give up all military aspirations. I think that is the policy of Mr. Lloyd George. It was due to him that the delegates from Poland and Russia met; he is now the greatest personality in Euro-

pean politics, and if he can enforce this policy, I believe that it will be the solution of the difficulty as regards Germany. (Applause)

Another cause of the prolonged war after the war is to be traced to the Allies' treatment of Russia. The policy of intervention was a profound blunder, as is now generally admitted. It had the effect of encouraging the Bolsheviki, of bringing them recruits and maintaining their spirit of resistance. Had the allies held aloof and allowed the Russians to work out their own salvation, it is more than probable that by this time some kind of ordered government would have been established. Just when things were getting better Poland began an agressive campaign against Russia. It is known that the French policy favours building up a strong Poland as a buffer State between Germany and Russia, and England supplied Poland with munitions for defence. Poland could not have moved a man without the help or the Allies, but so long as the Allies had no military control it was impossible for them to say where a defensive war began. The ambitions of the Poles have been encouraged by the Allies, and more especially by President Wilson. The Poles have given no indication up to now that they are capable of forming a strong compact peaceful nationality.

I have assigned two reasons for the present anarchical condition of the things in Europe and Asia. The first was a thoroughly bad peace. The other was intervention in Russia. The Allies might have succeeded in overcoming some of the difficulties which followed the bad peace, had not President Wilson ceased to support them.

After the magnificent help which the United States gave the Allies, and it was vital in the end, the President withdrew his influence from the councils of Europe. The entrance of the United States in world politics would have been paramount. America was outside all the historical jealousies, suspicions and national animosities of Europe. America was disinterested. It wanted no territory. It sought no indemnity. Therefore as an

arbiter between clashing interests, and as the benevolent guardian of young democracies, America would have been supreme. But neither as a party to post-war settlement nor as a member of the League of Nations has the great Republic given the world the benefit of its help.

The withdrawal of President Wilson has thrown a much heavier burden on the British Government, and more especially on the Prime Minister. The Old Country is going through a time of trial which is testing the ability of its statesmen and its powers of endurance. The events are proving too great for the men, but I believe that Great Britain will fight her way through, and in doing so will, I hope, drop some of the new burdens which she has picked up, and lessen her foreign responsibilities, so that she can devote more time and energy to the development of her own Empire. England is only just recovering from the stupendous sacrifices of the war. I doubt whether you in Canada fully realize the part which England played in the world war, and what it cost her in service, treasure, sacrifice and life. Great Britain is the one country which has not received full credit for what she did. (Hear, hear and applause)

A great deal of mischief was done in the early days of the war by attempts that were made to depreciate British effort. Probably it was intended by so doing to stimulate the Government and the War Office, but the effect abroad was to create misunderstandings, particularly between France and England, which have reappeared after the war. The British press was handicapped when it desired to counteract this propaganda, as it could get no information. Many months went past before permits were obtained to take photographs at the front, and cinematograph pictures. The Canadian army obtained those means of publicity long before the War Office extended the same facilities to correspondents with the British Army.

I would like to tell you a few home truths about what England did. In the first place the only country that was well prepared for war was Great Britain, though it was

the last country that wanted war. That statement may surprise you. You will admit, I think that the fleet was always ready—(applause); but so was the army. (Applause) The French military experts asked England to send to France an expeditionary force of 160,000 men. They knew what they wanted. As they considered that the war would be over in three months they thought that that help would be sufficient. This expeditionary force was despatched, and its conveyance to France was one of the greatest military achievements of the war; greater than Von Kluck's march to Paris or than the evacuation of Gallipoli. It was in France before the Germans knew that it had started. It went into line fully equipped to the last button, without the loss of a single man or any material.

This work was done by the military, but the part which Sir William Robertson did as head of the Commissary Department was one of the finest pieces of organization that we ever saw in the country. Nothing went wrong; everything went like clock-work; therefore we fulfilled that part of the contract.

All the belligerents had miscalculated how the war would go and what forces would be required, and had not foreseen what methods would have to be adopted. The British government acted on the advice of the French and English military experts, and to that extent was fully prepared. It was often said that we might have had a bigger army by establishing national service. There are three reasons why we could not have done so. In the first place, military experts did not favour any change in our military organization. In the next place, no House of Commons would ever have voted more money for the army, and even if we had succeeded in getting over these two difficulties, the Germans would not have waited to declare war until our new army was in being. They would have caught us while we were in a transition state.

In the early days of the war I played a good deal of golf with Mr. Lloyd George (he was then Chancellor of

the Exchequer) and he was thinking more of the war than he was thinking of the game, but it was necessary for him to take some exercise. The first thing that got on to his mind was our serious shortage in rifles; he did not know how a rifle was made but he soon picked up information. He said, "We are searching the whole world for rifles and we can't get them, and we won't get rifles for a year"—but he got the rifles. Someone came from America and said that that country could supply rifles and munitions, and Lloyd George went to the War Office, which had turned the whole thing down, and said, "We must get rifles," and it was due to Lloyd George that the Americans were brought in to supply munitions. America had tremendous industrial establishments, and they could go to work quite as quickly as we could. In any case, we had not got adequate facilities. The first things we needed were the rifles. We had the men for Kitchener's army. There was no difficulty about the men; the difficulty was about the equipment.

The man of vision was Kitchener. Kitchener was a great man. (Applause) Kitchener has been very much depreciated, because he was entirely out of his element. You must think of Kitchener not as an Englishman but as an Oriental, coming to England as a country almost foreign to him; he did not know its psychology. I remember a member of the Cabinet telling me one day that they told Kitchener, "Oh, you must have chaplains, you know; you must have other chaplains than those of the Church of England and Catholics." Kitchener asked "What are they?" The minister replied, "Oh, you must have Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and others, otherwise we won't get the soldiers." Kitchener said, "What did you say those fellows are, Baptists, Methodists? I don't know anything about them, but if a chaplain will help to get soldiers let us have chaplains." He was a dictator in the Cabinet for a while but he began to argue with politicians—and then it was all up with him. (Laughter) He could not argue with politicians; but after all, though Kitchener would have been better if he

was ten years younger, he was a man of vision, and saw from the first that this was going to be a long war—not a three years' war, but longer than that. If you read his life by Sir George Arthur you will find that Kitchener believed it was to be a longer war than that. Then, it was Kitchener who held off conscription in England. He didn't want conscription till he was ready for it and the people were ready for it. It was Kitchener who advocated the dilution of labour. He was the only one in the British Government who called for labour to produce the war machinery. He said, "You want to dilute labour," and he asked Lloyd George to take up that campaign, which he did magnificently, to get the British workman to give him the munitions. In many other ways, Kitchener was a man of vision. He really saw that this was going to be a big job and that it would take years to finish.

Now, I said that all the French required of us to do was to supply an army of 160,000 men. That is why I say we were ready, because we fulfilled that contract absolutely. How many did we raise? While we undertook to send only 160,000 men to France, to help France while she won the war in three months, we raised an army in the British Isles numbering 5,704,416 men; and the total men employed in the war, raised within the British Empire including India, and also including coloured troops, was 8,654,467. We were not by any means exhausted when the war ended. Our combatant strength in France when the great German offensive began in March, 1918, was 1,293,000 men. Our rifle strength—that is, men at the front—was 616,000. We kept those numbers fairly well maintained until the armistice. In addition to that, we had an army of 80,000 fighting in Italy, an army of 400,000 in Mesopotamia and the East, and smaller armies in Russia and elsewhere.

During the great offensive, in the summer and autumn of 1918, which ended with the defeat of the Germans, the the British armies captured no fewer than 200,000 prisoners and 2,540 guns, much more than did all the other armies of the Allies. When the critical days of March,

1918, came upon the Allies somewhat unexpectedly, the United States had in France a rifle strength of only 49,000 men, but in response to an appeal by the British Prime Minister President Wilson hurried troops across the Atlantic, and on the 11th of November the American army had a rifle strength of 322,000, while the total number of Americans in France was close to 2,000,000. They were coming over at the rate of over 100,000 a month, chiefly in British ships.

The next series of figures which I give you are not such pleasant reading. They refer to the toll of death which was exacted from our gallant armies. The number of soldiers from the British Isles who were killed or died of wounds was 662,083, to which must be added 140,000 missing and prisoners, and so far as they are missing they are lost. The wounded numbered 1,644,786. In proportion to her army, Canada lost quite as many, and so also did Australia. The total losses in the British Armies in the war amounted to close on 1,000,000 killed and missing. This is the army alone, not the navy. That is not very far short of the French losses.

One of the strongest and most critical decisions that Lloyd George took—and he was a man of great courage—(hear, hear)—was when that crisis came in March, 1918. He said, "Stop food ships; stop everything; get American soldiers over"; and we did; and mind you, the Germans knew that this great American army was in France. They were not in a fighting state, but in three months they would have been, and those tremendous reserve forces from America were a great factor in dragging down the Imperial German Army and the German people.

Great Britain, as you know, had not adequate facilities for producing munitions, but under the direction of Mr. Lloyd George it quickly got to work, and after a good deal of muddling, which we always go through, we emerged triumphantly, and the amount of production of munitions we were doing towards the end of the war had increased altogether out of ratio to the man-power employed; that is to say, 1,000 men would be producing,

after their experience, one-third more than they did the year before. We were gaining experience in efficiency, and we could have gone on producing munitions at that rate for a long time. The figures in regard to munitions are so colossal and varied that I will not weary you with them except on one point, where Canada rather distinguished herself. Take the item of shells. England produced 162,000,000 shells; 98,700,000 were obtained from overseas. Of these no fewer than 64,221,000 came from Canada, and only some 33,000,000 from the United States. A prodigious amount of gun ammunition was fired on the Western front, the highest point being reached in the third quarter of 1918, at the record figure of 641,000 tons. Canada's share in supplying munitions was relatively as great as, and in some cases actually much greater than that of the United States. You supplied a great deal of explosives, but I think the shell production in Canada is one of your great achievements in the war. (Applause)

Most important of all is the Navy. The British Navy won the war. (Hear, hear, and loud applause) Without it it the war could not have been won; so you may say that the British Navy won the war. It was the blockade, and it was our command of all the seas in the world. In the early days of the war, before America came in, there was a great deal of criticism about the ineffectiveness of the British blockade. Now, I do not think I need tell you Canadians that there could never have been an effective blockade by the British fleet until it was joined by the American fleet. We were adapting our sea-law to new war conditions; in fact, we had to manufacture our sea-law as we went along. (Laughter) It was due to the great tact and judgment and patience of Lord Grey, and the same qualities in Ambassador Page, that prevented any serious friction with the United States. We were doing things which were entirely contrary to our own sea-law—(laughter)—but you see, we were fighting an inland nation, and we were trying to carry the policy and doctrine of continuous voyage not only over seas but over land.

The British Foreign Office succeeded in rationing Holland and all the little countries in the neighbourhood of Germany, and rationing them pretty well. There were no doubt leakages, but we could not help that; but it was a great triumph in diplomacy, and that was due to Lord Robert Cecil when he became minister. You remember the rumpus about cotton; we were letting in cotton. Of course we were letting in cotton; we couldn't do anything else unless we wanted to quarrel with the United States, but we let in just as little as possible—(laughter)—so that the blockade, while not altogether effective, was a great factor in squeezing Germany. When America joined us it was an easy matter.

But the British fleet was not merely negative. It had very little chance of fighting the Germans, because they would not come out—(laughter)—but when they did come out some of them did not go back. The neatest battle in the war was that at the Falkland Islands. I remember when Lord Fisher went to the Admiralty; though he was an old man his intellect was quite clear and his powers were as keen as ever they were. That was one of the first things he did. He said, "Von Spee is somewhere in the Pacific; we have to get him; you have got to get certain battle cruisers ready to-morrow." They said it could not be done for a week, but he said, "They have got to go to-morrow," and he got his way, and they arrived only three or four hours before they were needed; and we not only demolished Von Spee, but got his ships without losing a man.

The British Navy was the strongest in the world before the war, but what I have told you about our munition production is nothing to what we did in building up the navy. After all, we depended on the navy; if we lost the navy we were finished. Between 1914 and November 1918, warships of all types were completed to the number of 842 vessels with a total tonnage of 1,602,090. Auxiliary vessels such as patrols, drifters, minesweepers, etc., manned by the mercantile marine, totalling 671 vessels with a tonnage of 754,111, making a grand total of 1,513 vessels with a total tonnage of 2,356,201. (Applause) That was a magnificent effort. The British

Navy is now stronger than ever it was, but the fact that we repaired continuously and built new vessels during the war to that extent is a great tribute not only to our shipbuilders, but also to our British mechanics. (Applause)

The losses in the navy were not, of course, so heavy as those of the army. Altogether the navy losses amounted to 39,940 officers and men, and of the Royal Naval Reserve, 33,060. We have strengthened the navy since the war, and the cost is very much greater than it was previously. In fact, the military cost of army and navy and air force in England to-day comes pretty near the total budget before the war.

If I might inflict a few more figures on you, I would say that before I came from England I wrote around to all the government departments, to my friends, asking them to give me the latest information, and some of those figures I have given you were never published before—we are too modest, you know, to do so. (Laughter) I wrote to the Treasury that I wanted to get all the latest figures about finances. I think nothing shows better the stability of the British Empire than how we managed finances. (Hear, hear) I only got the information yesterday, for it is a very slow-moving department, and I wish to quote only a few figures for you. Some other countries may have done as well as Great Britain in raising men and producing munitions, but not one equalled it in raising the money to pay for the war. From 1914 to 1920 more than one-third of the cost of the war—the exact percentage is 36—was raised in revenue amounting to a total of £4,000,000,000. (Loud applause) The total cost of the war to Great Britain was £11,257,000,000 the balance not raised by taxation being over £7,000,000,000. In the present financial year we are raising no less than £1,418,000,000 by revenue, and the expenditure is estimated at £1,184,000,000.

Notwithstanding these colossal sums we are alive—very much so. (Applause) Our trade is piling up, our production is increasing, our export is increasing. There

are some difficulties ahead which I will point out, but we are perfectly sound industrially, we are sound economically, and we are sound financially. (Applause)

The reason why we have not been able to invest more money in Canada is because of this £11,257,000,000. We cannot run a great war and invest at the same time. It is all very well for America, which was out of the war for three years piling up millions; it can invest. We will do it by and by, but we have got to get a new start. (Hear, hear, and applause) There is only one country that has done better financially than Great Britain, and that is Canada. (Laughter) We loaned money to Canada, and you paid it all back, and now we owe you. We loaned £1,900,000,000 to the Dominions; to Canada only a very small amount, which you have more than paid back. But there is a very serious item in this financial bill. We have been very good to the Allies, but the credit is very low. We lent Russia £568,000,000. I think we would take it at a discount. (Laughter) We lent France £514,000,000; I think that is just safe, that is all—not very much more than that; we could not sell it at a profit. We lent Italy £455,000,000; that is not very strong, either. We lent Belgium £92,000,000; that is quite good. (Applause) Belgium is a little industrial country that has started to work splendidly; it is producing from its factories and its mines 90% of what it did before the war. (Applause) Belgium has the advantage of having a coalition government that unites. (Laughter) We have in England a coalition government that does not unite—not very well—and it has not got the confidence—Oh, well, I won't say that—(laughter) —as well in comparison with the Belgians. The Belgian government contains Conservatives, Liberals, and Socialists, and they got to work—the Belgian workmen and manufacturers got to work together, and little Belgium is a great object-lesson in Europe for successful reconstruction. Of the Portugal loan I do not think much. The total we have loaned to Allies, exclusive of British Dominions, is £1,731,000,000. Now, of course we had to

do that. And where did we get the money? From our securities in the United States; but we had to do it. We had to plan to go through this war without the United States; we did not know that the United States was coming in, so we had to plan without the United States, and we would have done it. (Hear, hear, and loud applause) It would have taken us longer, but we were not by any means exhausted.

I have given you the figures of the armies we had in the front. The Germans were more exhausted than we were. You must consider our relative strength and our capacity of reserve in comparison with the enemy. The enemy was breaking down; we were not. Our spirit was sound. We put up with great sacrifices in the field, and everywhere else. You heard a great deal about conscientious objectors in England—a few hundred men, cranks chiefly; but you did not hear about the men who were rejected six times by the doctors and then went to the war; you did not hear about them. (Applause)

Well, there are a great many snags ahead of us. I have not time to deal with the foreign situation that will take some time to clear up, but the home industrial situation is perfectly sound. British manufacturers have come out of this war with bigger ideas. Our system of production is more efficient. We have scrapped a lot of old-fashioned methods; it took the war to do it, but we have done it—(applause)—and we have adopted mass production in steel and other things, and we are perfectly ready to compete with any country in the world. (Hear, hear) We want to be able to draw raw materials from anywhere; we don't want a poverty-stricken Europe; we live on the prosperity of other nations; if they are not prosperous, we do not thrive; therefore we want the whole of Europe to produce raw materials, and we want the free interchange of productions as much as possible over the whole continent. A big snag is the condition of labour. Labour has been very discontented during and since the war. There are many causes. One cause is the increased cost of food. It is an extraordinary thing

that two years after the armistice the cost in England, for certain things, is higher than during the war. Food is dearer and rent is higher. That causes dissatisfaction among the working men. Employers do not object to high wages, but they want the work done. The difficulty is to get the men to produce as much in the time as formerly.

On the whole, our leaders of labour are very sound patriots; they believe in Britain. Clynes, Thomas, Barnes, and Henderson are sound men. The left wing is labour in parliament, and we have to look forward in England to those fellows being in power some day; and it is very fortunate for the Empire that they are sound, that they are moderate. They would not bring about any revolution. They are growing in strength, and, if they only keep up their present attitude, I do not think there is very much to fear. We have to face it—I won't say when—but the tendency is all in that direction. There is a strong labour movement running, and it is bound to increase. The worst thing which can happen to labour in England is to have office too soon; I think they will break up as soon as they are in power. Of course it is very easy to administer things when in opposition, but, when you get into office, you find really big difficulties to face. (Laughter) But we cannot escape the progressive democratic movement in England. It does not concern the Empire at all; it does not mean that they are going to be in anything but the British Empire; the leading labour men are all perfectly sound.

At any rate, I look forward with absolute confidence to the future of the Old Country. It is regenerated by the war. It has come out of it stronger in many ways than before, and if our statesmen would only just clear up this international mess and let us get to work you need have no fear but that we will make great progress at home, and be able to affect an interchange of capital and do everything else that will assist the development of your great Dominion. (Loud applause, the audience rising and cheering)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: I have great pleasure in calling upon Sir Edmund Walker, an old friend of this Club and a great friend of British Empire interests, to present the thanks of this Club to the speaker of the day.

## SIR EDMUND WALKER

*Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen,*—I think you will all agree with me that we have heard to-day one of the most sane and reasoned and uplifting accounts of Britain's share in the war that has ever been delivered to the Empire Club. (Hear, hear, and applause) What I wish to bring to your attention is that we have heard it from a Scotchman born, by the way, in Banffshire—a little shire where Lord Mount Stephen was born—who made the usual pilgrimage to London when he was about twenty, and spent twenty years of life there, administering one of the greatest journals in the world. If there is any man that is calculated—Radical as Mr. Donald is—to give us an account of what true Imperialism means, it is Mr. Donald. He is a Scotch Radical. He was a member of the association to which I belonged, which attempted to celebrate the hundred years of Peace between Great Britain and the United States. He believed in and loved Peace. He did not like war; he represents everything that is opposed to what happened in this war; and yet you have heard from him as enthusiastic, as uplifting, as frank and as careful an account of Britain's share in the war as you have heard from any man of the most Jingo spirit. (Applause) I am sure that we will go away from here more convinced as to what the war has meant to Great Britain, and what her share has been in it, than we have been able to be from any authority, military or otherwise, that has spoken to this Club. Mr. Donald has been a great friend of the Empire, and I was very glad to have him know that in Canada he has had an opportunity to speak to those Canadians whose notion of Imperialism I tried to describe yesterday as the desire to have a complete kingdom inside of a commonwealth, and reserve our opinion of what we were

going to do when the commonwealth's troubles came to a head. There are Canadians of that type, but the overwhelming bulk of us are not of that type; and whether we have a difference of opinion as to what Imperialism means, there is no question that the heart and soul of the great majority of the Canadian people is for British connection, and will stand with the British Empire for all time to come. (Loud applause) Gentlemen, will you allow me on your behalf to tender the thanks of the Empire Club to Mr. Donald for his kindness in addressing us to-day.

The audience approved by rising and cheering.

# SCIENTIFIC IMPERIALISM

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
ELLIS T. POWELL, LL.B. D.Sc.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Wednesday, September 8th, 1920*

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing the speaker, said,—To-day is the only day on which we could get our distinguished guest, who is passing through the city. This is also Kiwanis Club day, and the Club President, Mr. Colebrook, very graciously gave up the claim of his Club to these quarters to-day so that the Empire Club might hold a special meeting to hear our distinguished guest. (Applause) I want, on your behalf, to extend our thanks to the Kiwanis Club for its great courtesy and kindness to us, and hope that some day we may have the opportunity to reciprocate in kind. (Hear, hear)

We are glad, as members of the Empire Club, to have with us as one of our guests, Lieut. Col. George T. Denison. (Loud applause) When Imperialism was not quite so popular or even so well understood as it is to-day, Col. Denison was in the front ranks of the men who knew and appreciated what Imperialism meant—(hear, hear)—and he has been fighting and struggling in favour of Imperialism for a great many years. Col. Denison has recently celebrated his 81st birthday, and he has been the recipient of many congratulations from men who are older and men who are younger, but I know that this Empire Club would never forgive me if I should neglect this opportunity of congratulating Col. Denison on your behalf, and expressing the hope that, bright and all as his career has been, the days left to him shall be still brighter, and that the prospect shall be sufficient to

satisfy his every hope and anticipation. (Hear, hear, and applause) Col. Denison, I know that you will appreciate that these are no idle words, but that they come from the hearts of men who have known you for a great many years and have appreciated the splendid service you have rendered both the state and to the community. (Applause)

Dr. Powell, our distinguished guest of to-day, has developed a point of view of Empire which will come to us to-day, I believe, as more or less of a revelation. A keen student of men, one who has written and thought deeply upon the subject of the British Empire and is acquainted with the historical facts, will bring to us to-day, I am sure, a message that will increase our knowledge and widen our views as to possible ways by which we may aid in maintaining and developing to its fullness this great British Empire.

Our guest of to-day was told by me a moment ago that we are an ambitious crowd; that we realize that we cannot do the whole work of the Empire, but we all have a feeling that somewhere and somehow we can give help as units fitting into and doing a part of that work; that we want a part, that it will be an intelligent part, that our connection will be based upon knowledge, and that we shall go forward with confidence that we are on the right road, so that every peg that we put in will be well placed, and will stick, and will have its place for all time to come. I have very much pleasure in introducing Dr. Powell of London, England, who will address us on the subject of "Scientific Imperialism." (Applause)

## ELLIS T. POWELL, LL.B., D.Sc.

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens of the Noblest of the World Empires,*—It might seem at first sight that there is something wholly inconsistent in such a title as "Scientific Imperialism." It might be said that Imperialism is a matter of sentiment, and that sentiment and science will not mix any more than oil and water. But I shall hope to show you, before I have done, that in the higher

realms of scientific insight, at the present time, there is to be found a vast amount of suggestion for the loftier Imperialism which is looming all around us on the intellectual horizon.

Of course it is said that Imperialism in the old sense is dead, and of course that is true. Of an Imperialism in the sense of arbitrary and capricious domination over the bodies and souls of men, we know nothing in these days. We are quit forever of the arbitrary dominations of an Augustus, of a Diocletian, of a Tiberius, the puerilities of a Claudius, the savageries of a Nero, and all those things that went to make up Imperialism in this Roman sense. That is to say, we have done with Imperialism in the old significance of the word, which still survives in cognate terms in our language—like imperious and imperative which still carry something of the old sense about them. And yet there is a significance of the word Imperialism which does connote the absolute, arbitrary dominance on one hand and absolute, utter, abject subjection on the other. And when I have expressed what that Imperialism is, I think you will agree with me that it is a most desirable form of a noble creed, although at first hearing the suggestion of arbitrary dominance on one hand and abject subjection on the other may awaken your repugnance and revulsion as citizens of a great free commonwealth.

But the subjection which I want to see is the subjection of all the developed and undeveloped powers of the earth to the mind of man. I want to see what you in Canada are consciously or unconsciously engaged in bringing about, namely, the yoking of all the developed and undeveloped forces of nature to the triumphant chariot wheels of man; and as I have gone from East to West of this country I have seen everywhere the beginnings of that policy, laid on the surest foundation. I believe this very city is linked by the tireless Titans of Niagara Falls with every point across the continent. I have found the same utilization of natural forces, and it follows that at every point mankind is being relieved

from the provision of the things which those forces, working under natural laws, are providing for him, and consequently that the more he can discover natural laws, and the more thoroughly he can lay all those mighty forces under contribution, the more free will he be to devote himself to his own spiritual, moral, social, and intellectual concerns, in freedom from daily anxieties for the provision of his daily bread. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Now, that is briefly what I mean by a Scientific Imperialism, the domination of the natural forces of this earth—and God alone knows how powerful they are, how tremendous they are—into subjection to the mind of man, and consequently into the furtherance of his highest destiny.

You may say to me: "But are you suggesting that man should become a drone, that we should carry this dominance, this new Imperialism, up to a point where a man will be able to sit still, fold his arms, and have everything done for him—everything physical and material—done for him by the natural forces?" Well, I should be quite prepared to contemplate that consummation, with the provision which I am about to mention; and that consummation will surely come. I believe there is no point in Canada at the present time where you have developed to anything like its full potentiality, the power with which you are already acquainted; but beyond the running of the stream, beyond the rising and fall of the tide, beyond the power which lies pregnant in the revolutions of the earth, there are the new forces, such as the atomic forces and such as the force that lies wrapt up in radium—with which, up till now, we are almost entirely unacquainted, and yet the greatest authority on radium has told us deliberately that when we have mastered the secrets of radium there will be no need any more for mankind working for a living, for that one source of power alone will do all the physical and material work of the world, and leave us entirely to develop the spiritual, intellectual, and moral sides of our natures.

Now, to steer towards such a consummation as that, to bring all those forces within the grip of humanity and to turn them into the provision of our physical and material needs, the while that we advance along the more lofty plane—is not that a very high Imperialism indeed? And is there a single canon of human progress or human freedom which is violated in the carrying out of that programme? I say, No. I say that the carrying out of that programme advances human freedom, advances human progress along lines and paths and planes which have hitherto remained almost wholly undiscovered, or at all events only dimly imagined. In fact, the whole programme of the higher Imperialism which I have ventured thus briefly to outline is surely the realization of that programme outlined in one brief characterization years ago by the founder of Christianity in words that up to now have been almost entirely misunderstood, or at all events imperfectly understood—"Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." In other words, man is not to be chained down in future to the carking care and the eternal toil of providing for his material and physical needs, but they are to be provided for him by the Titanic forces of nature, the while that he feeds upon the words which come from the mouth of God, or in other words, endeavours to acertain more accurately what are the laws laid down by the Eternal for his governance in this world, and bringing himself into nearer and nearer consistence with those laws to elevate and advance his whole moral and intellectual and spiritual destiny. Once again, is that an Imperialistic programme which can be said at one single point to violate any of the canons of human freedom, human progress, or human advance? I think not.

Now, possibly you may challenge me on the point whether that kind of thing would be wholly desirable, even if it could be brought about. You may say, "If we set man free in that way to study his spiritual and intellectual destiny, is there ample opportunity for the development of that programme? Is there a field for the

exercise of such time and opportunity as would be conferred upon mankind by their being freed from material and physical anxieties?" Well, now, I think if you will look at your own intellects—proud as we are of what man is—and Shakespeare was quite right when he said, "What a piece of work is man!"—I think you will see that the opportunities for the development of mankind on the intellectual and spiritual sides are almost boundless, and we are just now beginning to visualize them along the intellectual horizon.

Let me just give you one or two directions in which I think the intellect of man is destined to evolve. For instance, we have at present no adequate capacity for seeing all around a given topic. Any subject which is propounded for your consideration is contemplated by you from your own point of view. One man looks at it from the theological point of view, another from the medical, another from the physical, another from the business aspect, another considers its bearing on agriculture, and another its bearing on commerce; but there are none of us who yet possess the intellectuality capable of, so to speak, holding up a given topic and seeing the whole of it, seeing every facet of it at once. Now, that catholicity of view is beginning to be developed among mankind. But just think where the human race will stand, just think where your Canada will be, when every citizen has acquired a capacity which at present is only in its imperfect form!

Look at another instance. There is not one of us, no matter how musical he may be—(and you are a musical people, and therefore this is a happy illustration)—there is not one of us, no matter how musical he may be, who can visualize the whole of a great musical triumph at once. If I mention to you that matchless production of Beethoven's art, the Moonlight Serenade,—many of you are familiar with it, but you can only enjoy it by hearing it as a succession of notes; you cannot get more than just a strain or two into your head at once—but just imagine the human musical faculty developed up to

a point where you would see the Moonlight Serenade, as one glorious beautiful whole, in one glimpse, in the same way as you can see a picture! Now, that is another point in which your Canadian progeny are going to develop an intellectual capacity which you and I possess only in embryonic form.

And once again to revert to my main topic, is it not a lofty and elevated Imperialism which can see that programme coming in the future—the harnessing of tireless Titans of nature to the car of human progress so that you and your progeny shall be free to follow out the programme and the policy that opens up as that does? (Applause)

And now, take a third illustration, even more daring than either of the other two, actually absolutely sound from the scientific point of view, as any scientist within the hearing of my voice knows perfectly well. You are sensible of a range of sensations which reach you by the vibrations of the ear and are known to you as sound. You are also sensible of immensely faster vibrations which reach you by means of movements in the ether and are known to you as sight and vision. Now, if either of those worlds, either sight or sound, were closed to you, you know perfectly well what an appalling deprivation it would be. You know that because you try to realize sometimes what must be the hopelessness of the blind man, and still more of the man who once saw but is now blind. But now mark me. Between the slow vibrations of the hearing and the immensely rapid vibrations which you know as sight, there lie millions of vibrations of which at present we are totally unconscious. We have at present only in embryonic form the senses, the nerves, which are capable of interpreting those sensations; and if we had more leisure for intellectual and spiritual study we should undoubtedly develop those higher faculties, with the result of opening up worlds of sensation as brilliant and as beautiful as the worlds of sight and the worlds of sound.

Now, Alexander sighed for new worlds to conquer. Well, we higher Imperialists sigh for new worlds to conquer, but they are not worlds that depend upon snatching territory from any man or from any race; they are not worlds that depend upon the curtailing of the liberty of any individual or any people; they are the worlds which at present lie outside the senses which we possess, but our science—imperialistic science—is destined ultimately to bring under its sway, and so to show a man a vista of his surroundings absolutely transcending in beauty anything of which he has hitherto been cognizant.

Once again; to enforce the lesson with which I began, is there in that programme of the higher Imperialism, in that endeavour to harness the faculties of nature to the chariot wheels of spiritual and intellectual progress, is there anything in that which violates one single canon of human progress and human freedom? On the other hand, are there not in those lofty aspirations the means and the inspiration of an advance which will almost dwarf into insignificance all that man has hitherto achieved?—and God knows the gulf which lies between man as the comrade of the cave lion and the cave bear and man as the citizen of the Dominion of Canada is wide enough. But the gulf which lies between man as the citizen of Canada to-day and man as a citizen of Canada in 100 or 200 years' time is immeasurably wider; and I am only just briefly indicating to you, as part of the tenets of the higher Imperialism, some pathways which you and your progeny will tread towards that noble destiny. (Applause)

And now, in the few minutes that remain, I should like to develop another of the theories of the higher Imperialism, partly because I know it will interest you, but more especially because of the enthusiasm, the burning patriotic loyalty of this Dominion of Canada which I have seen at every point on our journey right across this continent and back again. I knew that Canada was fervently loyal; I had studied her on three previous

visits to this noble Dominion; but I did not know fully until I travelled this journey and had an opportunity of addressing many Canadian audiences, to what heights that patriotic loyalty had raised itself. Therefore I want to submit to you a consideration which is already looming large on the horizon of the higher Imperialistic thought, and which I think you might probably like to digest for yourself.

It has been very happily said that the Empire is a great partnership; but I want to submit to you that the Empire is very much more than a partnership. A partnership, as every lawyer knows, is only an aggregate of the components of the partnership. But the Empire is much more than that. The Empire is not only the aggregation of those complements, but it is an organic unity in precisely the same sense as every individual within the hearing of my voice is an organic unity and not merely a collocation of physical atoms. (Hear, hear) But directly you get to that point, and directly you posit the Empire as an organic unity, then you cannot stop; you are thrown further forward into one of the noblest conceptions which the higher Imperialism has yet developed.

You are all familiar with the conception of the Joint Stock Company; I need not elaborate that to an assemblage of business men. You all know that the company is an entity entirely distinct from the sum of its shareholders; that is to say, the company can appear in the Courts, it can enter into contracts, and it can do all kinds of things for which the shareholders in their personal capacity are not liable. The Company is a separate and distinct entity. All the original shareholders may die, and still the company survives; it still goes on doing business. Now, the old legal theory was that the company was only a convenient fiction. The lawyers said, "There is not such a thing as the company really, but it is a convenient thing to imagine that the company does exist, so as to enable the company to enter into contracts and to be sued in the Courts, but the company itself has no real existence, it can only act through its agents." But

the later and the more enlightened jurisprudence is beginning to urge that, as a matter of law, there is something in the background which is brought into existence by the incorporation of the company, and that the company has a real existence and is not merely a legal fiction. Now, I will not pause to elaborate that theory, because it would detain me too long. What I want to put to you is this; if that theory now accepted by the most accomplished jurisprudence, is correct; if the company is a reality in the background; then how much more must there be some magnificent reality in the background of the organic unity which we know as the British Empire? (Loud applause) In other words, I want to say to you, with the deliberation and the emphasis of a scientist and a psychologist, that I am convinced that in the background of the organic unity known as the British Empire, and as the offspring and generation thereof, there is being developed a real imperial soul, a great imperial personality. I am not using that word in a metaphorical sense at all; I mean that there is in the background of this Empire a lofty, imperial personality, a real material soul, a kind of supereminent guardian angel which is being developed in the psychic realms, and which as a matter of fact has for its task and labour the guardianship of this Empire towards its destiny. (Applause)

Now, just apply that conception for one moment in a direction which I think will appeal to you all. What was it that took your sons across the ocean to die on the battlefield of Flanders and on the slopes of Gallipoli and elsewhere? What was it that united all our British Empire into a magnificent fighting force, indomitable and deathless, which it proved to be? I have heard it said that it was the instinct of self-protection. Well, it may have been, but that would not be adequate to explain the phenomenon. I have heard it said that it was simply the instinct of material gain. Well, to repeat that seriously would be to insult every citizen of the Empire. (Hear, hear) I have heard it said that it was devotion to the King; and so in a sense it was; but you will not get

devotion in the highest sense to an office alone unless there be something behind that office which inspires and feeds that devotion—(hear, hear and applause); and I suggest to you that what is behind the King is the majestic reality of the Imperial Self—something that is greater than the King, something that is loftier than the King, something that the Kingly office only dimly foreshadows, but something which touched the souls of your sons and daughters, something which inspired them to the sacrifices they made, and something which is stirring the imperialistic spirit in the mind and brain of every man within the range of my voice. (Applause) That is what was behind the magnificent outpouring, the devotion which you witnessed during those years of war.

In the year before the war I was at Niagara Falls, and I there met a venerable American ninety-two years of age with whom I had many illuminating conversations. The last night we were together he said to me, speaking as a constitutional lawyer, "What would you say is the weak point of the American constitution?" I reflected a moment and then said, "I think it is the direct election of the President, which of course absolutely falsifies the advice of Washington and Hamilton, who did not want the direct democratic election of the President, but now you have got it through the electoral college." He replied, "No, it is not that; I will tell you what it is. It is the entire absense of a personal nucleus of political devotion. Our Presidents only cross the stage every four years, some of them every eight years, and then they vanish into private life, and the consequence is that there is nothing upon which the patriotic devotion of the citizen can fasten, year in and year out, and consequently we are liable to a parochialism of outlook; we have not got the vision that you British people have got who are tied together by patriotic devotion to a single personal head." And then he laid his hand on my arm and said, "Now, mark my word; I am going to say a very daring thing, which you may regard almost as the vision of an old man; but mark my word—I shall not live to see it,

but if you live to the average span of human life you will see the great American Commonwealth make an effort to come back under the British flag as a great Dominion of the British Crown." (Loud applause)

Well, it did sound like the vapouring of a visionary at that time, and I daresay there are many who think that it sounds like that now; and yet—and yet—as this Empire goes forward to its destiny, as its elements come into closer and closer cohesion; as you gradually assume—for, mark me, you will assume,—and I would not say this if I did not as scientist and psychologist most profoundly believe it—as you gradually assume the complete dominance of the North American Continent you will find that your southern neighbours will begin to ask themselves, "What is it that those British people have got that we have not got?" (Hear, hear and applause) And you will find that they will answer themselves in ancient and pregnant words—perhaps more true to-day than ever during the thousands of years that have elapsed since they were uttered—"Where there is no vision the people perish." And you Canadians, looking out across your own vast Dominion, looking at what you have made of it within the last fifty years, and then remembering that even your own magnificent Empire is but an Empire within an Empire, and that the larger Empire of which you are a part, an indissoluble part, as it is set upon the very loftiest ideals of human liberties and progress, can you set bounds to what you can achieve so long as that lofty vision inspires you, and so long as in the background of your lives and in the background of the Empire itself there is that Imperial Personality, that Imperial Soul, pouring down its inspiration upon your sons and daughters, and going on to a fate more splendid than any which has hitherto gladdened the eyes of the sons of men? (Loud applause)

Perhaps you can understand now why, three or four years ago, I and a number of friends in Great Britain discovered the existence of a widespread republican plot and set ourselves to bring it to naught. We did bring it

to naught, and I think you can understand, after what you have heard me say, what were the issues at stake and what would have happened if that plot had succeeded. The greatest organic unity of this or any other age would undoubtedly have fallen to pieces, and your destiny and our destiny would have been clouded for all time. But it was brought to an end, it was thwarted, and although I have been many times promised revenge by those whose designs I helped to bring to naught I am, as you see, still alive and in fair health, with every prospect of the revenge going unfulfilled. (Applause)

Finally—and these are my last words—I do not apologise for presenting to a meeting of business men, as a business man myself, some of the loftiest topics that can engage the attention of mankind, because I find that the business man, and especially the Canadian business man, is beginning to take a very lively and incisive interest in those loftier topics, and because I find he welcomes every attempt at their elucidation even if he does not wholly agree with what is put forward; and no doubt that is a consequence of the realization which is growing more and more upon the modern world, that the ancient faith was right and that there is before us all in another world a destiny of unparalleled beauty and splendour, and that consequently the more we can cultivate the things of the spirit while we are wrapt in flesh below, the more ready will we be for the higher and loftier life that awaits us beyond. Those perhaps are bold words to address to a gathering of business men, and yet I venture to hope that perhaps there is not one among you in whose mind they will not awaken a responsive echo (hear, hear) ; for bear in mind, as I said, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." "The things which are seen are temporal; the things which are not seen are eternal"; and the higher Imperialism concerns itself both with the things of this world and with spiritual preparation for the loftier destiny that is to come, (applause) ; because all that we see must perish.

The hour may come when earth no more shall keep
Tireless her long-drawn voyage through the deep;
Nay, when all planets seeped and swept in one
Fed from our kindly solitary sun;
Nay, when all suns that shine, together hurled,
Crash in one ultimate and lifeless world.
Yet hold thou still, what world soe'er may roll
Naught fear thee, with the Captain of thy soul;
In all the eternal world, the cosmic stir,
All the eternal is akin to her;
She shall survive, and quick'n, and live at last
When all, save souls, have perished in the blast.

(Loud applause, the audience rising and giving three cheers)

The President presented to Dr. Powell the hearty thanks of the Club for his unique and inspiring vision of Imperialism, for a noble forecast of Canada's future within the Empire, and for a stirring presentation of ideals of human liberty and progress.

# EMPIRE SPORT

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE
RT. HON. LORD DESBOROUGH, K.C., V.O.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, September* 23, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT, **in introducing the speaker. said;**—Lord Desborough, having played a very important part in connection with the war activities, is now as tireless as ever, as enthusiastic as ever, in the work that relates to peace, and is devoting himself earnestly to the task world to-day who have never learned how to play. They of restoration. (Applause) There are many men in the are workers, enthusiastic workers, but I do not know that they get as much joy out of life as they ought to get. His Lordship is not one of that class. While devoting himself thoroughly to work, he is a real sport. (Applause) I could quite safely defy anyone here to mention any legitimate sport in which his Lordship has not been interested and has not taken a prominent place. And he is a successful sport; he gets there, as he does in everything else that he undertakes. It seems to me that when a man sees only one goal, and his life is devoted to the service of his Empire as Lord Desborough's has been, he is to be commended for doing all those things that best fit him for the great task that he is undertaking. I have no doubt that Lord Desborough will tell us to-day that that which best fits him for his work is the little play he gets in between times. In addition to his many other activities, of which you know so much, Lord Desborough is President of the Royal Life Saving Society, of which we have in Toronto a very prosperous and flourishing branch. I want his Lordship to know

that we are interested in that Society. There are many things that could be said that would be very interesting to you with regard to Lord Desborough, but His Lordship is a very modest man. We want him to feel today that he is in the bosom of the family—(hear, hear) —and that we are not expecting him to make a formal address. Boys, he is going to talk to us for a few minutes about "Empire Sport," and no man in the Empire is as well able to talk upon that subject as is Lord Desborough; only I want you to understand at the beginning that it is work first and play afterwards. Now, he is going to talk about the sport part of the Empire. (Loud applause, the audience rising and giving three cheers)

## RT. HON. LORD DESBOROUGH

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,* —Your chairman has introduced me in the most flattering manner, and I am afraid that on this occasion it will be very difficult for me to live up to the reputation which he has given me. I have just come from a meeting where we have been discussing subjects of a very, very different character, and if I had to address you at the present moment on Bills of Lading, Reciprocity, Empire Banking, etc., I should certainly find it very much easier than to suddenly switch off to an entirely different subject. I have also, unfortunately, not had any opportunity of gathering together my scattered thoughts. Still, I may say this, that it gives me the most extraordinary pleasure to have this quickly-gathered opportunity of meeting so many splendid Canadian sportsmen and Toronto sportsmen who belong to this club.

The last time I was here I had somewhat more time. I was then on a yacht which started from New York and came in the mouth of the St. Lawrence and went right through your magnificent locks up to Port Arthur and Port George, where I made certain investments in land, which have not turned out—(laughter)—you are thinking I was going to say, as well as I expected; but they

turned out, I may say, a great deal better. On my way through I was asked to address Canadian Clubs, and I did the best I could. One of those Clubs was at Winnipeg, and before I began my oration I was told that they would not stand anything after two o'clock; they drew the line there; they put up with you as well as they could under the circumstances till two o'clock, but after two o'clock nothing would induce them to hear another word. Well, I carefully put my watch out; the last thing I wished to do was to offend the susceptibilities of my audience. I got on fairly well, not very remarkably, and I kept on looking at this watch, and to my horror I seemed to be going on a great deal more than I wished myself, and I found to my horror that my watch had stopped. (Laughter) I apologized most sincerely to the very kind audience, and told them what the reason was for my detaining them beyond the very holy hour. Well, on this occasion I have borrowed one watch from my friend, Mr. Marriott, on my right, and I have brought two watches of my own—(great laughter)—so I think that whatever happens I ought not to repeat my former mistake. (Laughter)

Friends of the Empire Club here, which is doing such a splendid work in this City—and I think Toronto is the most loyal city it has ever been my pleasure to be in (applause)—were kind enough to choose a subject for me, said they would be very pleased if I said a few words on the subject of "Empire Sports"—not an address, for I have not had time to write out an address.

Well, I must say, as your Chairman has said, that I have had some experience of Empire Sport. The last Imperial sport in which I was engaged was as a member of the Committee—I was President at the time of the Marylebone Cricket Club, which is *the* Cricket Club in our Country—and we had the pleasant duty, which is going to be performed again this year, of sending out an eleven to Australia. I have to say that that eleven did very well, and brought back what is called the "ashes," though I have never quite known exactly what that meant.

However, they got on a great deal better than the Australians at that time considered at all possible, and they rather fancy themselves at cricket. One has had rather an experience, then, of what is required in sport of the highest kind. Oh, is this all going down? (Referring, amid laughter, to the presence of the official reporter)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Your Lordship can take out anything you like.

LORD DESBOROUGH: Now, this is where sport comes in, because you want not only to be proficient at your games, but you really want to have that true spirit of the sportsman, a consideration for others, which you can learn better, I believe, through the discipline of games than you can by any other means that I know of. (Applause) In selecting the eleven sportsmen who were to go out to play against other sportsmen in Australia, which is a long way off, and who would have to be together for a very long time, it was not only proficiency with the bat and the ball which was necessary for the selection of that team, but it was that they should be known to be what I may call clubable people who would get on well together during the long months which the tour would occupy, and thus contribute to the success of their side through that spirit of co-operation and unselfishness which it is so very important to promote.

The Congress over which I have had the pleasure of presiding has as its motto, "Unity in Commerce and Unity in Defence,"—the motto for the leavening of the Empire. I think there ought to be added to that, for the same purpose, "Unity and Comradeship in Sport throughout the whole of our wide-flung Empire." (Applause)

I do not want to talk about the war; we all know what Canada and the rest of the Empire did in the war, but certainly where all were distinguished Canada distinguished herself pre-eminently in the contribution she made to the Flying Service of the Empire. (Hear, hear) Now, I had something to do with the encouragement of the Flying Service of the Empire. Two years before the

war took place I did my best to impress upon the authorities the necessity of making more provision for flying. We started building airplanes, and the first airplane that was given was given to the Dominion of New Zealand. The idea of our Imperial Air Fleet Committee was to start the great Dominion's flying, and the last of the three that I had the pleasure of presenting, or which were presented to me, was to the great Dominion of Canada. I heard of those airplanes the other day, and I believe the one which was given by Huddersfield, which is represented here by my friend Mr. Bruce, is now carrying out a survey in this great Dominion. What you want in flying, more than anything else, is team-work; and the co-operation, the team-work, of the flying men who represented this great Dominion was most successfully carried out. Canada supplied such a large proportion of the flying men that this Dominion made a greater success than almost any other unit. I saw one of those machines yesterday. I do not know whether any of the Flying Corps are here present, but Col. Bishop—(applause)—was a very good friend of mine in the Old Country, and I had the very great pleasure of presenting to him on one occasion a gold medallion which we had made, and which was exhibited in the Royal Academy, as the representative flying man of this Great Dominion. I only wish I had time and opportunity of renewing that acquaintance, and going to see the great flying airdrome at Borden. But what I want to impress on you is this, that in a great crisis of our history, certainly as regards the air, it was due largely to the spirit of co-operation which sport had taught that we were able, in conjunction with the Dominions, to obtain that supremacy in the air which did so much to win the war. (Hear, hear)

I had the opportunity, the day before yesterday, of seeing a very fine game of lacrosse at the University Stadium; and what strikes one about games now, more than anything else, is that the individual play is made so very much subordinate to the combination at the supreme moment in front of goal, at the time that goals can be

got; and it is that system of co-operation which is teaching us all so much, not only in games but in the business of the Empire, and I hope it will be the motto which we may all cultivate, as I say, not merely in games but also in the more serious business of life. (Hear, hear)

I have also had the opportunity and the pleasure of being just introduced to the President of the Toronto Argonauts. (Referring to Mr. Pat Mulqueen) I have seen them on many occasions, and I must say they were an example of splendid sportsmen. (Hear, hear, and applause) I remember that in 1912 they had a splendid crew which came out to Henley, and which afterwards went to the Olympic games at Stockholm. There were the Argonauts, the Leander and a crew representing Australia, and there was very little between those crews; some days there was about half a length, some days there was a length between those three, but unfortunately the Argonauts, when they got to Stockholm, had the great misfortune to be drawn against the winners in their very first heat, and according to my recollection, which I think is right, unfortunately on that occasion they did not win a single heat though they had come that long distance. But I do not wish to recall this particularly to your minds except for this reason, that I never saw an untoward event taken with so much unselfish good sportsmanship—(applause)—as was shown on that occasion by the Toronto Argonauts, who at Stockholm set an example in sportsmanship to all the nations who went to the Olympic games. (Hear, hear)

My friend here on my right knows something about the Olympic games, and I have seen him there. I am happy to think that (though there is very much to be said against the Olympic games, as they are very often carried out on much too big a scale, and sometimes carried out by nations who have not had that long experience in judging and conducting sports as have others) yet, on the whole, I certainly think they have done good in this respect, that they have increased the spirit of true sportsmanship among all the nations that have joined in those

games. I have had a great deal to do with the Olympic games since they were started, and I have seen a very great change in the attitude towards those games. Men did not come there for the purpose of winning so many medals, but with the idea of competing good-humouredly against one another, and towards the end the losers were as ready to salute and congratulate the winners as were their own opponents. That, after all, is one of the great missions in sports.

The Royal Life Saving Society has been alluded to. I had the very great pleasure this morning of seeing a representative of the Royal Life Saving Society in this city. He asked me how we were getting on in the Old Country, and I told him we were getting on very well with the Royal Life Saving Society. It has now spread its branches all through the British Empire. In Australasia and New Zealand and in various other parts of the Empire it is flourishing to the last degree; and it rather amused me that on the last occasion we had a communication from Iceland asking if they could translate our hand-book into their own language. There is a great comradeship in swimming and life saving, as indeed there is in those various other sports which we cultivate with so much success.

My time has been so much taken up that I really have not had the opportunity of collecting my thoughts to present them to you in the way that they should be; but just before I started on the Saturday I think, there was about to take place in England almost the best athletic sports I have ever seen; that was the British Empire against the United States. The sports took place at the Queen's Club. They were conducted in a spirit of chivalry I have never seen equalled in any sports in the world. I should like to congratulate you on having produced a gentleman who made a world's record over hurdles—(applause)—and who followed that up by jumping over six feet, and I think something like twenty-two feet long. What pleased me at those sports more than anything else was to see at the end of the

high jump, which was a great disappointment to our American friends, the winner and loser going off arm-in-arm, and both congratulating and commisserating with each other. (Laughter and applause)

Now, Gentlemen, in order to keep well within the limits of my three watches I do not think I will detain you any longer, except merely to say this: I do hope that this great Dominion will, in all the branches of sport, go on as it is doing at the present time, and cultivate not merely success in sports, but that true spirit of comradeship which we know is the foundation of co-operation in all branches of life. I thank you. (Loud applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: We have with us as a guest to-day Sir Joseph Flavelle. I am going to ask if he will kindly return the thanks of the club to His Lordship for his address and company with us to-day.

SIR JOSEPH FLAVELLE: Mr. Chairman, Lord Desborough and Gentlemen, I think the best thanks which can be given to the speaker is not only the presence of this company of business men and sportsmen, but the character of the hearing which His Lordship has had through the full time of his address. The position which he occupies in the Congress now completed tells us of his work as a leader in business circles. We know of him as a great public servant; and, strange as it may sometimes appear, having regard to his presence in the exclusive house of legislation, he is a very sound democrat. (Laughter and applause) Added to those excellencies, I am sure I speak for this company when I say that Lord Desborough has given us the note of co-operation and spirit in sport which in this day of splendid sporting spirit sets a standard that we may well seek to follow. (Applause) On behalf of the company present, Lord Desborough, I desire to express to you our grateful thanks for your goodness in speaking to us to-day. (Loud applause)

# THE MEANING OF THE EMPIRE TO-DAY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE
RT. HON. VISCOUNT CAVE

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, September* 27, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing the speaker, said,—Gentlemen, we are delighted at all times to have the opportunity of showing appreciation of great services rendered to our country or to our Empire. We have been favoured in the past days with some very able men, men who have served their countries and their Empire well. I question if at any time we have had a more outstanding representative of that class of Empire citizens than we have in our guest of to-day, Viscount Cave. (Applause) We look upon him as a splendid type of progressive—the right kind of progressive. He began his career by doing the thing that was at his hand to do, and has progressed from a very simple form of service to the more complex kind, and the more valuable kind to the Empire. Viscount Cave is a man with greatly diversified interests, not satisfied with merely the practice of his profession as a successful Barrister. Beginning as a member of the Richmond Vestry, which afterwards became the Richmond Borough Council, and later elected as Member of Parliament for Kingston and Richmond divisions of Surrey, Viscount Cave took an exceptional interest in all the organizations which had to do with the public life of England. He was Vice-Chairman of his County Council for twenty years, and was for ten years recorder of the quarter sessions and Vice-Chairman of the General Sessions of his County. He was Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee ap-

pointed to reform the land laws of England, and as a result of the work of this Committee very substantial reforms will shortly be made. During the war he was Chairman of the Prize Court, dealing with enemy ships, and was in the advisory council that had to do with the organization of the country for war. Viscount Cave held the office of Secretary for the Home Department and continued that office until the close of the war, and is now a very important member of the Privy Council. As you know, Viscount Cave since coming over to this continent has made important addresses before the American Bar Association and also before the Canadian Bar Association. We are glad to have with us to-day members of our own Canadian Judiciary and representatives of the legal profession to join in our welcome to Viscount Cave, whom we shall hear to-day with very great pleasure as the speaker on "The Meaning of 'Empire' to-day." I have much pleasure in introducing Viscount Cave. (Loud applause, the audience rising and giving three cheers)

## RT. HON. VISCOUNT CAVE

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,* I have heard much about the Empire Club, and I am glad that my last speech, or what I conceive to be my last speech in Canada, should be delivered here. I am at the end of an experience of a railroad journey of 8,000 miles through Canada, the memory of which will, I believe, be with me during what remains of my life. It is true that the time which I have been able to spend here is comparatively short, and I do not imagine that I have learned more than a fraction of what is to be known about this great Dominion; and I have not the least intention of writing a book about it. (Laughter) But nevertheless, I feel that even in this short visit I have learned more about Canada than I could have learned from books in a life-time. I have said elsewhere that in my opinion every Member of the body to which I have the honour to belong—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—should consider it

part of his duty to pay a visit to this Dominion. (Hear, hear, and applause) He would be all the better for knowing something at first hand both of the country itself and of the people who make it what it is. I say the same now of every Statesman who is a member, or is at all likely to be a member, of the Imperial Cabinet; I wish that they would all in turn pay a visit to Canada, and that some of your Statesmen would return the call. (Applause) I think that if all of them would do so we should in every way know each other better than we do. For myself, it has been a great experience to see something of the vast expanses of this Dominion and learn more about its great natural resources and about the work of development which has been proceeding with such rapid strides. It has also been a happiness to speak with many Canadians in all occupations of life; and I have been impressed not only with the wealth of natural resources but with the spirit of the people. I have found a Canadian spirit which makes you justly proud of Canada and ambitious for her future. I have found also a British spirit which keeps alive your pride in the Old Country from which you or your ancestors came. (Applause) And I found an Imperial spirit strong to-day, and daily growing stronger, which makes you glad to be members of that great Union of Nations which is called the British Empire. (Hear, hear and applause)

Gentlemen, after such an experience I would much rather listen to what you might tell me than endeavour to speak to you. I am in sympathy with the old philosopher who desired these words written upon his tomb—"I died learning"—but you have asked me to address you, and I must do my best. I have chosen as my subject one which may be of interest to members of this Club—"The Meaning of 'Empire' to-day." In dealing with this question I have no rhetoric to give you, indeed I never had any, but I shall be content if I am able to put before you some new thoughts, or to lend further interest to those which are already in your minds.

There are some people in our time who boggle at the word "Empire." You do not; nor do I—(hear, hear)

—for we know what it means to us. In its origin the word denoted dominance or command, and history has many instances of Empire in that sense of the word. Rome sent her legions to conquer, to annex, and to exact tribute. Spain sent her ships to crush, to plunder, and to exploit. Austria acted upon the principle, "divide et impera." Napoleon was consumed by that thirst for power which in the end destroyed him; and William II of Germany, forsaking the old German spirit which found its centre at Weimar, put himself at the head of those who sought to make of Germany a parvenu empire of self-styled supermen, lording it over other countries. He struck for "World Empire or Downfall"—and he found one of them. (Laughter)

It seems to me, Gentlemen, that the British race has given a new meaning to the word Empire. The British Empire is in the main the result, not of conquest, but of expansion. I do not know whether you have read a book by Professor Seely called "The Expansion of England." If not, I hope you will take the opportunity of reading it, for it contains a thought which is worthy of your consideration. No doubt British territory has from time to time been acquired in war, but if so, the acquisition of territory was not the purpose of the war but was an incident in some greater war of self-preservation. For instance, the cession of a part of lower Canada was but an incident in the great wars with France; the taking over of Cape Colony was an incident in our wars with the Dutch; and recent annexations on the African Continent are but an incident, an unforeseen incident, of the great war with Germany. Conquest and annexation, though, have not been the purpose of our wars, and they have been accepted often somewhat reluctantly as a consequence of them. Speaking generally, by far the greater part of the British Empire has been built up not by soldiers, but by settlers. The country has become ours, yours and mine, not by the conquests of men, but by the hard-won victory over the difficulties of nature.

In the second place, it is worth noticing that the ad-

dition of territory to the British Empire, however brought about, has generally been followed, at a shorter or longer interval, by the institution of self-government. It is recognized throughout the world that there is no better Colonist than the British Colonist. He has no desire to domineer over others, but is ready to give justice and fair play to all. He does not blindly impose his own law, and would rather adopt and administer the existing law of the country. It was remarkable—and I saw something of it—how at the end of the recent great war the call everywhere was for the British soldier to go and keep the peace in one country after another until the final settlement could be made. (Applause) Indeed, I remember a protest being made by our Prime Minister in the British Cabinet against the view that we could spare soldiers for this kind of work in every part of the world. It was recognized that the British soldier would do his work efficiently and with good temper, and would want nothing for himself except that he might get home as soon as possible. So, during the building up of our Empire, it has been our role to give self-government as soon as possible. Where other races form the larger portion of the population, the process has been a gradual one; and this holds true both of India and of some of the Crown Colonies. But where a white race has been in the majority, autonomy has been given quickly and with both hands. When a country has been held by men of British blood, this has been a matter of course. It would be absurd in the present day to speak of Britain as owning Australia or any other part of the great self-governing Dominions; they are sister nations of the Empire. And even where the population of a territory has not been mainly British, but has been white, the same course has been followed. Now, a striking instance is that of South Africa, where within a few years after an inter-racial war, autonomy was granted, and where today those who were our chief and most gallant opponents in that war hold the highest offices in the territory where it was waged. (Applause) That is, I believe, the British way.

In more recent years a new process has developed itself. Autonomy has been followed by co-operation, and the greater the measure of autonomy, the stronger the tendency towards co-operation. One example of that tendency is found in the confederation of the states or provinces into Dominions. Canada became a province and then a Dominion. The states of Australia voluntarily united in a Commonwealth. The territories in South Africa, lately at war with one another, have entered into an even closer bond, and have become "The Union of South Africa." And to-day we see, forming almost before our eyes, a greater union—that constellation of nations which is called the British Empire. (Hear, hear) It has no formal bond except that of the Crown; its only common Parliament is that consultative body known as the Imperial Conference; its only Executive has been the Imperial War Cabinet, and I hope will hereafter be the Imperial Cabinet—(hear, hear, and applause); and it is of the essence of both these bodies that the consultation which there takes place shall be voluntary, and that statesmen of the Empire who there meet for mutual information and advice shall remain free to act as they think fit, and shall be responsible only to the nations who send them there.

I have quoted elsewhere, but should like to quote again, a few sentences from a speech made by Sir Robert Borden in the year 1917, in which he expressed this idea better than I have seen it expressed elsewhere. He said:

"For the first time in the Empire's history there are sitting in London two Cabinets, both properly constituted and both exercising well-defined powers. Over each of them the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom presides. One of them is designated as the 'War Cabinet' which chiefly devotes itself to such questions touching the prosecution of the war as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other is designated as the 'Imperial War Cabinet' which has a wider purpose, jurisdiction and personnel. To its deliberations have been summoned representatives of all the Empire's self-governing Dominions. We meet there on terms of equality under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom; we meet there as equals, he is *primus inter pares*. Ministers from six nations sit around the Council Board, all of them responsible to their respective

Parliaments and to the people of the countries which they represent. Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern and highest importance as the deliberations proceed: each preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government, and the responsibility of its Ministers to their own electorate. For many years the thought of statesmen and students in every part of the Empire has centred around the question of future constitutional relations; it may be that now, as in the past, the necessity imposed by great events has given the answer."

I do not think that the matter could be better put than in those well-thought-out sentences of Sir Robert Borden. (Applause) Of course, the Empire must have a centre; and you will forgive me, as an Englishman, for saying that at this time, until you hurry up with your population, the centre can be nowhere but in the Old Country. (Applause) The whole history of our race, the prestige of a nation great through centuries of history, the preponderance of population, designate as the nerve-centre of our Empire the little island pictured by Shakespeare in those thrilling lines:

> This Royal Throne of Kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise;
> This fortress, built by nature for herself,
> Against infection and the hand of war;
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea.

(Applause) But, if England leads, as your late Prime Minister said, she is *primus inter pares;* and the statesmen of the self-governing Dominions come there, not to listen to her decisions but to discuss with her and to decide with her the great Imperial issues.

If, in the last half-century, we have learned much as to the true relations between the mother country and the Dominions, you also have learned something. Goldwin Smiths may exist to-day in Canada, but if so, they are notable more for their rarity than for any other quality. (Laughter) They are like some old postage stamps which are of interest to collectors because there are so few of them. (Laughter) The great mass of men both here and at home realize that to destroy or weaken the

links which bind us, and make us strong, would be the height of folly, would indeed be treachery to our race. (Applause)

My friend, Lord Desborough, spoke here a few days ago of the value of team-play in sport, and no one could be more competent to speak of it than that fine sportsman and stout-hearted man. Among the British nations also there must be team-work, and it is only if we play for the team that we shall win. But all this you know full well; and if there is any place in the world where any attempt to weaken the links of Empire is doomed to failure, I believe that that place is Canada. (Applause)

And so I conclude where I began. The British Empire to us in 1920 means, not conquest or possession, or exploitation, but that great union of self-governing territories and of territories working towards self-government of which the foundation is the British spirit of sturdy independence and fair consideration for others, and of which the fruit is liberty. It is in that sense that we understand and hail Lord Beaconsfield's quotation, "Imperium et Libertas"—"Empire and Liberty." "Empire" means to us the coalition of free nations in one great body, banded together under one king to secure the liberty of all. (Loud applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Mr. Justice Riddell has consented to express the thanks of this Club to Viscount Cave for his address.

## MR. JUSTICE RIDDELL

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,* I am under strict injunctions not to exceed five minutes, and I shall see that I obey my instructions. As you have said, we have listened—you as host and some of us as guests—to very many excellent addresses by very many men of high standing; and I think I express the feelings of this audience—I know I express my own—when I say that the address to which we have just listened yields to none in importance, interest or value, and the gentleman who has spoken is no less than any of those whom

we have heard. (Applause) The noble and learned gentleman has spoken about the British Empire, of which we are all proud, chiefly because it is not an Empire at all. We know that the Holy Roman Empire was so called because it was not holy, it was not Roman, and it was not an Empire. (Laughter) The British Empire is not quite the same; it is not an Empire in any true sense; but it is, thank God, and please God ever will be, intensely British. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Being asked to move a vote of thanks to Lord Cave, my mind is instinctively taken back to the last occasion upon which I heard a vote of thanks moved to Lord Cave for an address which he had made, when a matter was raised which is still highly contentious; and it may not be out of place for me to say a word on that, considering the learned Lord's position as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. So far, at all events, the position of the Privy Council in respect of Canada has not become a matter of party politics, or of politics at all, and therefore I am at liberty to speak of it as a Canadian and as a Britisher at the same time. If the time will come, as it doubtless will, when the matter becomes of political import, political combat, then—unless in the meantime I should be starved off the Bench and driven to some other occupation to support myself and those who depend upon me—my lips will be closed; but for the time being, at all events, I may say what I have to say. (Laughter and applause) Sir, before I was elevated to the Bench—in Canada we use the word "elevate" to the Bench, because elevation to the Bench imports that the elevated has the following day a sort of "morning after the night before"—(laughter)—like those who were elevated in the olden days before the Ontario Temperance Act made us all virtuous—before I was elevated to the Bench I was an energetic follower of a political party the members of which lived in peace and happiness, mutually respected by and respecting their fellow-Canadians, but as soon as an election was called on, they were at once charged with annexation tendencies, pro-

American tendencies. Now, it is perfectly certain that the proposition of my friend Mr. Raney will be considered pro-American, anti-British; but let me assure you it is nothing of the kind. Those who know my friend, the Attorney-General of the Province of Ontario, know that he is as intensely British as I am, or as you are. (Hear, hear, and applause) He has shown the faith that is in him when he gave his dearly beloved boy to die for the Empire, and that is as high a test, I think, as we can make. Let no man believe that the proposition to remove Canadian appeals from the cognizance of the Imperial Privy Council is a step towards separating Canada from the British Empire. (Hear, hear) A Canadian question may be properly discussed, and discussed on all sides, and it will be dealt with and disposed of by Canadians as Canadians. So far as I am myself concerned, I thank God that we have at the present time the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. (Applause) I thank that great Tribunal for the judgments that they have delivered, which are full of sound law—I am always supported, I may say—(laughter)—sound sense, and good English—(hear, hear)—all of which we do not always meet in judgments of any Court with which I am acquainted. (Laughter) Not that I would have you think it is an ideal Court; it is not. The system is not ideal. But what do we care for idealism—we English-speaking people, we Britishers? A Frenchman will fight two duels before breakfast at any time for a principle. The Britisher doesn't care—I shall not say what I was going to say (laughter); my Lord Bishop, I know, will excuse me—for a principle. We ask ourselves, "Does it work all right? Does it bring out the proper result?" and if the proper result comes in practice we don't care tuppence—now, there is a proper phrase. (Laughter) As things stand, His Majesty's subjects throughout the world, wherever the map is painted red—the British Isles, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, the Islands of the Sea—are divided into two classes. Those who live in the British Isles alone—not

the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands—have their ultimate Court of Appeal in the House of Lords. Those who are not sentenced to live in the British Isles, who live in the rest of the British world, have their ultimate Court of Appeal in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and those two great Courts are almost identical in membership. There is just enough of difference between the two to make a difference. Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen sit in appeal from Canadian cases; Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen sit in appeal from English, Irish and Scotch cases. But no Canadian sits there. If we are going to have full fellowship, sisterhood, between all the self-governing nations of the British Empire, the ideal system is to have one ultimate Court of Appeal, composed of the House of Lords and the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. That would be the ideal. But in the meantime, until we can get something better—I speak solely for myself, although perhaps also for most of you—for Heaven's sake let us hang on to that Court which has been so useful to us in the past (applause) and will be equally useful to us in the future. But don't look upon those who advocate something different as desiring to separate Canada from the British Empire, as desiring to tear the British Empire in pieces. That talk we had when Canada sought and obtained self-government; when she sought and obtained first constitutional government as early as 1837; which she got in 1840, when she sought and obtained the united form of self-government; when in 1867 she became the Dominion of Canada; when she sought and obtained for us greater self-government during the war which is just past. But, Sir, let nobody believe, come what may, but that the worst thing which could befall the world would be the breaking up of the British Empire, the greatest agency for good the world has ever seen. (Hear, hear and loud applause) While we insist upon our right to govern ourselves, while we do not admit that our British friends across the sea know better how to govern Canada than we Canadians,

and while we insist and have insisted for half a century on governing ourselves, we likewise insist upon retaining our share of the old flag, our share of British traditions. The flag that braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze is our flag, the glorious and supreme emblem, the banner of our liberty, and we will never give it up until the last Canadian who could carry a gun is dead. (Applause)

I am afraid I have trespassed upon your good nature. I have the greatest pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks of this Club to our fellow-Britisher, Viscount Cave, who has spoken to us so acceptably this afternoon. (Loud applause)

# THE RECORD OF THE CANADIAN CAVALRY BRIGADE

AN ADDRESS BY MAJOR-GENERAL THE RT. HONOURABLE J. E. B. SEELY, C.B., D.S.O., M.P.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October,* 4, 1920.

(On behalf of the Club President Hewitt, in a happily worded speech presented to Mr. F. J. Coombs, on the eve of his wedding, a Loving Cup, and Mr. Coombs replied briefly amid hearty applause.)

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the Speaker said,—Gentlemen, our guest of to-day hardly needs any introduction to any of us. For nearly four years he was commander of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade, and his name has become, as our notice says, almost a household word. General Seely has represented English constituencies in the House of Commons for twenty years and has held important offices in the government of the day. Prior to the date of the declaration of war he was Secretary of State for War, and, strange to say, taken from civil life and the government of the country to go out and help to execute the commands of the country. General Seely was deservedly popular with the men under his command, and perhaps no one thing was more greatly responsible for that fact than his own personal courage and bravery. (Applause) I am told that there was never any task given to any man to do but the General was prepared to take as much danger as any man under his command. General Seely had the honor to serve in the South African campaign with very great distinction, so that both in civil and in military life, he is a man of great reputation. Gentlemen, there are times when men who have done so much for their country, if they did

nothing more than come and give us an opportunity to look at them, even if they were not forceful speakers, would be welcomed and remembered by way of our appreciation of what they had done; but when a man like Gen. Seely comes, who can talk to us and who has eloquence as well as bravery and military strategy, he is doubly welcome to us, because it is a great thing for a man to be able to express clearly his own conviction, and tell what he knows. (Applause.) Before calling upon General Seely to address us I want to read this telegram that came into my hands a minute or two before the meeting:—

> Regret impossible to be present to honour General Seely, one of my most fearless and intelligent soldiers. He proved my theory that citizen soldiers trained are unsurpassed. I would rejoice to be present to honour him. He always fulfilled my highest expectation.
>
> Sam Hughes.

(Applause)

I have much pleasure, Gentlemen, in introducing:

## MAJOR GENERAL THE RT. HONOURABLE J. E. B. SEELY.

*Mr. President and Members of the Empire Club of Canada*:—I am indeed highly honoured to be invited to address this great gathering. I am glad that your President was good enough to suggest the title of my address. It is true as he says, that I insisted upon altering its title, because I don't want to talk to you to-day about anything that I did, but only to tell you very simply what, I think you will agree, is a very thrilling story—the story of your Canadian Cavalry. My part in it is only that of an eye witness of great events culminating in the supreme crisis in which, in the words of the greatest soldier of our age, your cavalry were present and contributed in the highest degree to turning the tide of battle and saving the allied cause.

The story is a gradually culminating story, and I do not think I shall weary this great audience if I just tell them in a few moments how this brigade was formed, some actions that it did; in fact, it so happened that each unit did something outstanding which I think will enable you to realize how it came about that at the great crisis it did achieve so remarkable and, indeed, miraculous a success.

Well, Sir, as you said, when the war broke out, I went to the war as everyone of my age naturally would, and for the first four or five months I was a special service officer with the Expeditionary force on the staff of Sir John French, and a very remarkably interesting time, naturally enough, I had. But in the month of January, 1915, I got a telegram from Lord Kitchener summoning me home to take command, as the phrase went, of an important unit. I complied at once, and went to see Lord Kitchener, who was an old friend and was then Secretary of State for War. He said, "A Canadian Division, a splendid force, is just about to leave. They are the remains of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, Lord Strathcona's Horse, both regiments of the permanent force, and the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. I propose to supplement them with the King Edward's Horse, who are many of them, Canadians, and a very distinguished regiment. I shall add to them engineers from the British and other services, medical and others; the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery will be made into a brigade under the command of Colonel—now General—Panet, and I wish you well."

So the brigade was formed, and I went down to Salisbury Plains and endeavoured to find it. It was rather difficult, because it was sunk so deep in the mud of that place (laughter) but I succeeded in digging it up and ultimately getting it into more favourable billets. Lord Strathcona's Horse was commanded by a man with a very honoured name in Canada—Colonel Macdonell—now Major-General Macdonell—(applause)—who commanded the first division with such great distinction, and is

now in chief command of your military college. The Royal Canadian Dragoons were commanded by Colonel Dennis, and later by the gallant Straubenzee, who was killed at the beginning of the war. General Panet commanded the Horse Artillery.

After a period of training came one crisis in the war. Canada seems to have had the knack of being present at almost every crisis. The Germans did many unwise and many wicked things in the war, but I think the most wicked thing without a doubt, was when, against their pledged word, they employed lethal gas, against the promise they had given to the whole civilized world. Of course we knew that this was a deadly weapon. It was well-known to me personally, because I had been Secretary of State for War; but it was believed that no nation would be so vile and so base as to take advantage of the experience that must be created by breaking its pledged word. Had the Canadians not been present I think certainly that section would have fallen, but by their decisive policy they saved the fortunes of the day. The lethal cloud waited for them; many of them knew that, but they stood where they were to meet certain death. As one man said to me, "We figured that we would not all die, and there would be some of us left to shoot." Some were left to shoot, and Europe was saved, but in the process, of course, your losses were terrible. I had again a telegram from Lord Kitchener and again I had him at headquarters. He said, "Those gallant Canadians have suffered terrible losses." He was in a tremendous rage with the Germans; I never saw a man so angry. He said, "The retribution that will fall upon those people will be one that they will richly deserve." His words were prophetic. But he said, "They have no reinforcements at present but they are coming; will you mount your brigade and take them out to form at the first junction for a special practice?" I said, "Of course I will." He said, "But you must see to it that they volunteer and go readily, because no mounted man likes to leave his horse." I said "I will guarantee it." He said,

"Go and find out." I went down and saw my men and officers, and I don't think a fellow turned there, and if I had told them I had refused or hesitated they would almost have torn me to pieces, so anxious were they to go to the help of their comrades. (Applause) So off we went at top speed, leaving all our horses behind except, I think three, including my precious horse, "Warrior" that I bred myself, as many people here know, which is still alive and enjoying the dignity, and occasional lovely rides at my own home at the Isle of Wight. We joined up with the Canadians, and were in time for the battle of Festubert. Our brigade did well there; we were complimented by all those whom we served, and they showed those qualities of real cheerful valour which were to stand them in such good stead later on.

Then, along came duty in the trenches, the longest I ever had. I walked around the same trenches on fifty consecutive days—rather a wearisome proceeding—but we did our best, and there was added to my command many most gallant regiments—the Canadian Cavalry, also disbanded. One I remember well, one of the C.M.R. with a very gallant officer who did a very gallant act. He was a major, and a bombardment was opened on our trenches, causing very heavy losses. He was badly wounded, had his right leg shattered. He was carried out from the front line bleeding profusely, but when he came too a little and got about to the support line he said, "Put me down, boys; are any more of my men hit?" They said, "Oh yes." He said, "How many?" They replied, "We don't know." He said "Go and see." They came back leaving him on the stretcher and they said, "Twenty-eight." He said, "Now, leave me here and I will go away when I have counted twenty-eight men out." And there that gallant major lay, because he could not sit up, bleeding slowly to death, with the agonizing pain down the fractured leg. He counted one, two, etc., for an hour, and when the twenty-eight men had gone by, he said, "Now, boys, you can carry me home." (Applause)

Well, then it was decided that we should again be required as cavalry. The Canadian reinforcements had come over in great numbers, and you were forming fresh divisions rapidly, and as you know, you ultimately formed four. When we remounted during the Somme battle, it was hoped that the cavalry would get their chance. They did not, but I hope we did useful work in other ways in building and strengthening the front lines, in relieving the infantry at times, and so on.

Then the Germans retired, having devastated the area behind, and it fell to the lot of our brigade to be the leading brigade to follow them up, and we had the great good fortune to conceive a plan of encircling and capturing a village called Joncourt. It was here that brave young Gardiner was killed leading a gallant charge encircling the village. We took prisoners and machine guns, and received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. The next day but one, we were told to attack —this time, with the assistance of other cavalry. Again the brigade followed out the same tactics of enfilading the position, and it was there that Harvey got his Victoria Cross.

I saw the act, and it was really one of the most remarkably courageous things I have ever seen. His function, as leading troop leader, was to gallop around the rear of this great position. When we got around to the rear of it he found a strand of barbed wire, and machine guns behind it. Without hesitating a moment, instead of retiring, he turned more to his right and galloped straight into the middle of the flanking position. I saw him coming about fifty yards in front of his troops, and I suppose he would be about five hundred yards from where I was, and I thought with regret that this most gallant man would fall, because there were forty Germans behind where he was, and they were all busy shooting. But miraculous things sometimes happen to men. He galloped very fast down hill—he was an International Rugby Football player, and very athletic. He saw his horse would not jump the wire, and amidst this tremen-

dous rattle of rifle and machine-gun fire which killed his horse but did not touch him, he vaulted off his horse with his rifle in his hand, jumped the wire, ran straight to the trench, shot the machine gunner, turned the machine gun on the forty Germans, all of whom ran away except those whom he killed. (Loud Applause)

When I said that each unit of the brigade did outstanding things, it was our Strathcona's Horse who led on both occasions, and we took that ridge, and again received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief. The rest of the ridge was taken by other gallant cavalry regiments, who equally received their share of the credit. And so we followed them up, and then we went and sat down in the trenches again, I suppose about thirty miles further on from where we had started. There we held the line in a rather novel fashion. It was a wide No Man's land, and the only way to keep connection was to make No Man's land the zone, and that your Canadian cavalry successfully did; they made it their own. All over this wide No Man's Land, they roamed in big parties at night until no German dared show his face; and a very successful raid was carried out on a rather novel scale. It was at that time, when carrying out a smaller raid, that my horse got shell-shocked, though not myself, I hope, and fell on me and smashed up five bones in my poor old body. However, I managed to get back all right.

The next episode is the first battle of Cambrai, when for the first time tanks were employed in great numbers. There is an officer here who rendered most distinguished service in the tank brigade—Major Walker Bell (applause) who now swears that cavalry's day is gone. When I have finished my address, I hazard the prediction that he may have changed his mind; for I have a very powerful reinforcement of my arguments that I can adduce.

At the first battle of Cambrai the success of the tanks was surprising. Again we were the leading brigade on the right because I rode forward, still on my horse "Warrior," who always brought me good luck, though I had

many others, many of whom were killed. I counted hundreds of dead Germans, and in all that long ride of four or five miles only one dead Englishman—so astonishing is the effect of modern warfare properly designed and properly devised; for in my long experience of the war how often had I seen the position almost reversed —hundreds of dead Englishmen and very few dead Germans—owing, of course, to the terrific nature of the rifle and machine gun fire combined with the smokeless powder that renders it invisible.

At Cambrai we got to the canal. The tank endeavoured to go over the bridge but fell through. This did not daunt the leading party. Under the command of a very gallant officer who is now in our permanent force, Major Walker, the machine gun squadron built a bridge under practically unceasing fire. They captured four Germans, and against the general usuages of war, I believe, they set them to help the men who built that bridge. Everyone was killed or wounded except Walker himself, and seeing that he is a man just a little bigger than the ex-President, you will see what a charmed life he bore. (Laughter) He received a bar to his previous medals, and in any other circumstances he would have received the Victoria Cross. Over that bridge the Strathcona Horse went. They captured the part of the enemy that passed us, threw them over, and went from three to five miles beyond. Their objective was the battery. Major Stienhouse, who was leading the squadron himself, sabered the commander of the battery, and the men following sabered all the remainder of the crew. Some lay on the ground. Some cried for help, some gallantly stood at attention to their guns and were thrust with the sword, but the battery was silenced, and no doubt the effect of it was the saving of many lives. Lieutenant Strachan received the Victoria Cross, and although it did not have the effect it would have had if the other cavalry had been able to join in the pursuit, it was the act of outstanding valor of which Canada may well be proud. (Applause)

So we come to the second battle of Cambrai. Luden-

dorff, in his book, says that the effect of Cambrai on the morale of his men was such that he saw that unless they could quickly strike back, if possible in the same region, and take at least as many prisoners and guns as we had, that the morale of the whole Western Front might have been shattered, at least seriously damaged. So he collected a great force, and as you remember, fell upon the exposed salient, and in a few short hours the Germans took as many or more prisoners than we had taken —some 10,000 or 12,000—and as many or more guns, 1,000 or more. Into this melee we were thrown. It was there that again the Strathcona Horse distinguished themselves greatly. No less did the Royal Canadian Dragoons. It so happened that the Bell to whom I have referred was in command of the squadron that took the place called Vosley Farm, where hundreds of men lost their lives subsequently. It just made possible the advance of Strathcona's, and it was done in such a remarkable movement that in two moments I can recount it to you. I saw that the only thing to do was to expand a little further. We could not possibly stay where we were. I had orders to attack if possible. I sent for Doherty, who had been my staff Captain and then commanded Strathcona's Horse. I said "The position may appear desperate, but I am ordered to attack, and I believe we can do it. You will go over the railway line and press forward and join up with the guard at Ridge Wood on your left." I also told him that I had at that moment received a telegram confirming him in his appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel commanding his regiment.

Now, the position was extraordinary. There was a railway embankment and we were on each side of it. If you wanted to get to Ridge Wood all you had to do was to get up on the railway embankment and hold up your hand and you would certainly get a ball through it. Doherty assembled his men and gave them his orders and sent them to the attack. He told them that the signal for attack would be that he, as leader quite rightly in those desperate times, would jump over the embank-

ment. They all waited for the signal and watched for him. He jumped up. I was near it and saw it all done, and as he stood up he was shot dead with a bullet through the brain. Did those men waver? Not they. They swept foward over the embankment and fought in broad daylight against a number five times their own, and at one time had twice their own number of prisoners behind them and twenty or thirty machine guns. They joined up with the guard in Ridge Wood, and again we had the great satisfaction of saving the day. (Applause)

Then more duty in the trenches, and we were honoured in what was the climax of the war. I was in command not only of the Canadian cavalry Brigade, but of all the administration of the Fifth Cavalry Division opposite St. Quentin. One day I met General Sir Hubert Gough at a place called Le Fogmiat, which held out for two days and made the most gallant defence against the German attack in the great March of 1915. He said, "I have got some confidential information for you; the great German attack, which will be composed probably altogether of at least one hundred divisions"—that is over a million ordered men—"is following upon this concentration." I asked, "When?" He said, "We don't know, but it may happen any day. There is a battle planned; in any case I think it will be wise for us to withdraw your advance posts." I replied, "That will be most awkward, because we have planned another plan; we have planned to attack the enemy on his whole front by a novel plan." He asked, "When?" and I said, "In three days time, at least I hope so." He asked, "How?" I told him, and he replied, "Well, it is rather a novel way of meeting the greatest attack in the history of the world, but still I know nothing about it officially, but I may say that I wish you well in your novel enterprise."

Now, the conception was not mine, so I can praise it, though I carried it out. I gave the task to the Royal Canadian Dragoons. Mind you, the position was a little difficult. We were holding this line with dismounted cavalry very fully, and we knew from the immense

accumulation of stores which the airplanes had detected, that this tremendous onslaught was coming. We knew the Prussian Guard were in front of us, but still it seemed the best form of defence was to attack, and that we might get very valuable information, as we did. The plan was this—the German line being here, and you gentlemen being all the Germans (laughter) though, thank God, you don't look very like them (laughter) and the people at the back of the room being the extreme end of their position in depth, and that good-looking gentleman standing up at the back being the commanding officer of the sector (laughter) well, they are looking at each other. The plan was—and it may sound fantastic, but it succeeded in most marvellous fashion—to pass the Whole of the Royal Canadian Dragoons through the front line there, and in single file to get right to the rear of the position by night: then to spread out behind it on a front of from half a mile to a mile: and then, with that homing instinct that is so strong in us all, to come back and sweep everthing before us.

The difficult part of it, as you all know, is to get through the enemy's wire. And here I must mention one other name—perhaps the bravest man I have ever known. His name was Evan Price. In a previous raid he had volunteered to be the tangle or torpedo man. The tangle, as my comrades know, is an ingenious engine of war like a long snake, filled with very high explosives, T.N.T., which you put through and screw fresh pieces on so that you might go through as many belts as you please, and then you go back to the line and lay the fuse, and the resultant explosion will make a line through any barbed wire. But to grope your way through the line, put this thing under the wire and lay it with the viligant eyes of the Prussian Guard watching you would seem to mean almost certain death, because experience shows it was; but in the previous raid Price did try and brought it off. He came to me and said,"I want to fire the tangle torpedo again, put it in position." I said, "You have done it once, that is enough." He said, "No, Sir, I must do it." So I allowed him. He

did it. The signal for the explosion of that torpedo was the signal for the barrage of machine-gun fire, which I thought was unexampled; we fired 790,000 rounds of ammunition on selected spots in the course of half an hour. Under cover of this tremendous hail of bullets, our men went through; and this is what I want to tell you—the spirit of that regiment was such that they said, "Now, everybody is going, the commanding officer, the second in command, the signallers, the cooks, the mess-waiters"—and every human-being in the Royal Canadian Dragoons went through into the blue, one mile behind the line of the Prussian Guard. (Loud applause) And the whole regiment came back. (Renewed applause) It was the most extraordinary success, I suppose the most successful raid, almost, of the war. Every human being in the whole sector was either killed or captured or burned. Many of them refused to come out of their deep dugouts, and so we had to try and get them out with an appropriate bomb, but many of them did not, and there could not have been one single survivor of those German Guardsmen on the line of from half a mile to a mile. The good-looking gentleman in the rear was duly captured (laughter) and at three o'clock in the morning this officer of the Prussian Guard was sitting in my mess, very battered, and we opened a bottle of Burgundy in the hopes that he would give us some information. Well, I believe he did give us some valuable information, and the result was that we secured further information of great value just before the crisis arose. But I tell it to you as showing that not only your own gallant force and Lord Strathcona's Horse, but the Royal Canadian Dragoons were men of a very tough, stout, valorous sort. (Applause)

So the days went by. We expected to attack almost every day, but Ludendorff was waiting for the ideal weather or for the particular day later than our Intelligence Department, perhaps, had supposed. At any rate we were relieved a few days before the attack fell.

Then came this attack—the greatest movement of

armed men, I suppose, that there has ever been in the history of the world. The army of Xerxes may have been larger, though that I doubt; but of armed men it was without doubt the greatest movement that has ever taken place. Upon a carefuly preconceived plan, this vast host—a really vast host of men with American bayonets—fell upon the St. Quentin front and north and south thereof. Now was the turn of the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery. We had been withdrawn, as often happened; my artillery was left in the line commanded by Colonel Elkins. I am glad to see one or two of his officers here to-day who survived that desperate time. (Applause) However, they held out to the right and left of his battery positions; our men were overwhelmed by those immense numbers, but the Royal Canadian Horse Artillery would not stir. They got orders from all sorts of spy sources—for that was a great part of the German fakes—ordering their retirment. They paid no attention and for a long time they were actually with their guns firing over the sights at Germans within a few hundred yards of them and driving them back, and they held their position through the whole long day practically surrounded, with the enemy far behind them on each flank; and under cover of darkness, having deluded the Germans on this advance in that sector for twenty-four precious hours, they retired without the loss of a single gun. (Applause)

Well, now to the climax. We found ourselves in the disorganization of retreat under the command of a French General Dublo, and with him we held on to various positions, then we were withdrawn through Noyon and passed on to where Dublo captured a village all by himself, and was afterwards captured by the French, who almost shot him as a spy, but found their mistake and gave him the Legion of Honour instead. We touched the village of Montdidier, where six men came together and gave a shout, and a hundred Germans all ran away. Well, we were withdrawn and with the second cavalry division commanded by General Pittman.

On the morning of the 30th March, General Pittman

came to me to my headquarters and said, "The situation is extremely bad; the information I have is that the Germans are advancing straight on Amiens." They were then within two or three miles from Amiens. I said, "Where is the position which we hope to hold?" He said, "Moreau Ridge." I looked on my map and saw where it was. It was about eight miles away. He said, "I do not think the occasion is one when you can be very deeply involved, for the numbers are too great, but my instructions are to ask you to do what is possible." I said, "Very good," and I sent my orders quickly to my brigade and away I went towards a village called Castile. We extricated ourselves with difficulty from the crowded traffic of every conceivable kind of gun, waggon, Chinese labourers, French soldiers, English soldiers—all, as must be the case on those occasions, in great confusion. So into the open country, and away we went at as good a gallop as our horses could muster. I got well ahead on my "Warrior" with my gallant aide-de-camp, Prince Antoine of Orleans, whose presence was invaluable at that time, and I arrived at the village of Castile, which was just on the other side of the river from the Moreau Ridge. There I found a French General cool and collected as they always were after all those years of war. The French army was now a marvellous, valorous fighting machine. (Loud applause) I said to him, "What is the position?" He said."Well I am just issuing orders to withdraw from Moreau." I asked. "Why?" He said, "Because the Germans have captured the ridge and this big Moreau Wood." I said, "Surely not." He said, "Ah, indeed so it is," and at that moment one stray bullet sang over our heads, and I knew it must be true. It was a supreme moment, as the words of Marshall Foch, which I will read to you if I may, will show. Seldom does it happen to a man to have to make so fateful a decision.

I said to this French General, "If we recapture the Moreau Ridge, can you advance and hold Moreau?" He said,"Yes, but you cannot do it." "But, I said,"if we don't the Germans will be in Amiens to-night." He

said. "Yes, I fear so, and all will be lost; but can I possibly—I ask you—hold on out here with the enemy in my rear?" I said, "No, but we will recapture it." He said, "You cannot do it with that brigade." "Ah," I said, "I have many more cavalry coming up behind me." He said, "Even so, I doubt it." Then my gallant aide-de-camp said to him in French, "You don't seem to understand, General. We are beginning Foch's great push." Well, that was only just true, if at all, but the General smiled and he said, "Very good, I will tell my men to hold on, and will support you in every possible way." So I sent back word to the commanding officers, and I went on to the north-west corner of the wood, which I calculated would not be captured by the enemy, or if so, in very small strength, because our own infantry were only some 500 or 600 yards away. I arrived there and made my headquarters there, and colonels came up and gave the orders.

Now, observe the position was that if we could not get possession of the ridge again, it was clear that the French and British armies would be divided, Amiens would fall, and with it probably—as I think all men now agree—the allied cause. But yet we did not know how many Germans approached in this immediate wood, and it seemed almost a desperate thing to try and take it, Still I gave the orders, and I think any man in my position with such wonderful men, would have done the same; and they carried them out. They were to do just the same against this great post as we had done on a smaller scale at other posts. The Strathcona's were, as to part of them, to encircle the wood right around, a mile away; charge any Germans on the far side and establish themselves there—giving the impression of course, that we must be a great host. The Dragoons were to establish a circle around the right of the wood. The Fort Garrys were for the moment to be in reserve and then with the rest of the Strathconas to go clean through the wood and line up with their comrades on the top of the ridge.

The leading commander of A squadron was Lieut.

Flowerdew; he received the Victoria Cross, but alas, it was a posthumous honour; if any man deserved it he did. I rode alongside of him myself as he went forward and explained to him what the idea was. I said, "It is a desperate chance, Flowerdew, but if it succeeds we will save the day." He said, "Yes, Sir; Yes, Sir, we will succeed;" he gave me a glorious smile and swept on with his squadron. After a mile, machine-gun fire came from the wood round the corner; there we saw lines of German Infantry in column advancing quietly into the wood as they had been doing for nine long days, marching steadily forward and driving us before them. With a shout the squadron charged down upon those colums. Some of the Germans turned and ran, others turned and shot. As Flowerdew approached the first line he was shot from one side through both thighs, and of course the horse was shot too. As the horse fell, he waved his sword and shouted, "Carry on, boys, carry on," and on they went right through the Germans, sabering many. I, myself, counted shortly afterwards, 75 dead bodies killed by the sword. Back again through them, and then the survivors established themselves on the far side of the wood crowning the ridge, turned on the Werther Flammer with hitch-cock guns on one whole division of German infantry who, believing that this was a great host, withered, retired, and fell back. So the Dragoons made good on the ridge. The rest of the Fort Garrys made their way through the wood. These men were valiants; they would not surrender; some were taken prisoners, a great many were killed, but others were taken after desperate hand-to-hand fighting. I saw more Germans killed that day than in all the week; they would not surrender. As I passed one man near a tree obviously with a wound in his throat, I said, "I will send you a stretcher-bearer." He reached for his rifle but could not get it, and then he said, "No, no, I will die and not be taken." Well, he did that, because the man behind him killed him. So the ridge was taken, and for twenty precious hours there, we held on, decimated, our men blanched but unbowed. (Loud applause)

Now you may say, "Well, here is a man whose men certainly did a great exploit, but probably he thinks it of more importance than it really was, because all men who care for those under their command naturally think that the greatest consequences flow from the actions of those they love and care for. But it is not so in this case. This morning I found waiting for me a letter from one whom I have described, and you will all agree with me , as the greatest soldier of our age—Marshal Foch. (Loud applause) Before I left England I had written to him and told him I was coming to Canada, reminded him of the splendid deeds of the Canadian Infantry, Artillery, and Engineers in the great crisis at Ypres and Vimy; that they had not received their full meed of praise: that however much they received it could not be enough; and that I wanted to tell the Canadian Cavalry what the Generalissimo thought of their actions, and if they had been worthy of their country. To this General Foch replied. I will read his reply first in French, and then I will endeavour to translate it accurately. Here is General Foch's letter:—

I have keen regret in having had to be away from Paris for some time and for not having been able to reply to your letter before your departure for Canada. Nevertheless, I hope my answer will reach you still in time so that you will be able to make use of it during your visit to your former comrades.

I do not forget the heroism of the valiant Canadian Cavalry Brigade. In the month of March,1918, the war was at the gate of Amiens. It was vital at all hazards for us to maintain at any price the close between the two armies, British and French.

On March 30 at Moreiul, and on April 1 at Hangarden-Santerre, your brigade succeeded, by its magnificent performance and its unconquerable dash, in first checking the enemy and finally breaking down its spirit of attack.

In the highest degree, thanks to your brigade, the situation, agonizing as it had been at the opening of the battle was restored.

Please be my interpreter to your valiant old comrades-in-arms of the Canadian Cavalry Brigade in telling them of my admiration for them and expressing to them my pride at having them under my command.

(Loud applause)

Surely, Gentlemen, no body of men ever had so high a testimony from so great a man. He refers to the 1st of April. I could not keep you waiting longer for the letter, but it is the fact that after one day's rest, or rather less, a few hours, we were again asked to capture the other end of the ridge, Hangard-en-Santerre—the opposite end, which had been taken the night before. On this occasion General Pittman gave me command not only of my own brigade but of all the available cavalry, many gallant regiments whose names are household words to you—the 16th Lancers, Scots Grays, Exeter Yeomanry and many others; therefore the command of the brigade I gave to General Patterson, who commanded it with such distinction to the close of the war. But again it fell to the lot of my gallant brigade (applause) to be the assaulting party. This time we could not gallop up, the river was deep and bordered with swamp. We had to ride to the edge, and get across as best as we could on foot—no horse could get a foothold —and then in broad daylight on again, trying the apparently impossible task of encircling and capturing the Hangard-en-Santerre Wood and establishing ourselves on the summit. Again your Canadian Cavalry led the advance. Again in spite of heavy casualties, they swept through, and every single German in the wood was killed or captured. (Applause)

Now, Sir, my tale is told. It was fitting that, at the close when the Germans were finally overwhelmed, the Canadian Cavalry Brigade were the first to enter what had been the British Headquarters in August, 1914, La Coteau. But the record that I have put before you is one which I know will thrill your heart. I think Marshal Foch's letter will certainly thrill every Canadian heart throughout the Dominion. (Applause) For my own part you can imagine what feelings stirred in my breast when I met again those valiant souls whom I commanded so long, and reflected that by degrees they fitted themselves for the supreme ordeal, and that when the moment came they were not wanting. Indeed you might say to Canada and of all her sons that in valor

and self-sacrifice, it has been "Canada first." (Loud and long-continued applause, the audience rising and cheering)

President Hewitt: After such a thrilling address and such an amazing story so wonderfully told by Gen. Seely, I think we can all feel very grateful indeed to him for his goodness in coming to us. (Applause) Such a message as he has brought to us to-day has never been told us before. We have been praising our men, we have been glorifying their deeds, but with only half knowledge of what they did, and we are delighted to-day that Gen. Seely has been good enough to come and recount to us what he saw as an eye-witness, what he knows to be true, and to thrill us with such a message as he has given to-day. We are now to have a word from Colonel McKendrick.

Colonel McKendrick: It did not fall to my good fortune to have the pleasure of meeting Gen. Seely at the front. The finest spectacle I ever saw was on three occasions when our cavalry came up in the afternoon to go over the top, but they did not have the pleasure of doing so. The only cavalry I ever saw outside of those occasions were those who were running wheel-barrows and doing pick-and-shovel work for me on the road; they formed a regiment in any job they undertook. Those in command of the Canadian Corps in 1916 were given souvenirs from that old historic spot, the Cloth Hall in Ypres. I think that Canadians, next to the Australians, were the greatest thieves in Belgium at that time. (Laughter) There was an order that nothing should be taken out of Ypres at that time, but Tommy was burning all the wood of the historic old Cloth Hall, and I succeeded in getting several doors out of it, saving them from burning as fire-wood, and I cut them up for canes. The higher command in the Canadian Corps each received one of those canes, and it affords me great pleasure on this occasion, on behalf of the Empire Club, to present General Seely with this small token of that historic old city. (Applause) In extending to you, Sir, the thanks

of this Club. I wish to add to it this very small piece of wood from the front door of the Cloth Hall at Ypres. (Applause)

General Seely: Gentlemen, I cannot sufficiently thank the Colonel who has made me this present, or you for the kind attention you have given me in joining in the gift. It will be a very precious memory to me not only of this occasion, but of the predatory instincts of the Colonel. (Laughter) I happen to know his marvellous aptitude for war as well as his apitude for taking things like this. (Laughter) He was quite as good at the other as he was at this, and therefore the gift is all the more valuable from so gallant a donor. I will try not to beat "Warrior" over the head with it. I would only say that I shall never forget this occasion, when for the first time I have been able to recount to a Canadian audience the full story of the doings of our cavalry. I hear that you are to have a Safety Week. I have been telling you the story of the Danger Week, and I am glad that in that Danger Week our men did not fail. May I again assure you how deeply grateful I am to you for having given me the opportunity of coming amongst you to-day. Earnestly I hope that I may have the pleasure of coming to Canada again and meeting you once more.

# THE INFLUENCE OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES IN CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., LL.D.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto.*
October 13, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing the speaker, said,—Few men within the Empire have reached equal distinction or proved more worthy of a place in history than our illustrious guest of to-day, General Sir Arthur Currie. On the occasion of his former visit to the Empire Club, we welcomed him on his return to Canada from Overseas service, and on that occasion the then President of the Empire Club, Mr. R. A. Stapells, reviewed the wonderful accomplishments of the great Canadian Army, of which Sir Arthur Currie was Commander-in-Chief. General Currie was said, in a military sense, to be one of the "finds" of the war, and now it would appear that he is also a "find" in the academic world. When it was found that Sir Auckland Geddes would be required by His Majesty for service as Ambassador to the United States, McGill University met with a great disappointment; it had expected to have Sir Auckland as its chief executive officer. That a man of Sir Arthur Currie's quality should have been available for this appointment appears truly to have been providential. In view of the important place which higher education is to have in Canada's future history, we may consider ourselves wonderfully favoured that men of such sterling quality and high academic standing are found at the head of our great National Universities—in Toronto, Sir Robert Falconer; at Kingston, Dr. Bruce Taylor; and now, at the head of McGill, General Sir Arthur Currie.

For the encouragement of some—and I must ask Sir Arthur's pardon for making this reference, and I have not consulted him about it, it seems to me a striking opportunity to add something to the interest and the ambition and the gratification of men engaged in the education of the young, to recall the fact that Sir Arthur is a product of the Ontario Educational System. I am told that from the age of thirteen to the age of eighteen, he attended the Collegiate Institute in Strathroy, and the man who was the head master of that Collegiate Institute, who must have had so much to do with the moulding of the character and the general development of the mind of Sir Arthur Currie, is present with us to-day, Mr. J. E. Wetherell. (Applause) You know much has been said about education's field—that every school, if we only knew it, might have in its ranks presidents and governors or premiers; but here is an example of the product, and it seems to me that it should be a source of gratification not only to the men directly concerned but to all those engaged in educational work, to realize the possibilities that may follow as a result of the sacrificial efforts which they make in the training of the young mind of our country. (Applause) I have great pleasure in calling upon our guest for an address on, "The Influence of Canadian Universities in Canadian Development."

## SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

*Mr President and Fellow Canadians;*

It was only two days ago that I learned that I was to have the honour of addressing the members of the Empire Club of Toronto. I received a telegram saying that I was expected to be here to-day, and that I should speak to the members on the relation that exists between the university and the nation. It has always given me a great deal of trouble to decide what to talk about, so it was some relief to have the subject already selected; and as I had demanded and expected obedience from so many others in my life-time, it was a real pleasure to obey the order of the man who told me the subject on which I was to speak to you.

I can never forget, Gentlemen, the kindness and courtesy I received at your hands a little over a year ago. Then I came and spoke to you about the efforts of your fellow-countrymen in fighting in the trenches in Europe, the battle for decency and justice and right. Some may have thought that I was boasting a little; but even after a year's time, I submit that I did not exaggerate what your fellow-countrymen did. (Applause) I am no longer identified with the militia system of this country, but we are standing together in another set of trenches, Gentlemen, and we are conducting a fight to-day against greed and selfishness and ignorance.

It is a pleasure for me to meet here this afternoon the Gentlemen I met here a year ago, but it is also a particular pleasure to meet so many of the old comrades that I knew over there. The Chairman has spoken about the uncommon situation of a soldier, one who has devoted all his time during recent years to soldiering, being engaged in university work; but I leave it to President Falconer if they do not mix very well. I know he has on his staff my old friend "Mitch" (Brig. Gen. Mitchell, Dean of the School of Practical Science), and I dare say he has no more enthusiastic or efficient professor on the staff. Applause)

To me, Gentlemen, hope for the effectual solution of problems which confront our country depends largely on our educational systems. I maintain that the universities and the nation are inseparably linked together, in any wide view of the function of either institution. The nation is a field for the exercise of citizenship and for the display and service of man's knowledge. The university is the place where the men are prepared to discharge their duties as citizens. Here the two laws that govern humanity come into play—the law of self-culture and the law of service. The university offers opportunity for the former; the state provides scope for the latter. It is the bounden duty of every man to do everything he possibly can to make the most of himself, and he needs our schools and our colleges to supply his

reason with ideas, his memory with history, and his will with weapons of force; and, if he has gained those resources of knowledge and virtue, the other law asserts itself, and he steps out into the state and does battle for humanity.

Let us look at the matter from another angle. Ideas govern the world. That was never so true as at the present day. The Good Book says that "Where there is no vision the people perish." Vision is simply the apprehension of ideals. The seers and prophets are the makers of history. It was Carlyle who said that the history of nations is simply the history of great men writ large—the men who climbed the hills and caught the vision which would lead the people out of darkness into light. These hills are the hills of thought, reflection and meditation; and the men are the men of learning, wisdom and experience. The production of these is the hightest aim of any university. Education merely for utilitarian purposes can be justified, but education merely as a domination is despicable. The education which kindles the imagination, which awakens the vision and enables men to create and evolve new ideas and blaze new trails—that is the highest aim of the university. (Applause) That, then, is our summit; that is our mount of vision; and there rests the ark which bears all that is left of the older civilization; from there we will create new ideals and send forth new life and new strength in the hope of a better civilization which shall not again be destroyed.

Now, nationality expresses itself in different ways. Let us examine some of those ways, that we may better appreciate the relationship between the universities and the nation. First, economically, or in terms of industry. Let me begin by saying that economic robustness is the only foundation for the temporalities of the state. We must learn how to produce and how to distribute. I ask you whether we produce with wisdom and distribute with skill? During the last five years there has been a great burning up of natural resources and manufactured

things. During the war there has been such a destruction of wealth as would have been considered incredible before it; and to-day you are labouring under a very great and overwhelming burden of taxation. Now, to find some relief from that burden, wealth must be made up again. Everybody seems to be out for the loaves and fishes to an extent greater to-day than ever before. It costs more to live; it costs more to feed and clothe ourselves; the demands of labour are becoming more insistent, and to enable us to meet that increasing cost, or to reduce it, we must make up that wealth. So we must employ improved methods in agriculture, in mining, in forest production, in manufacturing, and we must appreciate the value of conservation. We must employ nothing but the most careful methods; scientific methods must be employed. We cannot mine our resources without paying due regard to natural laws. Strength of muscle is not the only thing necessary in labour. Ignorance, you know, is a most prolific cause of waste, and therefore in this matter of production the knowledge which educated and scientific men have must be called into play.

Then in the matter of the distribution of our wealth, are you going to leave such an important thing as that to demagogues or to the unlearned leaders of men? Surely here, of all places, you must have men who appreciate the lessons of history, who have studied economic laws, and who are able to give safe and sane counsel in the matter of the distribution of the world's wealth. (Applause) Now, knowledge gives power over nature. The soil will yield more fruitfully if touched by the skilful hand. The ore will leap from its beds in contact with the mechanic's art. The waterfall will sing on its way to the mill, and the walnut and pine and oak will rejoice at the prospect of polished furniture. The university will send forth her graduates to coax from nature her choicest treasure; her engineers will swing their bridges across mighty chasms for the wheels of mighty locomotives, and the hills will laugh and sing that

there has come to the land the touch of the trained mind and the skilful hand. (Applause) In the great business of the world the influence of education will be felt.

There was one time when business men thought that university training was not necessary to make a successful business man; it may have been on account of the courses of study in the universities. But that day has gone by and to-day business men appreciate the wider view and the finer perception of university men and the great elasticity of their minds. Now, what does the business man require? Accuracy in apprehending, quickness and certainty in seizing opportunities, power and discrimination, and appreciation of what is right and honourable. Now if a university is carrying out its proper functions, that is the sort of training it gives. It is said that from one-third to one-sixth of the men who enter Harvard, eventually go into business, and one-eighth of these men make striking successes. There is another thing: You men are successful business men, and it may be that you have not a university education, but I put it to every one of you, if you are in a position to do so, you will send your son to a university; won't you? (Applause)

In all the social urgencies of this time the same influences are felt; what the world is in need of to-day is ballast. The war seems to have thrown everything out of order, and the gravest necessity to-day is a sense of repose—or probably poise would be a better word. Knowledge properly applied can be a great factor in restoring this equilibrium which is so highly desirable.

Intellectually, or in terms of education, in a nation where the government rests solely on the will of the people, surely our security depends on the intelligence of the people. (Hear, hear) Now education works downward like water. Pour it at the base of society and there will be a saturation, a dissipation; but if you pour it on top it will gently descend and percolate, germinating every seed, feeding every root, so that over the whole area will be blossom and fruit. So the

universities must be strong enough to push their influence down and affect every grade and condition of society. I think that university men should be our counsellors in all matters, of our school system, such matters as text-books, courses of study, school management, qualifications of teachers, etc. Surely these are matters in which the advice of the university men should be sought and taken. The wisest are none too wise in pedagogy, but surely their advice is better than the counsel of the unlearned.

Another province of the university is the development of unusual talent. Genius can always look out for itself; but was it not Gray who mourned over the talent that lay buried in church-yards, the Miltons and the Hampdens and the Cromwells who never had an opportunity? Now, that is one of the highest functions of the university. One of the greatest services it can render is to take hold of this unusual talent, no matter what its property qualifications or its social condition may be; for wherever talent is found, it should be developed and put to the use of the state. (Applause)

Politically, or in terms of government, there is a sphere for Universities to exercise a great influence in. Too often, in these days, we speak in rude terms of the politician. Now, the highest function of the state is government, and surely in our government there is nothing which is essentially degrading; there is nothing in our goverment which should be shunned by educated or respectable men. I think that the practice of speaking slightingly of the politician is one that should be condemned most strongly (applause) because, if we speak slightingly of the men who make the laws, it is but a short distance to speak slightingly of the laws themselves, and from that we may soon pass to anarchy. (Hear, hear) Our universities should not only be counsellers but tribunes to the people; and when the exigencies of party warfare press dangerously near the safeguards of the state, then the university men should come forward and warn the contestants against the making of a breach that may be impossible to repair. Our univer-

sities can render a very high and patriotic service by insisting on the enforcement of those immutable truths, those fundamental principles, that are related so closely to our national life—principles which should never be dragged into the sphere of political strife or partisan contention.

Again, when selfish interests seek to gain undue personal advantage through governmental aid, or when men demand high places as a reward of party service, then it should be the duty of the university men to persuade the people to give up the party spoils system, to exhort them to love a government for its own sake. (Applause) When one thinks of the freedom from corruption and political chicanery of the goverments of England, one is struck by the number of University men who are found at the seat of government. Behind all the nobleness of British institutions lies the influence of the universities in the old land. Oxford and Cambridge for nearly a thousand years have sent out their men, and practically every government has a large number of university men influencing its affairs. These are the men—

> Who knew the seasons when to take
> Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet,
> Who kept the throne unshaken still,
> Broad-based upon the people's will,
> And compass'd by the inviolate sea.

Spiritually, or in terms of the ideal, no nation can be truly great without the ideals of truth, righteousness, justice and honour. The spiritual must never be lost sight of, and last of all by the universities, because the universities were born of the spiritual, cultured upon it, and their influence depends upon its survival. By spiritual we mean the ideal; and it was Brent who said that idealism is the foundation of the experience of history and of national character; it establishes all our relationships, and eventually must be Heaven-high and World-wide, It must not be forgotten, also, that the nation and the university were born of the church. Righteousness alone exalteth a nation. The universities were formerly

children of the church, and to-day could render a very fine service in the disentanglement of the formal from the spiritual in religion, and in the severance of Christianity from mere denominationalism. (Hear, hear, and applause) In the final analysis, what the universities seek to turn out is men of character; and it should be the aim of all universities to turn out a number of greater men rather than a greater number of men. (Hear, hear, and applause) In the manufacture of character the spiritual, or the ideal, is the first and chiefest aim. I am reminded of those lines:—

> God give us men; an age like this demands
> Strong minds, true hearts, firm wills and ready hands;
> Men whom the lust of honours can not kill,
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
> Men with opinions and a will,
> Men who have honour, men who will not lie;
> Men who can stand before the demagogue
> And damn his treacherous flattery without blinking;
> Tall men, sun-crowned, who stand above the throng
> In public duty and in private thinking;
> For while the rabble, with its worn-out creeds,
> Its loud professions and its idle deeds,
> Mingle in angry strife, lo, Freedom weeps,
> Wrong rules the land, and weeping justice sleeps.

This, then, is the aim of the university and its staff—to touch every stratum of national life. For these heavy responsibilities, it must be strong and well-equipped. We do not need many universities in Canada, but those we have must be strong (hear, hear); and when men of vision, men of means, catch the vision of a university moulding the minds and the characters of the people, then the means will come.

Education is the only thing in this country for which the people have not paid too much. (Applause) The more they pay, the richer they become. Ignorance is the most costly thing in the world. (Hear, hear) When you compare the cost of ignorance with the cost of education, why, the cost of education is very, very cheap. Gentlemen, I think I can affirm with confidence that the wealth and power, the security and the success of existing

nations are in direct proportion to their standards of education, and those nations have the highest standards and the best systems who contribute most generously to the cost of education. Now, if this vision of all the universities can do and should do is caught, and if they are supported as they should be supported, then we will find the answer to our country's prayer—I transpose the third line—

> Land of hope and glory, mother of the free,
> How shall we extol thee, who are born of thee?
> Wider still and wider may thine ideals be set;
> God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet.

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Sir Edmund Walker has kindly consented to express the thanks of the Club to-day.

## SIR EDMUND WALKER

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—It was Wolseley, I believe, who said that the greatest soldier of modern times, down to the moment when he was writing, was Robert E. Lee. Lee was perhaps the most cultivated and the finest type of citizen in the Confederate States. When the war was over, knowing perfectly well that as a soldier he had reached the height of fame although his State had failed, Lee's decision was that he would spend the entire remainder of his life in conducting a college for the education of the youth of the Southern States in order that, although they had been vanquished in the fight, they might assume their share in the development of the future of their great country. I am ashamed to say that , while I was grateful that McGill had made the selection that it has made, the analogy between that incident and what has happened to McGill never occurred to me until I was sitting here to-day. A great soldier, whose name will be classed among the great soldiers of the world, a Canadian in the prime of life, comes back to this country his ears filled with the acclaim of his countrymen, to take the position of President of one of our old universities with precisely the object—because we have

heard him to-day and we know—precisely the object that Robert E. Lee had with regard to the people of the South at the close of the Great Civil War in the United States. If we ever had doubt about the capacity of a soldier for taking his place at the head of a great university and doing his duty towards the university in its manifold aspects, I think that doubt must be dissipated by what you have heard from General Currie to-day. (Applause)

As one connected in a humble capacity with a university for over twenty-five years, I know perfectly well what the struggle has been in Canada to make ordinary business men believe in the practical usefulness of a university. I have been through the period in the United States when there were almost no university men in the ordinary ranks of business there until now when there is almost no kind of business in which it is not admitted that university men have the advantage over those who are not. In Canada we are coming slowly towards that time. We have, as yet, very few university men who are in the ordinary ranks of business—I mean outside of what are called professions; but I am glad to say we are reaching the time in Canada when industrial establishments that I know of give to college graduates a stated salary of $150 a month as a beginning on the strength of their graduation, and who believe that they need for their work men with university training. General Currie gave us the ideal side of the university —a little like looking at the obverse of a beautiful coin and admiring its artistic qualities and imagining what it may mean in the life of a country to have that kind of thing; but he did not turn the coin over too much to look at the other side, on which there is usually a very simple statement of what it represents in mere money. (Laughter) Now, as one who for twenty-five years has been striving for financial aid to the University of Toronto, I want to express my intense and most sincere sympathy with General Currie in the efforts he is making at this time to put McGill on a proper financial basis.

It is absolutely true that the future of this country rests not on the universities alone any more than on the rural schools, but it does not rest on the conviction on the part of the people, which should be pressed upon our political leaders, as General Currie has said, that the more we spend on education the better it will be for us, and the cheaper. We have in this country lofty conceptions as to what should be spent on education—very high indeed as compared with those of twenty or twenty-five years ago, but we have not lifted our ideas anything like high enough. We are not prepared for one moment to say that we will pay for ability, that we will pay the man who chooses to devote himself to the teaching of his fellow-man on anything like the basis that we will pay him if he goes out to earn, in any profession, as much money as he can. One very intelligent man, interested in labour, said in my hearing, "I don't know why he should not be paid as well as any other man in the community." Now I am saying this to you because you should not go away from here merely saying you are pleased at hearing a great and uplifting speech, or that you have a better conception of your duty towards the university; but you should be prepared as citizens to go and do your duty towards the university (applause) and help to build a conviction in the minds of all our political leaders that they need not be afraid to spend money on the higher ranks of education.

But what I got up to do, in a very imperfect way, was to pay my compliments to General Currie and to ask you if I may express, on your behalf, our sense of his generosity in coming here on such short notice and giving us this splendid address, and to voice the conviction that he has left with us—that we have now not simply a great soldier among us, but a great educationist who will make his mark upon the future of this country. (Loud applause)

# QUEBEC OF YESTERDAY AND QUEBEC OF TOMORROW

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HON. LOUIS ATHANASE DAVID, K.C., LL.B. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION FOR QUEBFC

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, October,* 28, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speaker said,—Gentlemen, I esteem it a great privilege indeed to be able to introduce to the members of the Empire Club the Honourable the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec. The Hon. Mr. David has devoted himself to the service of his country and is the type of man the country needs. Plato has said that the punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in government is to live under a government of bad men. Canada's need to-day is that the best of her sons should devote their lives to some branch of the public service (hear, hear) and to the solving of the many complex problems that concern her as a nation. In fact, not until we all own responsibility as individuals, our responsibility for the things that are and the things that ought to be, shall we reach the goal of a united and prosperous Canada. (Applause) We welcome the guest of to-day as a representative of more than two and a half millions of Canadians of French origin whom, if we would realize to the fullest extent a happy, prosperous and united Canada, we must know well enough to appreciate (applause) and to whom we, as English-speaking Canadians, must prove our sincere desire to co-operate in all things that are best for our country (applause) in the upward march toward the glorious destiny which we believe is designed for Canada. (Hear, hear)

Gentlemen, a great deal of interest has been created by the visit of the Hon. Mr. David to our city. I believe that it is seven or eight years since any public man from the government of the Province of Quebec has visited Toronto and delivered a public address to a Toronto audience. The Empire Club has been striving for some time to secure for its meetings one of the outstanding men of that Province, and we are delighted to-day to have Mr. David with us. This has been noted by a friend and fellow-member, Mr. J. W. Bengough, who has handed to me these lines, which I am going to use, with your permission, in introducing the Hon. Mr. David:—

"Bonne Entente Cordiale" proclaim we to the nations great and small,
Friendship, peace, good understanding round the world to one and all;
But a warmer, freer greeting we reserve for our own hearth.
And the sons we're proud to honour of Canadian blood and birth.
Bonne Entente for every stranger coming to us in good-will,
But for such as you, compatriots, something homier, nearer still.
For yourself, the meed of honour we would frankly speak,
And, through you, our admiration and our love for old Quebec.
In our faces as we listen to the message you will bring.
We can read the happy promise of faith's future harvesting.
Master of the speech and genius of the English, you may well
Translate to warmer phrase our feelings than "Bonne Entente Cordiale."

Hon. Mr. David on rising was received with loud applause. He said:—This morning about five o'clock as the movement of the train, very much against my will and desire, awakened me. I lifted up the curtain of the drawing-room, and I could see in the far east the sun that was rising. It was all beautiful; and exactly at that moment as the sun's rays were attracting my eyes, we were passing in front of a little station, and that little station was Agincourt. (The speaker gave it the French pronunciation—Azh-in-coor—amid laughter.) I took it from this coincidence that evidently the sun in Ontario was rising on English and on French. (Applause) I come to you, gentlemen—can I say—with a little of

those rays of the sun, and with that good-will that Mr. Bengough wants us to promote, and which in our state and in our relations is not only good for Ontario, not only good for Quebec, but there is something larger than Quebec and Ontario, and that is, Canada. (Hear, hear, and applause)

## Hon. Louis Athanase David

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*—The War has exercised such an influence on the world at large that one will not marvel at the fact that, in the province of Quebec, a great and altogether new idea is gathering strength: Quebec, for 150 years centre of French thought in America; Quebec, which throughout its vast extent always has fought for the highest concepts and its loftiest beliefs; this ancient Quebec, settled in its old, deep-rooted traditions, which has hitherto allowed its guiding thought to be one, subject only to the moral and intellectual needs of the moment, now realizes, all at once, that ideas alone cannot be given credit indefinitely, and that, no matter how indulgent one might be, these ideas will, sooner or later, be called to account. And so, one may actually notice, in our midst, a tendency to measure up those ideas against our present economic needs.

We, of Quebec, constitute something like a nation, that is a "political entity." And "political" does not mean here any of those ephemeral questions which might, from time to time, retain the attention of the professional, but rather, the more noble and lofty work of guiding the destiny of a young people, of assuring the survival of such a people tenaciously clinging to the rock of convictions upon which it has firmly and decidedly established itself.

But there is not only a political Quebec; there is an economic Quebec, as well, which also counts. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that our natural resources are unequalled anywhere. Coal is the only thing, indeed, that we lack. But why should we worry when we have millions of horse-power closer to us in our unharnessed streams. And this very fact allows us to defy and mock

a bit the "Big Stick" which an American Senator said had to be hidden behind their backs when they talked conciliation to us over here. We do not fear the "Big Stick." Menaces, or threats, moreover, hardly ever impress us.

What then is it that cannot be found in our Province —from the red sands of Berthier to the iron mines of the mountains of the North, not to mention the gold mines of Thetford, and those recently discovered in Landrienne? Is it known that our Province furnishes 85% of the entire world production of this mineral? And, when we think that the other 15 per cent comes from the Ural mountains, it is easy to see that far-off Russia is our only competitor in the world market for a commodity the demand for which exceeds the supply. And by the way, I beg you to consider that our total production of this substance, in 1917, represented scarcely more than seven million dollars.

There lies the economic strength of Quebec, a strength of which we have but the barest outlines. Certainly you, Gentlemen, have not to be told that the primary element in a consideration of the economic strength of a people is a complete and exhaustive inventory of its natural recources . It is not exaggeration, to say that this inventory is going on, and all that we need is the co-operation of industrial pioneers to transform the natural riches into national wealth.

And that is why we hail our manufacturers and industrial men as a force for good which, enlisted in the service of this transformation (profitable to them, of course) of our natural resources, will ensure to Quebec a lively prosperity, and thanks to which, to-morrow, with the help of those sane and solid ideas which never failed her, Quebec will again proudly justify her pretention—and you won't resent her pride,—as being the first of the Provinces of the Dominion.

About the end of August, a year ago, when nearly every country was looking into her national conscience, which meant, as well, casting about to discover what

economic strength she could rely upon in the future, Mr. Nitti, the then President of the Italian Cabinet, throwing popular opinion to the winds, stated that the tendency now was for a continual mental jag, carried on in an atmosphere of unproductive *far niente*. And he added these severe words: "All classes of the community, now, have the same meeting ground of interest, and all should have the same directing force. When the fields lie cultivated on account of the wilfulness of the owner, or on account of the high cost of labour, when the mines lie undeveloped, when there are ships that rest idle in their ports, because of the owners or on account of the seamen's demands, there is destruction going on there." This is tantamount to saying that he who, to-day, does not create, destroys just as surely by his wilful inactivity as by his wilful laying-waste.

Paraphrasing Mr. Nitti, I would say that not to seek out opportunities to create or produce in our Province, where Nature has with a lavish hand put everything to work with at our disposal, not to contribute to the last ounce of one's strength to ensure our economic stability, is indeed to be guilty of improvidence and neglect which will directly affect and even compromise our future; it means in fact, destroying some of our future economic strength.

How many are the pressing duties, in truth, which the provident person can plainly see before him, nowadays, if he only tries to step out of his smug contented self. But it seems to me that there is one that we cannot pretend to miss seeing, one which stands directly before us, looming spectre-like, and that duty is for us to industrialize.

I am far from forgetting that Quebec, first of all, is a farming centre, and that she is and will remain an agricultural province. It is not my intention to overlook this, nor do I intend to place agriculture in a subordinate position among our national accomplishments, nor to slur over that element to which we owe much of our economic strength, now.

But, on the other hand, we must measure up to the level of modern necessity. And thinking Quebec would hardly be allowed to gloss over present necessities when France herself bows to them, and when she admits with a frank and audacious economist that she nearly paid with her national life because she did not sooner appreciate the error of her past.

I have already said, and you will perhaps allow me to repeat here, that young peoples are not free to turn a deaf ear to the teachings of older members of the family of nations, nor purposely to avoid the demonstrations which go on before their eyes. And if there is a truth which we can readily extract for our own use, upon seeing those older nations, with courage, start again up the road of economic progress, it is assuredly that of the modern need of industrialization.

In speaking as I did, just a moment ago, about asking Quebec for an accounting, I hope that I have not let any one believe that ideas were any hindrance or obstacle to Quebec's progress. It has been quite the contrary as I will show you.

I would ask you, Gentlemen, and those of your race who have settled down with us and who, for the most part, I hope, consider themselves at home; I would ask those who now live amongst us, and who know or begin to know us; those who have made money among us, or with us, I would ask them to tell you whether our dominating and moving idea has ever prevented us from giving them our most loyal support, or from giving, as employees, the best that was in us! Is it not true, let them tell you, that our attachment to our own origin, different from theirs, never altered the cordiality of our relations? Is it not true, Gentlemen, that while we were fighting for such things as the spread of an idea, or the recognition of a principle, you all used to look upon it as a mere battle of words and continued your kind of battle in the economic sphere; while we were creating a mentality, were you not asking the money which now allows you to predominate the commercial and financial fields of Canada?

But, I want to be fair; your splendid and untiring racial energy has allowed you to make Montreal and Toronto magnificent rivals for financial superiority, while our sane and solid mentality as well as our unshaken conviction allowed us to make of Montreal the third French city of the world.

And so, we are just about even. You are gratified over your success; we are quite satisfied with what we have done. We, therefore, find ourselves to-day on a very convenient meeting ground, both equal and proud of our deeds and past. Is it not time to state that here we stand together, and that, after all, we have never ceased so to stand.

Allow me to continue further, since I would seek in vain a more kindly disposed audience, and note that the labour of the French-Canadian, the modest, humble worker, has played a large part in the fortune of the old English families whose names we respect.

What would you? That is the kind of metal we are made of. We cannot help feeling that we have a mission here, something that we owe to our origin and ourselves to perpetuate in this country. Is there any one here, I wonder, unable to understand this, or unwilling to admit it? Our mission here is to continue in this English land, with the protection of the British flag, and thanks to the mildness and solidity as well of those institutions which regulate us, to continue here the traditions and to safeguard the language of "la plus belle nation du monde, Gentlemen, la France!"

I know very well that occasionally, in watching us scaling the heights, you may have thought that we were going to lose ourselves in the clouds of idealism. It may be true that, too long a while, we were idealists only, and that it took us a longer time than you to find out the value of money. But indeed, can you complain on that score? Were not the victories in this domain, industrial, commercial or financial, just the more easy for you on that account?

But now, having acquired more assurance about what

we can do, and satisfied that our language, our traditions, our institutions which we fought for ought not to die and shall not die, here we stand before you, perhaps with a little pride because we weathered the storm so well, and, as at Fontenoy, after having invited you to fire first in the economical domain, we say to you: "Let us fight it out?"

And this means that we are about to offer you, in the fields of commerce, finance and industry, a loyal and unceasing fight.

Before the encounter, Gentlemen, Quebec cordially holds out her hand to you. Grab it! And in the struggle to come, let us denominate and exclude as illegal warfare the implements of fanaticism and prejudice. We have had enough of these internecine quarrels, these religious differences. . . How much harm that has done to both of us! Without sacrificing nor abandoning any of our principles, on either side, but rather ready to stint ourselves to defend them,—let peace and harmony reign among us.

The happy rivalry which will follow will ensure the future greatness of our two provinces, and of our country. For the industrial development which will grow out, as a result, will promptly decrease the exportation of our raw material, and, at the same time, considerably increase our revenues.

It is instructive to look at the budget of a province as we would look at the statement of assets and liabilities for an ordinary business house. In this latter, we would see that the expenditure on improvements is necessarily limited to a part of the profits on the business. Improvements are subjected to a like condition of affairs in administrative business; even the necessary expenses must be kept within the revenue. And why should I hesitate to say my thought behind all these remarks when it is the thought that animates all our best business brains? The Revenue of the Province of Quebec must increase if its people wish that it shall meet the obligations which the new epoch has thrust upon it.

The public health, and hospitals, the asylums, the orphan asylums, public assistance in a word has not exhausted all the kindly offices of private charity. But the field of action is increasing so, the opportunity to do good there is so boundless, that these matters require the most serious consideration from the Government. Gentlemen, all will agree with me that we could spread increased revenues, accruing from the utilization of our natural resources, upon all these humanitarian objects,—increased revenues which the Province has not only a right to count on, but to discount.

But will you allow me to illustrate what I have just said about the utilization of natural resources? During the fiscal year ending June, 1918—I am using Federal Statistics,—Canada exported more than eleven million pounds of raw leather, representing a value of $8,412,060. We imported, during the same period, manufactured leather products amounting to $4,068,869. Let us suppose that this raw leather had been turned over to Canadian manufacturing houses and the manufactured product turned out in this country, to be used by Canadian consumers; is there not right there, a profit of six million dollars? And how much of it would have found its way into the trouser pockets of the Canadian workingman. Foreign workmen, instead, have profited thereby, and we had to import more than four million dollars worth of shoes.

During the same period, we exported more than 1,800,000 cords of pulp-wood, which represents an amount of $8,500,000. Here is what happened; that pulp-wood made into paper, suddenly became worth $75,000.000; right there again, was a loss of $66,500,000 for Canada, and of this the Canadian workingman would have received about, twenty-five millions. I could recite the same depressing tale about the export of asbestos.

To express the wish that industry should be fathered here among us is only the part of patriotism, I think, and the attitude of anyone with the good of the country at heart; because industry can become, as I have shown you, a factor for developing the riches of a country, and therefore of the nation itself.

But it is being said that it is dangerous to advocate industrial expansion nowadays, because of the thorny labour problems. But, as Mr. Daniel Straton has recently remarked, we have nothing at all to fear on that score, in Quebec. This writer recently stated that Canada was being buffeted-about between forces which were unalterably opposed. "We have," says this writer, "East and West, native-born and foreigners, Labour and Capital. United Farmer and old-time party, free-trade and protection, manufacturers and consumers." But he hastens to add that Quebec did not seem to have such divisions, or if she did have them, they did not serve as separating lines, but, rather, that these elements unanimously agreed on one point—a necessary amount of economic protection for all; and to bring about this we have wise and enlightened legislation which, far from creating animosity among these elements, serves to bind them more closely together.

In truth, Gentlemen, have you not wondered how Quebec, essentially an agricultural province up to a short time ago, should have such an enlightened and progressive set of laws affecting the workingman on its statute books? The reason is that those who have been in charge of its government were far-seeing enough to understand that the two great economic forces, capital and labour, should not be brought into conflict. And so, I suppose, you will not find it exaggeration for me to say that we have good reason to be proud of our Province, that, in fact, it is our bounden duty to take pride, whether we are English or French, in the protection the laws grant everyone in our province, and, therefore, to take pride also in the handiwork of those who preceded us and who are responsible for our Province being admired and envied throughout the Dominion, to-day.

To such an extent, Gentlemen, is this so,—and, I pray, do not interpret this as a political allusion,—that the recognized opinion is that whatever party voluntarily deprives itself of Quebec's ideas and services can only grope in darkness and instability.

Foresight: that is what the art of governing consists in. And that country which, through its legislation, has succeeded in neutralizing the irritating effect of riches, —rendered still more so by the war,—has reached a degree of stability which few peoples, indeed, can flatter themselves upon.

The workingman bears with the state of affairs where all the riches are gathered in few hands, providing he feels that his employer is doing what is right by him; he over-looks this state of affairs when he feels that his work is sufficiently rewarded to allow him to provide for the needs of his family. But he does so the more willingly when he knows that he is protected by sane legislation which lays down, side by side, the rights of the labourer and the obligations of the employer,—a legislation inspired by real democratic progress.

It is often enough said that the labourer is exacting, that he is impossible to satisfy. But whose fault is that? When you consider that for centuries he has been purposely left in the deepest misery and profoundest ignorance, in the belief that he would be more easily managed in that condition; when his share of the riches of the nation has been but that of the pack animal; when his usefulness was measured by the amount of physical effort he put forth or muscular development he could muster; when Capital could say, so long, without fear of consequences: "Get to work or starve to death!"

Macaulay, in his History of England, foresaw that the workingman would lift up his head and his words are full of pregnant meaning, now: "It may be well in the 20th Century," he said, "that the peasant of Dorsetshire may think himself miserably paid with 20 shillings a week; that the carpenter at Greenwich may receive 10 shillings a day; that labouring men may be as little used to dine without meat as they now are to eat rye bread; that numerous comforts and luxuries which are now unknown or confined to a few may be within the reach of every diligent and thrifty working man." (One does not even need to be thrifty, at that!)

And he added, with truly historical foresight, that, after all, History may register that England during the time of Queen Victoria was truly merry England, "when all classes were bound together by brotherly sympathy, when the rich did not grind the faces of the poor, and when the poor did not envy the splendor of the rich."

But, it has turned out that Capital and Labour have grown to look upon each other as brothers; the rich man, does he entertain any thoughts at all about the poor man? the poor man, is he any less envious of the rich man? If anything has been changed, it is this: The People have asserted themselves.

Capital and Labour have grown more powerful, and because they have never wanted to meet each other half-way, the desire in the back of their heads was to strangle each other. And now, the masses, for a long time led through the nose, find themselves strong enough, to-day, to demand a more equal distribution of enjoyment and wealth. And, without considering the consequences, filled with bitter taste of revenge, the masses allow their socialist leaders to affirm the proposition that possession of property is a countenanced system of robbery, that wealth belongs to everybody, destroying thereby the driving forces of ambition, emulation and initiative, and, in a word, demolishing the entire social edifice which twenty centuries of Christian endeavour have struggled to rear.

In our province, the rights of Labour happily were recognized; and the worker, as well, acknowledged his own obligations; and this is what prepared the common meeting-ground of understanding. A compromise has been reached, based on mutual respect and on the full understanding of the sharply defined limits of each other's obligations and duties.

But, how does it happen, Gentlemen, that at home, in Quebec, this compromise between Capital and Labour should appear so natural and so easy. Allow me to explain.

Some of you may have listened to attacks upon our

own system of education; you were not quite aware of the wide liberties which the minority enjoy in the schools of our province; you did not know, perhaps, that Quebec spends nearly a quarter of her revenue for the education of her children. But now, since you are seeking the reason why employers can always rely on their workmen's loyalty and the stability of their industries; since you are curious to know how the Quebec industrial man can be so sure, every morning, to see the ascending threads of smoke come out from his chimneys, indicating that everything is normal within, and all is well; since you want to know how it happens that the whirlwind of folly which has passed over the entire world, stirring up the masses, has left industrial Quebec unscathed, let me tell you. All that, we owe to the modest, humble primary school, that institution of ours so much decried. To-day, as yesterday, it teaches and will continue to teach those who pass through it, and inculcate in their minds the respect for convictions and principles, the respect for religion, the respect for the rights and obligations of each, the respect, finally, for authority.

Yes, Gentlemen, it is the little public school of Quebec which exhibits to-day to the entire world the spectacle of a generation it has formed, and which is capable of resisting the appeal of all false doctrines, and which still knows how to appreciate the justice and wisdom of authority. You, Gentlemen, who are acquainted with many countries, do you know of many which have produced such a generation?

It is not so much applause, I want, as a recognition on your part of a truth that people have pretended to ignore a long time, or refused to admit.

Oh! I know that, judging from my manner, you think I am rather proud of my race. Indeed, I am, and you do not err on this point. I am greatly proud of it, and that is exactly why I find it so easy to defend it, and the reason, as well, why I feel ready to make any sacrifice for it. Does it not hold up before me a powerful example in having sacrificed itself and its material development

for over a century and a half, in order to more fully assure its intellectual and moral development, while others were so allowed to increase their wealth and are so able, to-day, to preserve it better?

But I want to try and avoid being unfair, so much so, that I give cheerful recognition to the fact that, lately, a good many people have stated that: "Quebec is the bulwark of Civilization," and so forth. We thank them gratefully for it. May I tell them, though, that Quebec is but a very pretty woman, who, for some time past, has not ignored her own qualities; so, she finds it a little strange, to-day, and not quite to the advantage of her new suitors that they should have taken so long a while in finding these things. She is kind and sweet though, and sufficiently coquettish, thank Heavens! not to evince any great surprise at being told these pleasant compliments. She sees, not without a sweet satisfaction, that these overtures are due to a new habit of gallantry, a more refined sense of the beautiful, I dare say, which she has long regretted was not to be found before. But —lest one is falsely impressed,—this pretty woman is not looking for sympathy, because, though the eldest, she has not forgotten the hey-day of her youth. She still has remembrance of her maiden youth, when she was sought after and courted by a "beau" named Jonathan, and when, on account of her unswerving heart, as well as because of a certain amount of personal pride, she dismissed him! We know that she had plighted her faith to John Bull.

You surely have heard what is often enough repeated that: "Old Quebec ever forgives, but never forgets!" This is only another way of being just without pardoning injuries too readily, and of always keeping in mind good deeds, as well.

For all we have said about our present needs, it would not be that industrialization should cause the desertion of our countryside. We can never repeat too often that agriculture is the mainstay of Humanity; every one admits that Industry, which is the life of a nation, and Agri-

culture, which provides the life of the individual, are wanted to furnish the national wealth together. Besides, looking at the industrial side only, the workingman must find his food-products ready at hand at reasonable prices; and how could that be without the farms working at their highest man-strength?

But, so far as the draining of the country-side immediately adjoining the cities is concerned, that is practically inevitable. And I believe that the glare of the electric lights, reflected in the sky, at night, does more to attract the moths from the country than the desire for worldly gain. For how can you prevent from coming to the city, a youth, full of fire and curiosity, and in search of gayety, which he does not know to be artificial only, and which he thinks he sees floating above every city, and which, unhappily is not to be found in the country! Let the day come when we have found the way to brighten up our villages, and we will have done more to keep our youth on the land than is possible, through books, lectures, speeches and other appeals to their moral duty. The day also when the programme in the village school shall include agricultural matters, and thus create love for land, in showing it under its most interesting aspect, its true colours, that is, as the fountainhead of real liberty, that day, surely, it will be allowed us to hope that the farms shall no longer be deserted. Quebec ought to maintain its agricultural character.

Industry and agriculture, nevertheless, ought to go hand in hand, in harmonious cooperation. In these times of democratic awakening, a workman needs to have the product of his labour measure up to his ordinary needs. And, it is a good thing that agriculture should permit him to obtain his daily food requirements at prices which will prevent him from indulging in recrimination or in incessant demands for increases in wages.

These two mighty factors, if they know how to discover the useful things in each other, will unite instead of fighting, and, thereby, can do more towards abolishing misery upon the face of this earth than any amount of

social legislation. Socialist dreamers and communistic extremists would then be overwhelmed with the bankruptcy of their ideas in a world which would turn out its daily needs in plenty, and provide its people with them at reasonable prices.

A truth lies here which seems to be understood by all of us, and that is the reason why the conflict between the two great forces, all over the world, has not affected Quebec. It is because each has understood the place he fills in the scheme of things, and his usefulness in the arrangement of the essential forces of human progress. It is because the worker as well as the agriculturist, the labourer on the farm as well as he in the shops, and like the brain-worker too, hav all understood with Gabriel Hanotaux, that there is no such thing as degrading Labour, that, in fact, there are no categories of Labour at all: manual labour, intellectual labour, practical labour, everything that means assiduity, tension, and victory over matter is upon the same plane.

The only distinction that can be made among us is that between the active bodies and the lazy ones. Without this last class of persons, there would not be any social problems. It is only what St. Paul had said that Lenine is repeating to-day, after many centuries: "Those who do not want to work, need not expect to eat!"

And so, whatever may be our condition in life, whereever the accident of birth has placed us, whatever part that society calls upon us to play, our imperative duty towards the State and the individuals who compose it, is *to work*.

Upon this common meeting-ground, Gentlemen, we can gather to discuss, and foresee in a clear vision, what the future has in store for us.

I must apologize, Gentlemen, if in the course of these remarks I have not only more than exceeded the usual limits of an after-dinner speech, but if I have offended in touching upon certain subjects. It has been said about Gladstone, with whom I do not think of comparing myself in the least, but near whom I would take shelter,

that his outstanding quality was his high political courage. This quality, I think, people have the right to demand from those they place at the helm of the State. Those who let themselves be halted, because they are afraid of the truth, or else, are afraid to state the truth, would do much better by the country by returning to their daily occupations, where, perhaps, they might never accomplish much, but where they will never do much harm.

The times we are going through call for men who know how to bear responsibilities, men who are not afraid to talk plainly to the people, nor to shock them in so doing. And, here, I say nothing but what a French writer claimed about his own country which needed "daring, persevering, well-balanced and well-disciplined men, and not visionaries, dreamers, wordy persons; men knowing how to observe and to will things, in a word: *Men*."

Speaking recently to a gathering of my French compatriots, I referred to the words of a modern writer, "Ce sont les jeunes qui rebatiront!"

Allow me, to-day, appearing before a thoroughly English audience to quote an identical saying, and this from Disraeli: "The youth of a nation are the trustees of Posterity?"

If Disraeli was right about England, if L. Desclos-Auricoste spoke golden truth in France, should I be wrong in saying that the welding of the youth in our country, the off-springs of the two greatest races in the world, should produce something of fruitful endeavour? Our young men are the trustees of Posterity; theirs is the work of reconstruction; but, we are to help too, and, for our part, could we not try and repair what we may have undone; for racial friendship, respect for one another is the very price of our prosperity, and then the happiness and the might of our country will be the reward. (Great applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Gentlemen, I feel sure that very few, if any, addresses that have been delivered before this or any other Club in Toronto, have been quite so thought-

fully worked out, have contained so much matter so well fitted for reflection as the address which has been delivered to-day. (Applause) We owe an extreme debt of gratitude, which we pay very gladly to our guest of to-day; and on your behalf I have much pleasure in extending the thanks of our Club to Hon. Mr. David. Three cheers for Mr. David were given most heartily.

# THE CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY AND RIVER ROUTE

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. LEO. WEINTHAL, O. B. E. F. R. G. S. Chief Editor, The African World, London.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, Nov.* 4, 1920
*and illustrated with lantern slides.*

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing the Speaker, said,—*Gentlemen,* it is a long jump from the days of David Livingstone to the present. When we think of Africa, it is naturally the man we think first of—the greatest missionary the world has ever known. When we think of the kind of transportation that Livingstone had and the kind that we are going to hear about to-day, we get some idea of the progress that has been made. We are indebted directly to Brig.-General Gunn for this opportunity of hearing an address by a south African, Mr. Leo. Weinthal, who for services in Africa has been decorated at various periods by Belgium, Liberia and Egypt, and for his special war work by King Albert of Belgium and Great Britain. He is a thorough Imperialist and has intimate and exact knowledge of conditions in Africa, which enables him to speak as one having authority. I was recently informed that there is no man hailing from South Africa on whom the British Government authorities depend more for reliable information than Mr. Leo Weinthal. (Applause) He is a man high in the Councils of the British Empire and it was said of him a year ago in London "Leo Weinthal knows; he tells you the truth; and he will not break confidences." The task before Mr. Weinthal to-day is that of condensing into the space of about an hour all that he wants

to tell us and is anxious to tell us regarding the greatest transport route through Africa. I am not going to take up any more of his time now but will ask you to give him a hearty welcome. (Cheers)

## MR. LEO WEINTHAL

*Gentlemen*,—I am sure you will allow me a few moments to express my very warmest feelings of gratitude at the honour which has been conferred upon me in lecturing before this famous Empire Club the name of which came to England and South Africa, years before I had the pleasure of stepping on Canadian soil. I feel privileged to have been asked, first by Brig.-General John Gunn with whom I had the pleasure of travelling from London to New York. I have always known that the Empire Club of Canada has been one of the most virile factors in spreading the true lessons of Imperialism in its most practical form. Imperialism has, in my opinion, two sides to it; there is the heroic, sentimental, and visionary side; and there is the tangible and practical side. The first materialized in the world wide rally to the flag in the grim hour of the Empire's need, August 1914, giving one of the finest examples of patriotism in the world's history. The former is led by our greatest and most distinguished men; the latter is carried out by those who, like myself, follow modestly in the path as civilian workers in efforts to develop the resources of our own world wide dominions and also in our own special ways to spread the knowledge of our great Empire to other parts of the world, and therefore try to bring about still closer bonds than exist even to-day. (Applause) We have come from across the seas and I know you will all admit that the seas do but unite the nations they divide. The Dominions of the British Empire are divided by seas but they are also united by the great waters and, in the six years of the terrible days of Armageddon so recently behind us, we have seen the great Dominions of the British Empire uniting and rallying for the defense of the flag, to the defense of

civilization, right and justice, so that the forces of darkness might be banished forever—if possible—from the face of the earth. (Applause) This has nothing to do with the subject of my short lecture to-day, but I could not help referring to the question, because your Club is so closely knitted with the progress of the Empire in all its parts, that I thought you would not mind if I expressed my sentiments to you in a few words at the introduction.

Now I was going to tell you the story of the Cape to Cairo Railway and river route as it is to-day. I must apologize and ask you to permit me to explain that owing to a very important announcement which I am going to make directly, I am going to reverse this story. Instead of taking you from Cape Town 7,000 miles north to the Nile and the Delta and the Mediterranean, I am going to take you 7,000 miles South from the Delta, and land you at Cape Town. This I am doing, because since I arrived in New York I am very pleased to tell you that I have official authority from that great Transportation Company known as the American Express Company to announce, that during next year they hope to send the first party of American Tourists, which they hope will include some Canadians, from Cairo to Cape Town, and probably also another party from Cape Town north on to Cairo. Now, as the first party is going from Cairo to Cape Town, and some of you may possibly be in that party, I thought it only right to-day to give you the tour as you or your friend may be doing it next year.

In starting my story I cannot help referring to that great man to whom the sole credit was due for this enormous project in its initial stages, the man who dreamed it,—who conceived it, the man who found other men to support the scheme and to carry out what some thirty-three years ago was considered to be an absolute, if not utopian dream. Yet to-day it is practically completed, and more than two-thirds of its route an actuality. That man was Cecil John Rhodes (applause) a great Imperialist, a great Empire Builder, who, even in

the face of some mistakes he may have made in his political career, will have his name indelibly stamped in golden letters for evermore as the originator of the project which will bring to Africa and her people from north to south, from east to west, Progress, Civilization, Prosperity and Peace. (Applause) I ask you never to forget that the scheme is due to Cecil John Rhodes, and I ask you all to see Mr. Rhodes as he looked thirty-two years ago. (A slide was here thrown on the screen)

Now, please imagine yourselves on a fine steamer going from New York to the Mediterranean, and arriving off Northern Egypt. Whether you land at Port Said, the eastern end of the Nile Delta, or at Alexandria, the western end of it, the coast views are very similar. It is a flat shore with occasional white minarets under a blue sky and bright sunshine, peeping out from yellow sands, and green palm trees. We must take it for granted this afternoon that we are going to travel seven thousand miles in seventy minutes. You enter a very comfortable train, travel in three hours to Cairo, and I propose to give you some typical views of the Nile Delta as you see it from the railway windows. You will find the pictures of Biblical stories repeated actually in front of you. You can look out for hours on both sides of the carriage and see the beautiful scenes of blue-garbed Fellaheen workers turning out sugar and cotton to the value of thirty or forty millions sterling during every twelve months. Soon, in the suburbs of Cairo we have a glimpse of the environments of this great African city—the greatest as well as one of the oldest in Africa with nearly a million inhabitants, of which practically only fifty thousand are of European races. This will give you an idea as to why, when news comes from Cairo, you cannot understand sometimes that the situation in Egypt is as it is. As a fact there is a very large population there, quite three-fourths of which actually take no interest in politics except when they are led into them by certain people. The common multitude there follow just like sheep. When I was in Cairo before 1914 for

eight or nine winters successively, I often used to watch processions of the so-called Nationalist students. In those days, with Lord Cromer and Lord Kitchener at the British residency, it was quite enough to turn out the Fire Brigade and give the processionists—if in any way turbulently inclined—a good shower bath to make most of those people make for their homes at record speed. (Laughter) Let us proceed. We have entered Cairo station, the Central station and chief terminus of the Cape-to-Cairo Railway route. It is a very fine building and I believe it is going to be shortly doubled in size.

For the next view we take a walk to the Citadel and Mohamed Ali Mosque which is a very finely designed Arabic edifice with some exquisite interiors towering domes and slender minarets. Incidentally a garrison of British "Tommies" is maintained at the Citadel and this instinctively creates a protective atmosphere.

My next view is a portrait of His Highness the Sultan of Egypt, who recently succeeded his uncle Sultan Hussein and who is a very enlightened highly educated and progressive ruler and in every way partial to the new British Protectorate which may shortly disappear in an equally close alliance, thanks to the wonderful diplomatic results obtained by Lord Milner and his able Commission.

I must now also ask you to pay a visit with me to the British Residency. (Slide) This photograph I took about ten years ago after a visit to the late Lord Cromer, with whom I had the privilege of many interesting talks, and who was, as you probably all know, one of our greatest Imperial pro-consuls and an exceptionally brilliant and gifted man. (Applause) In that stately home on the banks of the Nile I have had the pleasure and honour of being received as a personal friend of the late Lord Cromer, the late Sir Elwin Gorst, and the late Lord Kitchener, with whom I had my last interview in March, 1914,—a conversation I shall never forget, for he did not want to talk of Egypt as I hoped he would but only wanted to hear from me about many of his old South African friends, especially General Botha for whom he had a great affection.

I have not, as yet, met Lord Allenby, since he has arrived at the Residency and whom the whole world justly admires as one of the greatest leaders in the recent World War, particularly on account of his incomparable dashing conquest of Palestine. (Applause)

Being at Cairo, let me take you out nine miles for a few moments to the Pyramids. You have all heard of the Cheops pyramid and the Sphinx. It is carved out of solid limestone rock really lying in a hollow in a deep excavation of the desert sand. You do not see it until you come right up to it, and when you proceed to the bottom and stand in front of the great animal figure with a human head (just where this Arab stands with his camel in the picture) the face assumes a human expression, the longer you gaze at its stony features. I have myself taken at various times quite fifty or sixty films and plates of her antique ladyship in order to catch some of those weird expressions under different atmospheric conditions, sunlight, moonlight, dawn, and sun-rise. You will see one of these snaps in the next slide. (Slide) I really think this photograph has a most unusual and live expression in the eye. Many people have tried to get the same effect but failed. I could talk to you for hours about the Sphinx—but time calls and we must proceed. I wish now to show you a type of the original fellaheen or the real people of Egypt, one of my old friends, at the famous Mena House Hotel opposite the great pyramid. He was truly a good old soul; he helped me to get all kinds of wonderful curios and information not available to the usual tourist. Amongst other delightful spots near Cairo is a place which every tourist and artist is advised to visit—the tomb of an Arab Sheik at Al Marg, a village about nine miles from Cairo. It is truly a beautiful spot. As we get into our train on our road south we get a good general view of Cairo. We are proceeding from Cairo by railway direct to Assuan, where the famous barrage, known as the Dam, has been erected across the Nile, opposite the submerged Island of Philae, at a cost of £4,000,000. This section of country is extremely in-

teresting; it passes from Cairo via Heloun, Wasta, Assiut, Keneh, through Lower Egypt to Luxor, a modern tourist and health resort, the southernmost section of Upper Egypt, directly adjoining which are the ruins of the ancient city of Karnak, opposite to which again are the world famed Valleys of the Tombs of the Kings.

In speaking of the Egyptian Railways, it may be stated that the first railway in the Nile Valley was completed from Alexandria to Cairo in 1867. From our dining and sleeping cars we are now looking out on wonderfully picturesque scenes on old Father Nile. Soon we are at Assiut. (Slide) This picture gives you an idea of the grand old river with its beautiful shadows and lights and incomparable reflections that must be seen, and the next thing you will probably see is a native boat going along full speed in the sunset, bound north for Cairo with a cargo of wheat. This I snapped one evening. One of my greatest pleasures in Egypt was to go picture hunting in an old Arab boat on the Nile. In entering Luxor early in the morning, you pass the vast ruins of the City of Karnak. From here long avenues, lined with hundreds of carved Ram Sphinxes, led to the river and the Priests took their dead in huge boats to the other side, passing the famous Colossi of Memnon and other temples, then buried them in the Desert Valley where the Tombs of the Kings are, and also in other vast cemeteries of the ancients. Here it was—where the jewelled mummies of all Egypt's dead kings were found, purely by accident. These bodies four or five thousand years old, splendidly preserved, have evidently been the object of every intruding and robber race that came through Egypt, yet many of them were so well hidden by the Priests that they were discovered only fifty years ago through the Arabs giving the secret away, and they were all secretly taken to Cairo, where they now are in the great Bulak museum where the whole world has the opportunity to see these grand old ancient rulers such as Rameses the Second, and others.

Leaving picturesque Luxor—one of the beauty spots of Egypt—we are going to Assuan. The Cataract

Hotel there gives you in the foreground a good idea of the comfortable buildings Tourists make their homes in during the season, and of the Rocks in the foreground forming the Nile Cataracts. The first cataract begins at Assuan. From Assuan we take a carriage or car, drive for a short distance and we come to the wonderful dam. Since this picture was taken, in the construction phase, of the great engineering triumph, it has been raised fifty or sixty feet, and has brought a territory of an additional three million acres under profitable cultivation. Through the raising of the Assuan dam the water is held up for nearly 120 miles south of it, and thus we have to face the great tragedy of Philae, that lovely island covered with the finest ancient temples of Isis and Osiris—records of Roman, Jewish, even the great Bonaparte's soldiers—all submerged in—now alas—forty to fifty feet of the waters of the Nile. Here you see Philae—as it apears in 1900 before it was submerged (slide). In the centre you see the temple called Pharaoh's Bed. At the back, and in this picture, you will see how it looked inside eight years ago when I was examining the altar and finely sculptured portraits of ancient gods. There is another impression of Pharaoh's Bed taken against the sun; I took it from the boat on leaving. It is a sad and unforgettable impression as you look down on these unequalled and beautiful monuments of ancient art—now beneath you in the waters. The temples of Philae are rapidly disappearing. The water has, in a brief period risen to the top of the balustrades and columns as you see it in the next slide. The tragedy of Philae could easily form the sole subject of an interesting lecture for a whole evening. You see the palms with their tops showing how the waters held up by the dam have simply submerged everything with the result, that those magnificent ruins have disappeared, yet the practical addition to cultivated areas in Upper Egypt is so great that the matter of preserving ancient monuments had, naturally, to go by the board in the public interest. Now I take you on the Railroad from Cairo to Shellal, where the Sudan Gov-

ernment Steamer "Britain" is waiting, opposite to the white Egyptian train at the pier side on which you have just arrived, and you are now going with me on to that steamer. (slide) For a day and a half, this boat will take you over a beautiful stretch of the Nile to Wady Halfa, the first Sudan Station. The distance from Cairo to Shellal is roughly 555 miles, and you are now going 208 miles southward on this steamer, and will pass through torrid Nubia. Here you see some real children of the Nile and from this picture you are able to get a good impression of them. The Sudan Government looks well after these dark skinned youngsters, and sees to it that all their various requirements are attended to, such as scholastic and medical necessities, and, as the climate is so unusually beautiful and warm they require little clothes—most of them have next to nothing on. So being happy beyond description they need but little assistance.

Passing from Shellal we pass one of Thomas Cook & Sons, fine Nile steamers at full steam going south on the same route as the Government steamer. For many years Messrs. Cook have done magnificent service for passengers and tourists on the Nile. The trip you have done by rail in a night and a day coming down from Cairo to Shellal is covered in twelve days on one of those river boats. That river journey for those—who have the time—is unforgetable in many ways as you stop every day or two at the large number of ancient and more interesting places which abound on the route.

In contrast to modern steamers on the Nile I would like now to show you how an ancient Nubian skipper negotiates the River in his own way in a frail basket-boat which apparently is considered quite safe, and in which he appears to be perfectly happy. (slide) Steaming through Nubia we pass hosts of historical places, the date palm city of Derr-Korosko of Sudan War fame, Roman forts on the crests of the hill, below which the entrances to tombs can often be noticed. Then there are many smaller ancient Egyptian temples etc., until we get to one of the greatest sights on the

Upper Nile—close to the battle field of Toski—where Grenfell and Wingate smashed the hordes of Dervishes, advancing into Egypt from the Sudan.

I refer to the great Rock temples of Abou Simbel beyond doubt the finest Rock temples in the world. The Royal figures in the front are sixty feet high. They represent Rameses the Second, the greatest Pharaoh of all the dynastics who built this temple carved out of solid limestone 5000 years ago in celebration of his victories over the Assyrians. There is an entrance quite forty feet high into the temple between the two central figures, and the aspects of Abou Simbel are most beautiful, outside as well as inside, as the slides showing this wonderful monument of ancient Egypt's glory prove.

The next view shows an Egyptian native boat. You will note how close it comes up to the temple—this is of course during the tourist season when the water is well up. I went there one year in April after the season, at the same spot you see now, and found the corn of the native crops growing luxuriously on the Nile Mud. Our steamer was quite a mile away in a narrow channel waiting for us till we finished our day at the Temple. We leave this grand monument of Ancient Egypt's mightiest ruler, whose mummified feature you can still view in a glass case of the great State museum at Cairo. A bronze memorial plate is fixed on the rocks near the entrance of the Temple to the memory of the British officers and soldiers, who fell in the cause of defending civilization on the adjacent battle field of Toski. Soon we cross Egypt's Southern frontier, gliding up to the landing stage at Wady Halfa—Lord Kitchener's chief base in the great Sudan campaign of 1898. Wady Halfa brings us to a new atmosphere of solely British administration and makes you feel at once that you are in a land risen recently from the ashes of barbarism to peaceful healthy prosperity under the direct protection of the Union Jack. At Wady Halfa, there are still some living remnants of the Dervishes who were our bitterest enemies twenty-five years ago. They fought gallantly against us at Omdurman, and these old men—no doubt on ac-

count of good behaviour for many years, have I learn, been recently released. Now we see the Sudan Desert train "The Sunshine Express" ready to take us from Wady Halfa via Abu Hamed to Khartoum. Our chief station en route is Atbara Junction, and after that we soon approach the fine bridge over the Blue Nile at Khartoum. At Khartoum—Gordon Pasha's City—you are 1342 miles south of Cairo. It is a great city risen from the ruins of savage rule, which Lord Kitchener and General Sir Reginald Wingate have practically re-created. It is the one great city in the whole of Africa, where British enterprise and equitable treatment of native races, has proved more than anywhere else how to bring about actual and tangible results within two decades of a sanguinary war and the total destruction of retrogressive forces. (Applause). Here is the Governor General's palace (slide). Near here, are situated in a perfect tropical garden, beautifully kept, the steps on which poor General Gordon was killed. The next slide shows a scene in that wonderful creation of Lord Kitchener—the Gordon College. The boys you see are going in for physical exercises on European lines; they are the grandsons of some of the Emirs and Dervishes that were killed off en masse on the gory fields of Omdurman and Kerreri. Lord Kitchener made an appeal after the battle to the British people to find the money for founding this wonderful teaching institution in the heart of Africa for these conquered people. The response, and the subsequent results, have been successful beyond expectation. (Applause) Let me now show you some of the great men who have made and built up the Sudan. Here is the portrait of General Gordon, Pasha of immortal fame. (Applause) The next is that of Lord Kitchener, as Sirdar of the Egpytian Army, as he looked in 1898, that great master mind and gallant soldier, whose deeds I venture to say, have never yet been estimated at their true value. (Hear, hear) Both have alas passed from us, but happily we still have to-day General Sir Reginald Wingate (applause) the third of the gallant men who have made the modern Sudan, and

to whom the people of the Empire owe the greatest debt for consolidating the work that he has done, not only in the Sudan, but in the recent great war of which little is known yet. Sir Reginald Wingate with a band of distinguished indefatigable official workers like Sir Lee Stack and Colonel Midwinter of the Railways, and many others are the real builders of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and have initiated most modern developments, with the financial aid of the Imperial Treasury, such as irrigation and cotton projects south of Khartoum and on the Upper Nile which will shortly yield epoch results to the Empire. I should like to take you for a whole week around Khartoum to the battle fields—to the ruins of Meroe, near Atbara, but the call is "Southward Ho." on our long journey to the Cape of Storms.

Two hundred miles south of Khartoum we leave the Sudan train at Kosti, where there is a fine steel swing bridge across the Nile at the southern head of the Sudan Railway from Wady Halfa, and 1582 miles south of Cairo. A most comfortable saloon steamer takes us down the Upper Nile, a distance of 890 miles, to the borders of British Uganda, through the wonderful Sudd districts and big game country, grand tropical scenery with most extraordinary continuous and unexpected views on both banks of the river—and altogether a tour which I hope many of you here will be privileged to make one day. Here you see what we may call one of the monarchs of the Upper Nile as seen from the steamer deck, a hippopotamus. You notice he is enjoying an afternoon siesta in a quiet pool, but in a few days after you may see him a victim to the hunter.

Here is an African Zebra hunt on what is called a Safari, typical of a big game hunting scene in these areas, and I wish I could show you the pictures I have of elephants and lions at bay—a set of pictures sent to me years ago by the late Captain Selous, one of the greatest African hunters and explorers of our times, whose friendship I was privileged to enjoy for over thirty years, and who was unfortunately killed during the guerilla war operations in what was formerly Ger-

man East Africa—now called Tanganyka Territory.

We leave the Sudan steamer at Gondokoro and are 2492 miles south of Cairo, and enter British Uganda. Uganda is an African Kingdom of 20,000 square miles and has a young native king or "Kabaka" now 24 or 26 years old. His name is Daudy. With his Ministers he rules, under British advisership, a great, peaceful and pastoral people who already produce a considerable quantity of cotton now being exported to the value of £500,000 annually. It is owing to the enlightened policy of the Uganda and Sudan Governments that vast quantities of cotton are going to be produced along the White Nile and near the source of the great river, and it is from those sections of Africa and the Delta of Egypt that the largest supplies for our Lancashire mills are going to be furnished within the next decade (hear, hear). In Uganda we are on the Equator—in a very hot country, and I would like to advise you that we are now approaching the country where the sources of the Nile originate. (slide) Here you see the snowclad peaks and icy glaciers twenty thousand feet high, of the Equatorial Alps, known as Ruwenzori which, along with Kili Madjaro and Mount Kenia are the highest mountains in Uganda and British East Africa, the latter territory being now officially known as Kenya Territory.

I am now going to take you 200 miles south-east from Lake Albert Nyanza and show you where the Nile actually leaves Lake Victoria Nyanza, that great African Equatorial inland sea three times the size of Scotland. Here you see a view of the Ripon Falls at Jinja where the Nile is born. The drop of water is only thirty feet, where it is pouring out of the Lake, which itself is full of wonderful scenes; islands that were once the home of sleeping sickness. in a great stretch of water on which you can now take excursions in every comfort on Government steamers of 1500 tons. Old Father Nile, after emerging from this Lake, travels 2,000 miles down the valley, through the Sudan into Egypt, till he empties his waters incomparably rich in fertile ingredients into the Mediterranean. The green strip on the map with

a vast desert belt on each side produces food supplies on the largest scale, especially in the Delta, where you know that cotton and sugar are produced, to the value at present prices of not less than fifty millions sterling per annum. (Applause)

You have now seen the actual sources of the Nile, and I ask you to remember that when at Lake Albert we enter the Belgian Congo Colony. Now we cannot enter the Congo without thinking of its Sovereign, His Majesty, King Albert (applause) with whom I have had the pleasure of having friendly relations even when he was Crown Prince, when he went through Rhodesia to the Congo twelve years ago and, like a wise man, found out for himself, what was required to do away with the, at that time considerably exaggerated propaganda of atrocities. King Albert has since proved to the world, that the Belgian people can govern a Colony on most modern lines, with a vast native population properly controlled and that if necessary reforms had to be introduced, he was the man who had able officials to see them carried out effectively. (Applause) I can say, with authority, that fifteen years ago every Equatorial colony in Africa—no matter under what flag—had some kind of atrocities going on within their territories. To-day these do not occur. The Congo authorities have not only done away with all atrocities in their territory but have made it one of the most progressive tropical colonies in the world. In the Belgian Congo to-day you have excellent motor roads and motor services. You have a modern system of administration from which we in South Africa, and even in East Africa and the Portuguese are taking valuable lessons every day. Let us now enter the Belgian Congo at Mahaji, which is a Port on the western shore of the Lake Albert Nyanza and one of the sources of the Albert Nile though the most important source is of course the Victoria Nile which I showed you emerging from Lake Victoria Nyanza, a few moments ago.

Near Lake Albert is Ruanda, a district recently ceded to Belgium, formerly belonging to Germany, one of the

greatest Central African cattle countries known and climatically said to be quite suitable to white population. The Ruanda people look somewhat war-like, but are not so in reality, and are on the whole a very fine native type and are anxious to work amicably both with the Belgian Government and with the British authorities. I should think this new part of the Belgian Congo Colony is going to be one of the few parts of the Congo where European settlers will flourish and ultimately make their permanent homes. But to bring this about —we want more and more railways and for these Africa is still calling loudly. (Hear, hear) At Mahaji, 2807 miles south of Cairo, we finish the first section of our great journey. From here we have to take a 600 or 700 mile motor ride running in a southwesterly direction to the Equator, right on to Stanleyville, the official capital of the Eastern Congo. I received a telegram a couple of days ago from the correspondent of the "African World" at Brussels giving me a message from the Colonial Minister, Monsieur Franck, a very distinguished colonial administrator and a good friend of ours, which reads as follows "The motor road constructed from Mahaji to Stanleyville which necessitated a preliminary short caravan trip round the Rapids of the Nile and steamer trip from the Sudan border to Lake Albert will shortly be replaced by another route." This new motor road will proceed from the southern frontier of the Sudan to Stanleyville, via the Kilo goldfields through the great forest. Brussels cables further that this motor road is to-day in actual use for 400 kilom., from the Nile at Redjaf to Faradji then to Bumpile and Buta and 245 miles by steamer to Stanleyville. The motor roads on this section—now in course of construction—should be in running order in a few months time. It will be much easier for Cape Cairo passengers to take the respective trips by the new route and thereby avoid the difficult stretch round the Nile Rapids for a distance of quite 100 miles.

Here you see a typical view of the great Equatorial forest through which this motor road has been construct-

ed. (Slide) You will understand that it has not been easy work, and does great credit to our Belgian friends but it is interesting to recall that these forests were all traversed in solemn dank darkness by Sir Henry Stanley 40 years ago and concerning which he gave us such wonderful descriptions in his books. Here you see villages, clearings and densest tropical jungle. To-day, thanks to Belgian enterprise you will be able to view these scenes from comfortable motor cars for a run of 700 miles, with rest houses and supplies properly kept and fairly healthy, as long as ordinary precautions —necessary in the tropics—are observed. There are of course as yet no hotels in these primeval forests and tourists will have to carry their fuel and necessary food supplies, but eggs, fowls and fruit can always be obtained in abundance, and should make that part of the equatorial journey quite enjoyable, and full of interesting experiences.

The next view gives you an idea of the canoes on the Congo River and also of the width of that great River. Here are some of the inhabitants of that country, who do not look discontented. (slide) These are types of Congo natives, who it may be noted are very fine workers. (slide) Lord Leverhulme told us quite recently that he has in his employ some 20,000 of these native people in his different palm nut factories and plantations in the western Congo Valley, and he has found them the finest class of workers, and if they have proper food and supervision nothing but good could be said about them. Where, in fact, would Africa be without its wonderful native workers?

The next view shows Stanleyville. We are now concluding the first part of the second section to the Equator from the Nile. At Stanleyville there are some fine buildings and stores. The Stanley Rapids are in the immediate vicinity and from here westward the Congo Valley stretches 2,000 miles to its estuary on the Atlantic Coast.

The forest road via Leopoldville, Stanley Pool and Kinshasha, the centre of the Lever industries, you have

just motored through from Mahaji to Stanleyville brings you to a point 3480 miles south of Cairo.

We are now going southward by Congo steamer and two short railways and another 300 mile river trip on the Congo after which we arrive at Bukama, which is the northern railhead and terminus from Cape Town in the furthest south.

In carts and ox wagons you see the manner we used to travel in Africa in days of old, crossing rivers by carts and mule teams, or trekking by ox wagon for thousands of miles. What a difference there is now from 25 years ago! To-day mails and passengers are not only being carried by fine steamers and sleeping car railway saloons, but in the Belgian Congo—they have a regular service of carrying passengers and mails by sea planes. No-where else in Africa have we got to this stage yet, as they do in the Congo—viz., carrying their mails in 24 hours down to the Coast where it used to take 8 or 10 days.

I must now digress for a few moments, to the methods of constructing the Cape Cairo Route. In the Congo Railway section I am about to show you, the railway line was often constructed at the rate of a mile a day. They first cut a road through the dense bush and completed the earth-works, then laid iron sleepers, because the white ants in Central Africa were far too fond of wooden sleepers, particularly in that part of the country. Perhaps during the afternoon the railway looked something like this (slide) and probably towards evening it looked like that. (slide showing rails laid on sleepers) A construction engine would probably soon run over it, and then within a week you had it as shown here (slide showing complete track)—the iron Spinal Road to the north completed for working traffic. (Applause) I think the magnificent railway construction work that has been done in that particular section of central southern Africa should be brought to the notice of people, who will be glad to hear something about Africa's remarkable railway builders. Mr. Cecil Rhodes was the genius to whom it is primarily

due. His was the brain that conceived the idea. His was the magnetic personality that influenced the late Mr. Alfred Beit to work and to devote millions to the completion of plans, which sometimes did not quite meet with his personal approval. But Mr. Alfred Beit did not care as long as he could support his fellow comrade Cecil Rhodes for whose brilliant Imperial projects and ideals he had the greatest admiration. After Mr. Beit's death in 1906 it was found he had left a trust of four million pounds sterling to continue the financial support for the Cape to Cairo projects—a work which is carried on very ably and in a most thorough open-hearted manner by his brother, Sir Otto Beit K.C.M.G., who did so much for our boys at the fighting fronts during the late war, not only for South Africans but for all patriotic objects, wherever money and his own efforts could be of assistance. (Applause) Here we have another man who built most of the lines from the Cape to the Congo, the late Mr. Pauling (slide), another friend of thirty years standing. He passed to the better land eighteen months ago to the deepest regret of all who knew him. He was one of the best men that ever lived and one of the finest types of men that ever came to Africa for carrying out huge work in a practical manner. George Pauling's name will live along with those of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit and also that of his partner Alfred Lawley, who is happily still in active service, building at present railways from Beira on the East Coast to the Zambesi, and to the East African Areas at the sources of the Nile. Mr. Lawley is keeping up the work which George Pauling in life accomplished so successfully, and is loyally supported in equally important operations by Sir Charles Metcalf, the Chief Engineer of the route, by Mr. Wilson Fox, M.P. and Baron Emile D'erlanger. Yet really next to Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, comes the man who took up Rhodes work (when he passed in 1902,) Mr. Robert Williams, one of the greatest leaders in the development of Africa living to-day (slide). I may recall to you that Robert Williams had for many

years men associated with him like the late George Grey, (brother of Lord Grey of Falloden) who—like Frederick Selous—was one of the best men of all the good men that ever came to Africa. Robert Williams fortunately lives to-day to carry on the work, especially the construction of another line which he is building from Lobito Bay on the Atlantic West Coast up to the western Congo Frontier in Katanga. This line will be the most important western rib of the Cape to Cairo spinal railway, and the money for it is being supplied by British, American and Belgian capitalists. To Mr. Robert Williams chiefly we owe the development of those important copper mines in the Katanga district between Bukama and the Rhodesian frontier. I can only give you an idea of these great copper mines and smelting works (slide). They turn out approximately 25,000 tons of pure copper per year, but so far they have only been working for eight years and expect to double and treble their output in the next five years. Of course it is nothing very great compared to what you have in some copper mines on this continent, but it is a fair start and I think we have every reason to be proud of the achievement. During the war—the Star of the Congo mines and their smelters at Lubumbashi turned out 40,000 tons in one year, which was, incidentally a very useful contribution to the British Ministry of Munitions. (Hear, hear) At Bukama the northern terminus of the railway from Capetown, you are 4368 miles south of Cairo, and after passing Elizabethville the rising Capital township of Katanga and the Belgian frontier station of Sakania—you reach the Northern Rhodesian frontier—British Rhodesia. We run through some wonderful tropical vegetation—pass two great mining areas on the line—at Bana Kuba and Broken Hill, where extensive lead and zinc deposits are being mined on the largest scale. Then we cross the wide and navigable Kafue River by the longest bridge in Africa 1850 feet—fifteen spans of 100 feet each—another of George Paulings achievements, and it stands as a noble specimen of what British workmanship can accomplish under

very difficult circumstances in Southern tropical Africa. (slide) We are now well on the road to the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi and approach Livingstone 5226 miles south of Cairo. From Bukama onwards you have travelled in the Congo-Rhodesia-Cape Express, and out of the window you get a glimpse of a Review of the Northern Rhodesian police (natives) who did very gallant work with General Northey in German East Africa. This review took place eight years ago when I was at Livingstone, the official capital of Northern Rhodesia, which is only seven miles from the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi,—which we are now rapidly approaching. Here is the first view of them taken 3,000 feet high from the Aeroplane "Silver Queen" in which Colonel Sir Peter van Ryneveld and his gallant colleague Captain Sir Quinton Brand, both gallant young South African Boer flying men—flew from Cairo to Capetown. This view shows you the great cleft into which the Zambesi river plunges and gives a very good idea of how the railway bridge to the north is spanning the narrow gorge through which the whole of this enormous mass of water from the Falls passes, the only place where it breaks through and comes into a canyon of fifty-five miles in length, ultimately to empty itself 1,000 miles away, passing rich coal and oil areas, within 100 miles of the sea, into the Indian Ocean. Reverting to the Victoria Falls, I cannot help diverting your attention for a moment or two. When I entered Canada and made my first visit to Niagara Falls, and after a good look at both sides, I must honestly admit at once that I came here holding entirely different views about the Niagara Falls to the ideas I hold to-day after my inspection. I certainly think comparisons between Niagara and the Victoria Falls, especially critical comparisons, are quite unnecessary. We are naturally in South Africa, very proud of our Victoria Falls, they are the greatest cataracts in the world, and must be seen to be appreciated in their grandeur and infinite might. Yet Niagara has its equally wonderful outstanding features. The different figures as to the height and

to width of the Victoria Falls are as follows: The height of these great Falls—this is at their beginning on the north bank, viz, the Western Falls, also named the Devil's Cataract, is roughly, from where it drops into the depths 400 feet; The average height of the whole Victoria Falls is 400 to 450 feet, over a total width of 3500 yards. The height of Niagara Falls is, according to official figures, 160 to 170 feet, on an average, as against 450 feet of the African Falls, with a width of, roughly 1,000 yards against our 3500 yards.

Now, this sounds somewhat alarming and certainly gives the first honors to the Victoria Falls. I have been there a week at a time and tried to study them under all kinds of conditions, atmospherical and otherwise. You can certainly view them quite differently to Niagara, you can get on a rocky ledge about half way up their height and be only 100 yards away from the front—in such a different way to the manner you can see Niagara, where you mostly look down on the Falls. I would say that when facing the mighty waters of the Victoria Falls a feeling overcomes every one that you are something very small in this earthly vale of tears, and that there must be an Almighty Power—with this enormous display of Nature's supremacy facing you—making you think all the time very deeply about the wonderful resources which an Almighty Providence has provided for mankind to use for its own advancement as it may be required (applause). For a moment I would like to compare the waters of Niagara with the Victoria Falls. The gallons per minute at high water coming over Victoria Falls are estimated at 100,000,000 at low water 70,000,000. At the Niagara Falls I find the high water figure is per minute estimated at 83,000,000 gallons and at low water at 66,000,000 gallons. The tonnage of water passing over the Victoria Falls per hour is estimated at 30,000,000 tons at high water, and at low water during the African winter months of 20,000,000 tons. Niagara at high water passes 25,000,000 tons and at low water 20,000,000 tons over its edges, so that your Canadian and American Falls are fully equal to our

much greater African Falls in tonnage and in water it precipitates, particularly at low water. What struck me at once when looking at both the American and the Canadian side, was the outstanding fact of the terrific and enormous inherent force with which the Niagara River water comes along before it precipitates itself over the edge—a fierce stream—apparently far greater in the resistless power of its tremendous current, than we have on the Zambesi. But we must always remember this, that where you have your own wonderful Falls and River fed by two great Lakes, our Zambesi flows 1200 miles almost sluggishly from its source near the west coast of Africa across the continent, through mostly flat countries and is fed by some large tributaries and general ordinary rivers, and thus really cannot be compared with the force of water pouring into your little Niagara River from those great lakes, more like vast inland seas than anything else. I would repeat that no one who has seen both Niagara and the Victoria Falls would dare to make any critical comparisons. Niagara is such an object lesson in the successful harnessing of Nature's power by applied modern science—in its distribution for industrial exploitation of that power—that so far as the Niagara Falls and the Zambesi Falls are concerned—we in Africa have—I think—to wait a long time yet before we shall see such sights as I saw yesterday. I can only hope that our Governments concerned—Rhodesian and the Union authorities—will send a commission to study matters on the spot, and some day use the power of our great Falls at the Zambesi in a similarly beneficial way for the country and its people as you are doing here. (Applause) Now we will go back to the Victoria Falls and show you after the Western Fall, the main Fall of which is in its width alone about equivalent to your Niagara, viz,—1,000 yards. It is a truly wondrous sight when you stand in front of one of those giant columns of waters rushing into the depths below you. To get some kind of an idea you may imagine yourself standing in front of St. Pauls Cathedral in London and looking at the golden cross

on the dome above—450 feet—You can then imagine the vast height and extent of these falling waters. I do not know any better way in which to give you an impression of the height and the magnitude of the whole spectacle.

The next view is eastward at the Rainbow Falls, and we do have some perfect rainbows especially near that paradise of tropical vegetation known as the Rain Forest, just where the water breaks through from the gorge at the back. You now see finally the Eastern Falls, what we call the Eastern Cataracts. In any case, what I have shown you represents practically a width of over 2½ miles—a wonderful sight—one of the greatest the world offers today—which everyone should see if he possibly can do so, and I may say "once seen it can never be forgotten" (slide). **(Applause) Let us proceed. This is the** great bridge thrown across the gorge in 1904 as it was during construction (slide). It shows you the beautiful design of another good personal friend—alas also gone west—Mr. George A. Hobson, of Sir Douglas Fox, and partners, who are with Sir Charles Metcalfe—previously mentioned—the famous engineers of the Cape Cairo Route. The other view shows you the bridge as it was completed. When I passed, yesterday, over the suspension bridge at Niagara and saw the foaming rapids and whirlpool beneath me, I concluded that one certainly feels more uncomfortable in looking at your rapids from 200 or 250 feet above them than you would look at the comparatively quiet river bed of the Zambesi River from this great bridge thrown across the gorge at a height of 400 feet.

We are obliged to leave the Victoria Falls and I would remind you that we are now 5226 miles south of Cairo and well on the road to Buluwayo—on the Congo-Zambesi Express, stopping at Wankie Colliery, one of the greatest African coal mines, with a carboniferus area of 300 square miles in extent (slide). Perhaps one of the chief reasons why the power of the Victoria Falls has not been used, as yet it may be, is because of the cheap power obtainable from the adjacent coal mines

—seventy miles south—for here they can mine good coal at a cost of ten shillings to ten and six pence per ton. Wankie now supplies coal and coke for the whole of Rhodesia and also the copper mines of Katanga. At 280 miles south of the Zambesi we come to Buluwayo—the old capital of Lobengula, Chief of the Matabel tribes who ruled an iron people with grim despotism and an iron hand. Buluwayo—a modernly laid out city with wide avenues—a full size statue of Cecil Rhodes deservedly pointing to the north in its principal street—is full of interesting sights. Just behind the Government House are three Kafir huts (Rondavels) which Rhodes had built (slide). That thatch-roof and those walls built of mud made a comfortable cool and clean home. One hut was used as a sitting room, one as a bed room and one as a study. Just behind the huts is the tree under which Lobengula sat in judgment and got rid of hundreds of his people who did not act according to his liking. (slide). The ring of stone is still there, also the big stone on which the despotic chief sat. Those days are happily past, the view of Government House alongside of it is the best proof as to what civilization has done, and no matter how the methods of conquest of the early days were criticised, I can assure you—they were the only way of stopping the savage barbarism which then ruled this land. Today it is admitted that practically everything those gallant pioneers did was largely justified, and everything that was done then has since conferred great benefits on South Africa, and Rhodesia in particular, and on the British Empire in general.

We cannot fail to visit the famous Motopo Hills—the impregnable last resort of the warlike Matabele tribes. We slowly climb to the top of a hill 800 feet high crowned with huge granite boulders, which looks out over vast valleys resembling an ocean of petrified sea waves. When Cecil Rhodes got up there he said "Truly, this is the World's view" and he was right. Any visitor arriving there the first time has a peculiar impression, which cannot be well described. I have been there

several times. I have visited that lonely grave and not very long ago, they buried near him his dear colleague and life partner in his Imperial Work, "Dr. Jim"—otherwise known as Sir Starr Jameson, Bart (slide). They are buried there together and I should think these two graves will for years to come be the centre for thousands and tens of thousands of tourists who will visit South Africa and who will pay their respect to the memory of those two great men carrying out their Imperial ideals in such magnitude of conception and in such a remarkably short time. The "Founders" grave they call it in Rhodesia—a hallowed spot it will be to all, forever! Before leaving, here is a picture of a sturdy Matabele boy who is the guardian of the graves. I photographed him and hope to meet him, that faithful soul, who keeps the watch on this lonely hill so well, on my next visit to Rhodesia, which I hope will be next year. In connection with the grave, I am giving you here in conclusion the letter of Mr. Rhodes which he wrote on the 7th of Sept. 1900, and sent to a friend when talking about the prospects of completing the Cape,—to Cairo Railway— here it is: (slide).

"As to the commercial aspect of the Line, everyone supposes "that the railway is being built with the sole object of some "one getting in at Cape Town and getting out at Cairo. This "is of course ridiculous. The object is to cut Africa through "the centre and the railway will pick up trade all along "the route. The junctions to the East and West Coasts which will occur in the future will be outlets for the traffic obtained "along the route—as it passes through Africa, at any rate up "to Buluwayo, where I am now. It has been a payable under-"taking and I think it will continue to be so as we advance "into the Far Interior. We propose now to go on and cross "the Zambesi just below the Victoria Falls—I should like to "have the spray of the Falls over the carriages.

Yours

C. J. Rhodes

7.1.1900

A peculiar and pathetic fact I found out 8 years ago when I was there last, was that Mr. Rhodes never saw the Victoria Falls. He was once within 70 miles of them when he got a very bad attack of Malaria, and was ordered straight to Salisbury. After that he never

had the opportunity again—what with the Matabele rebellion and war and the Jameson raid. He went back to England during the Boer War and passed away 2 years after he wrote that letter. Very beautifully did he refer to the spray from the Falls over the northward bound carriages—but he was not spared to see the realization of his dream—when the Bridge was opened to railway traffic in 1904—two years after his death.

At Buluwayo we are 5806 miles south of Cairo, and are now on the way from Buluwayo to Cape Town. Close to Buluwayo we pass a gold mine which is called the Old Nick. This picture (slide) however is not the Old Nick, it is the headgear of a very famous and world known Rhodesian gold mine, about fifty miles by motor from Buluwayo—the Lonely Reef. There are no other mines—strange to say—within many miles of it and at the Lonely they are now working the 28th level and turning out 7,000 to 8,000 ounces of gold per month. It is one of the few gold mines in which the great London House of Rothschilds are interested and is paying a 25% dividend on its moderate capital, and is considered by experts to have still many years of profitable work before it.

The question of natives in Rhodesia has been much discussed. The natives in the colony are going well on the whole, and although there has been in recent years a big agitation by certain well meaning societies in England against the land holding conditions of the charter as held by the British South African Company (as affecting the natives) it is generally admitted that on the whole there is not very much to grumble at. I would like to tell you that the natives have *not* been robbed of their lands and anyone who has studied affairs in that country will have to agree that when a just and equitable claim is made on behalf of the native Races it always has the fullest consideration not only by the Chartered Company but in the final stage by the British Government (applause).

Now we enter the last stretch of our long 7000 mile journey. On the way from Buluwayo to Cape Town

we pass Chief Kharnas country—Bechualand and famous little Mafeking scene of Baden Powell's noted siege and approach Kimberley. This is the great diamond mining centre of the world, the headquarters of the De Beers Consolidated mines. At Kimberley we are 6089 miles south of Cairo.

We are approaching the Karroo, the prairieland plateaux lands of Central South Africa, wherein I was born—one of the finest countries in the world as far as climate is concerned and the home of virile health and therefore much happiness. We are now about 10 hours journey by rail from Cape Town. Presently we enter the mountainous belt of the western Cape Province at the Hex River Pass. The line turns in cork-screw fashion. Down in the valley you see the vineyards and fruit farms, nestling in lovely foliage and with low mountain crest capped with snow and ice, and also views of prosperous farming scenes. Our train is now reaching Cape Town. The Congo-Zambesi-Cape Express is finally rushing into Cape Town Station (slide). In South Africa we have, as you note, some very fine engines. Our railways are splendidly organised. I am privileged to give you an extract from a cable which I received from Johannesburg here last night from Sir William Hoy, the distinguished General Manager of the South African Railways and Ports who has been to America and Canada and is coming again to your side before long—a man of exceptional ability who takes the keenest interest in studying everything he sees in his own sphere in the United States and Canada along with the view of applying it beneficially to the requirements of South Africa. Sir William Hoy says in his cable:

"Johannesburg Nov. 3rd, 1920
Government message. to Leo Weinthal, King Edward Hotel, Toronto. Hearty Greetings to Members of Empire Club of Canada. This is the Diamond Jubilee of First Railway in South Africa being opened. 18,000 miles are now in working on routes south of Equator of which we are working 11,500 miles. When construction of junction of northern and southern links of Cape Cairo Route is

decided upon—darkest Africa—land of mystery—will be so no longer. Not long ago the whole project of route was regarded as an idle dream project. Now the project is beyond the realm of fancy and approaching realization. Of the whole distance of 7,000 miles from Cape to Nile Delta 5,000 miles can now be travelled over by rail. Our southern section exceeds 2,600 miles northward to navigable Congo with a net work of branches to Walvis Bay—on the south western seaboard connected with Beira—Delagoa Bay and Durban on the East Coast, linking up interior railways and paving the way for civilization progress and prosperity. This central highway through jungles of primeval Africa and along the Great Lakes, where the Nile has its source is truly one of the greatest romances in the history of railways.

(Signed, HOY)

In connection with this eloquent message I may tell you I cabled to my office that I had been invited to address the Empire Club of Canada and since receiving the cable from Sir William Hoy, General Sir Reginald Wingate of Sudan fame, sent me the following cable:

"Best wishes to the members of the Empire Club and for your lecture, which should be most helpful in focusing attention on the increased railway construction so urgently and vitally demanded for the development of Africa."

Having entered Cape Town station, I would show you the exterior view of it. You now see the route by which you have come from Buluwayo on the section map (slide)—and will remember you have travelled 6736 miles from Cairo—adding 148 miles from Port Said to Cairo—making the total mileage of journey 6884 miles.

I am now going to show you some glimpses of Cape Town, with grand old Table Mountain practically overhanging the City—one of the finest sights in the world (slide). When you walk through Adderley street in that beautiful bracing air, the blue sky above you in practically everlasting sunshine—in this white city nestling among lovely forests and rich foliage on the slopes of a grand old mountain, it is a sight and experience never to be forgotten. I maintain that Cape Town is one of the beauty spots of the southern hemisphere, unequalled in its historical and picturesque environments.

Here is the famous old Dutch House—called Groote Schuur, "Great Barn"—built by Cecil Rhodes after the original was burned some 25 years ago, which he bequeathed to the nation as the residence of the first Prime Minister of a United South Africa, under the British Flag (applause). It is situated on one of the outlying spurs of Table Mountain, the Lion's Rump, and strangely enough the first Prime Minister of a Federated British South Africa to live in it was the late Right Honourable General Louis Botha. Here is General Botha. (slide) when at his best. Eight years ago my wife and I met General and Mrs. Botha at "Groot Schuur" when they gave us a delightful day in that beautiful spot. I might easily give you my remaining time talking of General Botha alone, but ordinary words fail to describe what this great man accomplished—how he kept his bond for the peace he signed with Great Britain; how, in 1902, eight years later, he assumed the Premiership of South Africa at the Union Convention—how only four years after that historical event he suppressed with iron loyalty a revolt of a section of his own people; how he then equipped two armies and offered their services to the British Empire. (Hear, hear and applause) Can the grand work he did in conquering South West Africa at the opening of the world war, that large area, at a comparatively ridiculously small cost and in a very brief time, and his further work in sending 100,000 South Africans across the seas and into German East Africa ever be forgotten? Can we ever fail to remember how he came to the Peace Conference at Paris and what an outstanding figure he was according to Mr. Lloyd George in that Assembly? Or can we fail to remember how he created an unforgettable impression by his solidly splendid manner of calmly handling difficult problems? To our unspeakable grief he was suddenly taken from us fifteen months ago and we mourn in his passing the loss of a great Boer and British Imperialist, whose death was not only an irreparable loss to South Africa but, as Mr Lloyd George justly said not long ago, an even greater loss to the Empire and the greatest

loss of all to the wide world and to the whole of mankind (great applause) Yet, fortunately for South Africa, we have at its head another great Africander leader of Cape Dutch Stock, the Rt. Honourable General Jan Smuts (applause) who is generally admitted to be one of the world's outstanding figures. Jannie Smuts is a Cambridge man who has won the highest university honours and proved himself not only in the Boer War as a great military guerilla soldier—which war we do not to-day desire to specially mention anymore—but in the world's war an equal talent for handling armies and difficult and varying diplomatic problems with unvarying success. I am sure if he could have only remained in England General Smuts would have been a conspicuous figure in the front rank of the Councils of the British Empire, judging by what he accomplished during his stay in London and at the Peace Conference in Paris. (Applause) I am delighted to be able to note from cables published in this morning's papers, that he has been able to bring sufficient influence to bear on his own party, known as the South African Party—who are loyal throughout—to invite all South Africans of British descent—the so-called Unionists, to unite their forces and he will now truly carry out what Louis Botha preached for years—viz, there should be one general policy only, and a United South African Nation under the Empire flag. For to-day we do not want anymore to be called Boers or British in South Africa. We want to be called South Africans and we are as proud of this fact as you are justly proud of your name as Canadians, no matter what nation you may originally be descended from. A South African nation, which is now being built up, and which will continue to be built up, will stand for nothing else than for its own peaceful internal development and for greater progress of the Empire, which it will at all times support staunchly. (Applause) Time is slipping fast and I am anxious after Groot Schuur to show you just a glimpse of the Rhodes monument, which is twenty minutes climb on this mountain from the foot of the hill. This is a most

dignified memorial, erected in memory of Rhodes with his effigy in bronze at the top, and the huge replica of the famous equine figure of "Energy" by Tweed. The monument as a whole is magnificent in its conception, and suited to its rugged environments. Quite close to it is the site of the new Cape University Buildings which are soon to arise and where Professor Sir James Beatty and other conspicuous leaders of thought and culture in the Sub Continent will spread their knowledge. In this New Southern Home of research, science, and learning, from which most important developments are certain to ensue, young South Africans will come out in future years to proceed to many parts of the world. At this house of learning hosts of South African born students will reap benefits untold through the generosity and Imperial minded foresight of men such as Rhodes, Alfred and Otto Beit and Julius Wernher. I cannot bid you goodbye at Cape Town without showing you just one picture of Table Mountain, which is typical of the beautiful colouring of our South African land with a canopy of fleecy clouds curling over its grey crests, the forests of silver leaf trees on its slopes and in its rugged glens. Imagine for a moment the grim old mountain above you—yourselves rushing through vineyards—fruit farms and exquisite scenery over a splendid road for many miles at a stretch—down towards the rocky coast leading to the Cape of Good Hope on one side, and the Indian Ocean—or the Atlantic Ocean, as you like, with heavy surf breaking on the golden beaches or over cruel black reefs. All the time for ten months out of twelve you are in beautiful sunshine, with wild flowers galore and through scenes of indescribable wealth of colour and general attractions! This motor ride is certain to be one of the greatest attractions for American and Canadian tourists when they complete the journey in reality over which I have taken you in imagination to-day, or perhaps even the circular trip in South Africa itself, which can be taken at any time at comparatively small cost in great comfort. The motor-car has, like every where else—revolutionized

African travel. A Union Castle Steamer takes us away from Cape Town and we are bidding good-bye to South Africa. You have done 7,000 miles in 70 minutes in imagination. You will be able to do this journey next year in something under 50 days.

You are now on the boat and may be bound for London, Canada or New York, and you have had an opportunity of seeing an enormous stretch of land in Africa from north to south. You get the last glimpse of old Table mountain, Africa's "Southern Sentinel;" you are at sea and may be able to think at leisure over what I have been telling you this afternoon. Perhaps it may have given you a little more knowledge of our vast and mysterious continent than you had before, and the search-light thrown on this great trans-continental route to-day may bear fruit in some way. I hope anyhow that when I have left you and you may later on read more African news in your papers (which I am going to try in future to send you from the other side) (hear, hear), Canada and her people will be more interested than they were before and that anyhow you now know a little more about Africa than you did when you entered this fine room an hour ago.

THE PRESIDENT asked Mr. A. Monro Grier to express the thanks of the Club to the speaker of the day.

MR. A. MONRO GRIER: It is impossible for me to select a sufficient number of adjectives to describe the charm of the lecture we have listened to with such thoroughly deep interest. If I called it witty, if I called it patriotic, if I summoned all those words and several others of an appreciative character, you might yet complain of my utterance on the score that I had failed to grasp the full significance of the theme. But these things, at least, it was, though it was entitled to various other encomiums. I am sure that henceforth our interest in Africa will be far greater than it has ever been, and I am sure that the modesty and charm of the speaker's presentation of this subject will greatly enrich it in our eyes. I can pay you no greater compliment than this, Sir, as I tender you the thanks of this Club—that you have once

more, as speakers before you, perhaps in lesser degree,—demonstrated the breadth of the spirit of our Empire. We are all true to one another and to the whole realm to which we belong. I suggest that there is poetic fitness as well as absolute right in those concluding words of Cecil Rhodes, written in that spirit which is always in the true poet—"I want to feel and see the spray of the Falls upon the carriages." That Spirit was also in Shakespeare when he used words which, in my judgment, represented the standard of England actually and symbolically, when he said—"This happy plot, this earth, this realm, this England." (Loud applause)

# CITIZENSHIP

**An Address Delivered by His Excellency The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,**
Governor-General of Canada

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto.*
*Thursday, Nov.* 11, 1920

It being Armistice Day, the Doxology was sung instead of the National Anthem.

President Hewitt, in introducing His Excellency said,—Gentlemen, with what grateful joy we hailed the news that the Allied Arms had triumphed over the enemy hordes, and that hostilities had been suspended under the terms of an Armistice! There may not have been much reason in the thought, but was it not then in the mind of most of us that, with the signing of the Armistice, had come an end of anxiety, an end of turmoil and strife, and that henceforth there would come a return to the peaceful calm of pre-war days, or rather, the ushering in of a sort of millennium. Gradually, but surely, we have been disillusioned in this regard, and to-day, after two years of effort, we are still struggling toward peace. But we must not allow that disappointment that the millennium did not come with the signing of the Armistice to cause us to forget our duty. Let us never forget either that the Power which is great enough to create and sustain the Universe will not, *cannot* finally fail in any of His purposes.

Your Excellency, you are surrounded to-day by men engaged in business and professional callings—glad of their opportunity to express to you, as the representative of His Majesty, their loyal devotion to him, and their dutiful respect for constituted authority. As an Empire Club, we rejoice on every occasion when the principles

for which the Empire stands are vindicated, and on this anniversary of Armistice Day we are glad that Your Excellency has seen fit to honour the Club with your presence, and that you have chosen to speak to us on the subject of "Citizenship," than which no subject could be more fitting to the times, or more suitable for discussion before the Empire Club. His Excellency, among other things that he will have to say to us to-day, will make reference to the urgent appeal that has gone forth under the auspices of the Canadian Red Cross Society for funds to aid in the relief of those suffering millions of Central Europe. I want to say this at this stage so that you may be prepared to hearken and give your closest possible attention to what His Excellency may say on that subject; and, on your behalf, I desire to welcome his Excellency to our midst and I now introduce him to you.

## HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,* May I say at the very outset how very closely I wish to associate myself with the note which you, Sir, struck in making special reference to this day as the great anniversary on which the Armistice was proclaimed. Throughout the Empire this day is being observed, and as time goes on it will be marked with even a greater sense of relief and thankfulness for the very great mercy that was vouchsafed to us on that day two years ago. It is indeed right and proper that that day should be for all time marked as a great occasion in our National life, and that we, who are brought into closer contact with the great events of the last seven years should hand down to those who come after us the feeling and sense of our gratefulness. (Applause) The anniversary also augurs and suggests a certain amount of retrospection, and an attempt to gather up, as it were, what has passed since the occasion which we wish to celebrate. You said, Mr. Chairman, and I am afraid with only too much justification, that in our minds

we might feel some sense of despair that our more sanguine hopes had not been realized. In my opinion that is true, I am afraid ominously true, to those who follow, even in a perhaps cursory manner the events which have taken place throughout what I suppose we must still necessarily call the civilized world—(laughter)—which, at any rate, I hope we shall shortly be able to prove a little more worthy of that term. (Hear, hear, and applause)

In making even a very hasty glance at conditions as we see them to-day it might be with a sense of bitter disappointment that still throughout vast areas in Europe a condition prevails not only of war, but of war in its most aggravated form. But even although that aspect may be dark, we can only continue on the path which we as an Empire have determined to pursue—to help restore peace and prosperity to those unfortunate countries, distracted as they were by war, suffering now as they are from famine and disease and all the necessary concomitants of restlessness and distress. We are determined, so far as we can, to relieve that distress; and consequently the Canadian Red Cross Society felt that they were again justified in appealing to the sympathy and generosity of the people of Canada on behalf of those starving millions, and that we were to join in with the other nations of the world in endeavouring to do something to relieve that distress and promote better conditions in those countries. The problem is an enormous one, with a large section of the earth in the state in which it is to-day, with epidemics raging and with children starving. This appeal has been launched by the Canadian Red Cross Society in its capacity as a member of a Red Cross League of Nations, and as part of an Empire movement, with the full support of the League of Nations with the full support of a League of Red Cross Societies. It was launched at the very centre of the Empire, at the Mansion House in the city of London, with His Majesty the King as patron and with his full support. I know well the generosity which is one of Canada's greatest assets and the splendid support

that they have given to all movements which have for their object the relief of distress and the alleviation of misery; and although I know that appeals show no signs of diminution, in fact very much the reverse, yet again I hope it will be possible that we in Canada shall keep up our reputation and make a substantial contribution towards the relief of this distress to which I have alluded. (Applause)

But if I may leave that subject and turn to a possibly still wider one, although we know that this hideous trouble is still raging in Europe, we may take a view of what has passed in those two years in relation to the British Empire as a whole and upon Canada more in particular, and conclude that although progress may not have been so rapid as some of the sanguine of us wished for, I am still determined to label myself as an optimist. (Hear, hear, and applause)

Although there may be anxious and possibly disquieting symptoms, there is no reason for panic, there is no reason for alarm. We have and shall have, a difficult time, and probably—though I know that you know a great deal more about this than I do,—probably the next four or five months will prove, especially in those areas of the country more closely connected with industrial undertakings, that we may have some very difficult and complicated problems to face. But after all, I think we have some reason in Canada to be extremely grateful that we have been able to get through two years with as little difficulty, relatively speaking, as we have had. (Hear, hear) I hope you know me well enough now, to know that I am not going to waste your time in paying you empty compliments, but I do wish to say that from my experience in going through the country from Halifax to Victoria one could not but notice that the public—I use the term in its widest sense—made up their minds to make the best of conditions. They knew that we were living under particularly artificial circumstances; and after all, if I may venture to trouble men of business, men of affairs, with ordinary every-day, common-place observations—what is the position in which we found ourselves?

As a consequence of the war we have necessarily committed probably every sort of offense against the ordinary lines of conduct which are prescribed both for individuals and for communities. What have we done? We have hypothecated to ourselves what is the property of those who are coming afterwards; in fact, we have mortgaged the future. We know—I again say, either looking at it from the individual point or the collective point—that that is a practice which is and ought to be generally deprecated, and if possible permanently prevented. We have done it. We have, I think, some excuse. Not of our seeking, we were forced to do so by the conditions of the war; we were compelled to make use of our resources for the purposes of waging war; we were compelled to send the very best type of young men, who ought to have been developing wealth, for the purposes of creating destruction; we were using our raw-materials, our forests, our mines, not for the purpose of adding to the wealth of the world but for the purpose of destroying it. Well, we knew what the horrors of war were. We appreciated it, possibly not to the extent and the magnitude with which we can look back upon it now, but we knew full well, as a nation of business men—shop-keepers if you like; I am willing to welcome the expression—we were called "A nation of shop-keepers"—(applause)—we were compelled to use those for purposes of destruction. In order to be able to do that we necessarily had to raise vast sums of money for that purpose. It is not now my wish, even if I were qualified to do so, to either praise or blame the methods which were used for this purpose. Sir Thomas White was to have sat next to me; whether he had some anticipation of what I was going to say, I do not know, (laughter) but I venture to say that if we look at those movements in proper perspective and see the part which Canada played financially, they will come out as well—I cannot put it higher—as the services which you rendered in every other aspect of the war. (Applause)

Well, we have had to borrow, to mortgage our future,

for the purpose of conducting the war. We shall therefore have a debt—a debt of very considerable mangnitude—to pass down to those who may follow after us. But, gentlemen, we will have something more than debt to pass down. The answer lies in our hands to-day; if we can pass down, as well as debts, a world freed from the horrors and possibility of war, I do not think the future generation will have so much reason to mind the debt to which they are committed. (Hear, hear and applause) The answer to that question rests in your hands to-day. We, as one of the recognized nations of the world, we, who, as a nation contributed to the victorious conclusion of the war, can take our part—even if we cannot make war altogether impossible in the future—in using other means by which efforts can be made to avoid that cruel and bitter arbitrament of war. (Hear, hear) We have to-day a chance, in connection with the other great self-governing portions of the Empire, of uniting with the old mother-land in using our influence and our best efforts with great results; and if we can look forward, as I venture to say we can, with some confidence to the results which I have suggested, we shall have some reason to be proud of the part which we played, and I do not think our successors will have so much reason to regret the part that we did play. (Applause)

But, gentlemen, to get back, perhaps, to every day affairs, we find ourselves, possibly for the first time since the conclusion of hostilities, in changed conditions, especially in the industrial areas. As a rule I do not attempt to indulge in metaphors—they have a nasty way sometimes of conveying other meanings which you do not suspect. (Laughter) Occasionally they come back on one—(laughter)—but I cannot help feeling to a certain extent that we may be somewhat in the position of travellers who found themselves on a mountain, who were enjoying bright views, bright skies, and to whom everything looked fair and bright, yet who knew full well that that mountain was liable to landslide, and who may or may not have taken precaution to get off of that mountain before the landslide occurred. That is

what we have got to do to-day, gentlemen. Perhaps we have been lulled into too great a sense of security, so that we may possibly have imagined that the conditions which prevailed during the last two years were likely to be the normal and permanent conditions of the future; but undoubtedly we use rather loose phrases in general conversation over these subjects, and we rather vaguely talk about them in phrases such as, "We have got to get down to bed-rock," and "We have got to get back to normal conditions." I venture to say it is perfectly true that we have got to get back to normal conditions; and the question which is before us at this moment is, how are we going to get back? Don't think for one moment, gentlemen, that I am going to tell you how to conduct your business; you all know a great deal more about it than I do, and I certainly shall not attempt to interfere; but what I do wish to impress upon you is that in dealing with those conditions consequent upon the return to a peace footing it will require the same foresight, the same courage and the same self-sacrifice as it did to carry on the war in the way in which it was carried on. We have, and shall have, to face disagreeable processes by which the transition can be made from the present artificial conditions in which we are living until we get back to more normal conditions; and it is for all of us to see by what means we can make that transition, which can never be a pleasant one—to make it as little unpleasant as we possibly can. (Hear, hear, and applause) This will and does call for the highest attributes of citizenship and statesmanship, in order to be able to deal with those various problems as we come to face them.

Again, I do not wish to be too optimistic, but I have that deep sense of faith in the common-sense of the nations which compose the British Empire to know that the greater the difficulty is, the more vigorously we shall tackle it, and we shall be able to arrive at safe and sound solutions. (Hear, hear, and applause) I am going to give you only one instance of it. We have all read, during the past few weeks, of what might have been the greatest catastrophe in the Old Country if that coal strike

had developed. I am not now concerned, in fact I do not know and do not in the least care whether the men won a victory or whether the owners won a victory, or whether victory was won at all; all I can say is that the British people won a victory. (Hear, hear and applause) I say nothing now about the terms of the settlement, but I believe that the settlement of that strike was not only made possible but was absolutely forced upon the various parties concerned in that great industry, the mining industry; that public opinion was so strong that it said, "You are to get together; you are to work out this problem; you are to dig up more coal, and you are to get paid for what you do; you are to get paid a proper wage." And I am not at all sure but that, coming as it did at this moment, instead of being one of the most appalling catastrophes that could possibly have occurred it may turn out, both in its indirect and direct action, to have been something of a blessing in disguise if it has only done more to bring all the classes of the community closer together and enable them to get on with their work and help to solve their problems. (Hear, hear, and applause) I trust that we shall never have to apply the lessons learned at so much cost as they were over the production of that settlement in the Old Country; but if such an occasion ever did arise I feel pretty confident that the common sense of the people of Canada would equally well produce solutions on the lines which are indicated by the settlement of that great dispute. (Applause)

But if I might be allowed to make one suggestion I would say, do not wait for the dispute or the stoppage before getting together. (Hear, hear, and applause) Get together before that happens. (Applause) I know full well—I do not wish to hide anything—that men in the process of getting back to what we vaguely speak of as normal conditions must make big sacrifices. It may mean that profits of industrial concerns may shrink —may shrink very severely. It may mean that wages and salaries have to be very largely reduced and curtailed. But, after all, those sacrifices have to be made;

if they can be foreseen, if they can be arranged by negotiations and discussions before hand, the process is infinitely less disagreeable, and we shall be able to get a still greater combination in developing the undoubted and admitted resources of this country. (Applause) We may have to face those processes during the next few months, but yet we know that with the earnest endeavour on the part of all concerned, whether governments or great organizations whether of capital or labour if by joint action they are able to contribute to a settlement and readjustment of present conditions in which we are living—the really insecure positions in which we are living—they can help to make the process by which we can return to better conditions with perhaps as little distress and dislocation as the process would inevitably involve. (Applause) We shall have to face this condition in the very near future; but if I may venture to say so, after four years of what I hope has been an intelligent and certainly a sympathetic wish to acquaint myself with the problems of the citizens of Canada in every portion of this Dominion, I believe that you will bring to bear in the solution of these peace problems the same qualities which you brought to bear under the infinitely greater problems of war during those terrible five years. (Applause)

I can only say how very deeply I appreciate the honour you have done me in asking me here to-day. I was told before I came to Canada that Canada was a very large place, and that I had better make up my mind that I should never go anywhere more than once. (Laughter) But on certainly more than one occasion you have kindly invited me to be the guest of your Club and I certainly esteem it a very high privilege that you should have done so; and however good may have been my resolution to inflict only one speech on any one institution, I can only add how deeply grateful I am to you for having given me the privilege of saying a few words to you to-day, and to meet and greet you on an occasion to which I shall always be glad to look back with pleasure. (Loud applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: Gentlemen, on your behalf I desire to extend to His Excellency our thanks for his goodness in coming to us. His message has been well worth while; and coming from a man—I was going to say a human man—(laughter and applause)—he has come to tell to us, good loyal citizens, something of our duty; but he has told us something more; I think he has added to the optimism we already possessed, to our strong confidence in the future, and to our ability to overcome our difficulties, no matter what they may be. (Applause) Your Excellency, I desire, on behalf of the Club, to extend our very hearty thanks to you.

The motion was carried amid applause, the audience rising and cheering.

The meeting closed by singing the National Anthem.

# THE QUEBEC CODE AS A CANADIAN ASSET

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MR. LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, K.C., LL.B.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, November* 25, 1920

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing the speaker said,—*Gentlemen,* you will all recall with pleasure, I am sure, the wonderfully informing address delivered a few weeks ago by Hon. Mr. David, Provincial Secy. and Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec. To-day we are to be honoured with an address by another brilliant representative of the Quebec Bar. Mr. St. Laurent made a great impression upon the members of the Canadian Bar Association when he addressed them in convention, and we owe a great debt to the Acting Chairman of the Speaker's Committee, Mr. Stapells, for his persistent and successful efforts to obtain from Mr. St. Laurent a promise to deliver an address before the Empire Club.

That there should be the utmost harmony of spirit between the two older provinces of Ontario and Quebec is of the highest importance. A house dividel against itself cannot stand. There is strength in unity. If the Empire Club of Canada can be the means of increasing the bonds of friendship and of developing complete and mutual confidence and respect between the peoples of these two great provinces, the Club will have just reason to be proud of the fact.

On your behalf I extend to Mr. St. Laurent a very hearty welcome.

## MR. LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT, K.C., LL.B.

*Gentlemen*: After being introduced to you in so flattering terms by the Chairman, I would feel much diffidence at addressing you this afternoon, if I did not realize that I owed it to you to dispel at once any illusions he may, in his great kindness to a fellow Canadian from Quebec, have created in your minds concerning me or concerning what I have come prepared to say to you.

Mr. Stapells wrote to me the other day asking me to give him a short sketch of what he was pleased to call my career. I had in all frankness to tell him that so far it had been most happily uneventful and that I was still privileged to consider myself just an average Canadian with the average Canadian's healthy interest in the various problems which confront us these days of our young nationhood, and the average Canadian's sturdy confidence that the average men and women of Canada have it in them to at least blunder successfully through these problems, no matter how serious they may at times appear on the surface to be.

I certainly esteem it a very high privilege to be your guest to-day and I appreciate that I owe it to your own desire to bring about better understanding between the French speaking Canadians of Quebec and the English speaking Canadians of Ontario, and to the kind suggestion of our mutual friend Mr. Frank Arnoldi that I might have something to say which would be of some interest in this connection.

It was my privilege a few weeks ago to address my fellow members of the Canadian Bar Association, at Ottawa, on the view point of the Canadian lawyer practising in Quebec about the Civil Code and how it can be made useful throughout Canada in development of commercial and business laws.

My views on this subject was listened to with very flattering attention by the lawyers who were gathered together there and immediately afterwards Mr Arnoldi was kind enough to suggest that they might also be of some interest to you.

I suspect that Mr. Arnoldi has always kept a warm spot in his heart for the people and the institutions of his native province and that he was, to a greater degree than others perhaps, susceptible to the plea that Quebec has a mentality and an outlook on the problems of human life in organized society reflected in her code of laws which it is in the interest of the whole of Canada that Quebec should conserve. However the officers of your Club fell in so readily and whole heartedly with Mr. Arnoldi's suggestion, that I esteemed it a very pleasant duty to do likewise.

I, therefore, wish to thank them and to thank you for this opportunity of putting before you a Quebec lawyer's view point of our Civil Code, and I trust you will conclude from it as I do that this Code is an asset to Canada taken as a whole and that it would be a loss to Canada as a whole if we in Quebec did not keep alive its traditions and its mode of shaping our own individual behaviour.

It may not be amiss to sketch for you very briefly the physical outlines of that Code before asking you to bear with me, while I endeavor to point out what one comes to see in it and about it when one goes beneath the concrete statements of its various provisions.

You already know, no doubt, that it is a small book of some few hundred pages containing the authoritative statement and application for the Province of Quebec of those principles of law which govern the relations between one individual and another in the every day transactions of domestic and business life.

It was promulgated just before Confederation and was prepared under the authority of a Statute of the Legislature of the United Canadas, the preamble of which is in the following terms:

"Whereas the Laws of Lower Canada in Civil Matters "are mainly those which at the time of the cession of "the country to the British Crown, were in force in that "part of France then governed by the Custom of Paris, "modified by Provincial Statutes, or by the introduction "of portions of the Law of England in peculiar cases;

"and it therefore happens that the great body of the "Laws in that division of the Province, exists only in "a language which is not the mother tongue of the in-"habitants thereof of British origin, while other portions "are not to be found in the mother tongue of those of "French origin; and whereas the Laws and Customs in "force in France at the period above mentioned, have "there been altered and reduced to one General Code, "so that the old laws still in force in Lower Canada are "no longer re-printed or commented upon in France, and "it is becoming more and more difficult to obtain copies "of them, or of the commentaries upon them; and where-"as the reasons aforesaid, and the great advantages "which have resulted from Codification, as well in France "as in the State of Louisiana, and other places, render "it manifestly expedient to provide for the Codification "of the Civil Laws of Lower Canada: Therefore, Her "Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the "Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada, enacts as "follows."

Under this Statute Commissioners were appointed, who prepared, in the two official languages of Quebec, a concise statement of the manner in which the law as it was known to them dealt with the individual, his personal attributes and status, his domicile, his home, his family ties, the material things which surround him, his dominion over such of these things as are his property, the transmission and distribution of this property after his death, if he had not himself made valid provisions in that respect, the provisions he might validly make in that regard, the contracts he might enter into during his life, the obligations which resulted from these contracts, those which arise from his torts if he became guilty of any, how his obligations might be satisfied or otherwise extinguished, the various regimens under which his own and his wife's property might be governed during and after marriage; then they dealt with the more frequent contracts which men have occasion to make such as sales, contracts of agency, loans, deposits, partnerships, private corporations, life rents, compromises, bets and wagers,

suretyships, pledges and hypothecs; then they provided how a man's assets were to be distributed amongst his creditors if he were unwilling or unable to pay them all in full, and for what causes some might be preferred over others in this distribution; they set out the rules which required the publicity and the registration of all rights and charges upon lands and real estate: in another chapter, they dealt with prescription either as a means of acquiring ownership by long and undisputed possession or as a means of cancelling debts if the creditor thereof omitted to enforce them during certain specified periods of time; in yet another, they dealt with contracts of insurance and with those other special contracts which appertain to trade and commerce, such as charter parties, bottomry bonds, bills of lading, bills of exchange, cheques and promissory notes.

As you may see from this survey, the Code is quite a comprehensive document even in its express enactments, and I beg to assure you that there is much more to it and flowing from it, than appears on the surface.

On the surface it is book of rigid rules which prescribe a set of binding solutions for the cases to which these solutions apply.

But the practising lawyer soon finds that these solutions, numerous as they are, do not expressly provide for every case and his view point about the Code, cannot but be continually changing as he becomes, from year to year, more familiar with all the complex problems of the every day life of his fellow citizens through which the strands of rights and obligations are so closely interwoven that he can almost feel the woof of the Civil Law as it sustains the whole fabric.

Being thus constantly in contact with a whole web of legal ties which he and all about him recognize, of which he and they feel the binding force and without which the fabric would rent and tear in innumerable places, and still meeting only here and there with a combination the exact counterpart of the articles of the Code, he begins to realize that those articles are only the key or cipher by which he may learn the laws which

he sees in operation all about him, just as the alphabet and the combinations of alphabets which he grappled with in the nursery, proved to be the keys and ciphers which opened up to him the mysteries of human thought committed to paper.

He then begins to realize that the Code is not a book of rules to be followed or broken with attendant good or evil consequences at the hands of the King's justices, but rather the historical synopsis of what has been in the past well ordered human behaviour and, as such, is indicative of these undying principles to which well ordered future human behaviour should conform or should be made to conform.

He begins to realize that codified law is not dead law destined to set up a standard which shall know no progress and be considered as ordering a state of living susceptible to no improvement, but rather in its concrete statements, an exposition of solutions that have been tried and found beneficial and which flow from underlying principles susceptible of supplying, almost inexhaustibly, such future solutions as the increasing complexity of human transactions may require.

He finds that the lawyers and notaries, in drawing up contracts and wills and settlements, the parties in indicating to them the manner in which they want their present or future dealings or relations with each other or those of their successors, to be governed, the Courts in passing upon these contracts and wills and stipulations, rejecting some as bad, accepting and enforcing some as good, are constantly adding to the body of solutions tried and found beneficial and comformable to well ordered human conduct and therefore constantly adding new beacons and buoys to the original chart.

Of course, he recognizes that certain conceptions are inexorably established.

The natural liberty and essential equality of all men.

The indissolubility of the family ties, and their natural bearing on the status of the individual.

The untrammelled freedom of creating contractual

relations and so making laws binding on one's self and on all others who have consented thereto.

The fulness of dominion over the things one owns even to binding them after one's death.

The complete liability to repare all injuries wrongfully caused to another in his person or in his things.

Such are some of the cardinal principles which he and his Code have regarded as necessary postulates.

But even now he is wondering if these postulates will not require some qualification in the solutions they predicate.

Human laws must be applicable to the facts of human lives.

And in human lives family ties are being dissolved. Though we still think it should not be so, will we not have to determine problems that arise from its being so in fact?

Though we still think a husband should exercise some control over the legal capacity of his junior partner in wedded life, if she is his junior partner no longer in civic life and is equally entitled with him to control the destinies of the whole country by her vote, shall she continue to have only an unequal control or no control at all over the destinies of the family patrimony?

And as to freedom of contracts and fulness of proprietary rights have they not already been very materially abridged by the activities of the various Commissions and boards of control created by the state? How far need this go to assure the best welfare of the greatest number, is a question for the economist and the statesman, but how far has it gone and how far is it going, are questions which effect the lawyer's view point of a Code predicated on the contrary postulate.

In recent months as you know Quebec and the temper and behaviour and conservatism of her population have come in for a large measure of very favourable comment, comment which contrasts most sharply with that which was current only a few months previous. Nevertheless, the good which is now being so prominently spoken of and recognized was there all the time, and if our con-

servatism and social sanity is now worthy of any of this praise, it is only because we had and have a social order worthy of being conserved, and a mode of living and of dealing with the problems of human life which can be improved but which should be made to answer the requirements even of the present troubled times without any serious or very radical departure from the concepts which underlie our Civil Code.

I had been asked at Ottawa to deal with a second query: How can the Code be made useful throughout Canada in development of commercial and business law?

Commercial and business pursuits are of course only a part or an aspect of the activities in which socialized human beings engage, and though they may require some special rules and regulations for their more convenient and speedy prosecution, these rules must reflect and connotate the same general principles as constitute the accepted standard of proper human behaviour in the community to which they are applied.

If the question were how *could* the Code be made useful throughout Canada in development of such rules and regulations, from the view point of the lawyer practising in Quebec, the obvious answer would be by adopting it and applying it throughout Canada.

But the question was how *can* it be so made useful and it implies, I take it, not only a theoretical but rather a practical possibility, and the view point of the lawyer practicing in Quebec is not so restricted as to prevent him from sensing the almost insuperable difficulties of bringing the whole of the people throughout Canada to realize, not only that some good can come out of Quebec, but that its general system of laws could, by any stretch of imagination, be considered preferable to the untrammelled "course of justice flowing in large streams from "the King, as the fountain, to his superior courts of "record; and being then subdivided into smaller channels, "till the whole and every part of the kingdom are plenti- "fully watered and refreshed." No that is not a practical possibility, and I do not wonder at it nor do I quote Blackstone and his beautiful imagery with any

other feeling than one of profound admiration both for his immense contribution to the more even flow of that great stream of common law justice and for the Anglo Saxon's steadfast attachment to the customs and processes of the great nation from which he is descended.

But there is a practical possibility of making the Code useful outside of Quebec without departing from the customs and processes dear to Anglo Saxon jurists of every age.

Did not Blackstone himself in England, and afterwards Kent, that great exponent of the Common Law in America, frequently point out in their lectures and writings, side by side with the rule of the common law, that which obtained among the civilians, and did they not thereby tend to make clearer their exposition of the former and secure a better comprehension of the principle underlying it and a surer guide in how it should be applied?

Could not those who, to-day, profess and teach the common law in the English speaking provinces of Canada find it to the advantage both of the practitioner and of the student to compare the solution of our Code to those of the leading cases and of the recognize text books.

The rules of the Code as you know can be traced back to the legislation of ancient Rome and a rule that has been tried out and not found wanting when that great state was developing, in its republican centuries, the sway of reason over the dealings of men, which still commanded and was still obeyed when all else was bending to the omnipotent authority of the imperial Caesars, which lived through the upheaval of that great Empire's disruption, which still served as a sure guide to just solutions when kingly courts again displaced ordeals and combats in settling the disputes of contending litigants, which did not perish when the mighty but overwrought people of France arose in its fury and cast off all that which was looked upon as oppressive and fettering, which on the contrary found its way into the Code Napoleon that first modern codification of municipal laws for free citizens, such a rule may not be expressed in words that find their

exact counterpart in any of the precedents of the English year books, but it cannot be a rule which violates any recognized canon of elemental justice. And every time the lawyer's mind, grappling with a given set of facts, succeeds in working out the true relations which they should in justice bear to each other, both his mind and the administration of the law are benefited thereby, no matter what the Courts of his own jurisdiction may, for a time, have to decide.

If then one bears in mind that the civil system of the Code, besides its intrinsic worth as a mirror of good human behaviour, presents to Canadians the additional feature of being the law which obtains in the oldest and one of the largest of the provinces of our country and has put, on the people of that province, an impress which they esteem it their proud duty to preserve, have we not, in our quest for rules of business and commercial transactions that shall overreach provincial boundaries and provide solutions acceptable from one end of the country to the other, an interest stimulated both by the desire to choose that which is best and by the desire to choose that which is practicable, to familiarize ourselves with the principles and the processes of that Code.

It would be the height of presumption for me to attempt to underscore any of the rules of the civil law as more specially worthy of consideration in this regard, and it is simply by way of illustration I venture to point out that in the conflict between the doctrine of the vendor's implied warranties and the maxim *caveat emptor,* the rules of the Code have been fitted to numerous application not inconsistent with the good faith required between man and man nor yet too restrictive of commercial enterprise; that the debtor's control over the assets which are his own, but which his debts have bound to his creditors as the tangible substance of their claim against him has called for solutions which have stood the test both of social convenience and of good conscience; that the civil law doctrine of a master's liability for the faults of his servants, even though he have several and it be one of them who has suffered, has not prevented

industrial development along the shores of the St. Lawrence and did perhaps blaze the way to some of the beneficial provisions of our various Workmen's Compensation Acts. Would not such chapters of the Code afford to the common law jurist dealing with the like problems even though it be under a different system, interesting and useful comparative study?

And may one not go further? The view point of the Canadian lawyer wherever practising his profession cannot but embrace the wider problems which confront us all as citizens of a state, young but fast developing, whose footsteps are already set in the paths which only nations may safely tread. If we hope to ever see a broad national spirit weld our people more closely together, should we not be mindful that such a spirit must involve the pride of the individual in the well ordered state of social conditions throughout the whole of Canada, as well as in the natural beauties and incomparable resources of its far flung provinces?

A national spirit cannot attach to the soil alone; it must comprise the men who dwell upon it, the institutions which make them a body politic and also the private laws which crystallize their attitude towards each other and their methods of realizing human progress.

These men are not, nor need they be exact copies one of another; their social institutions do and they well may reflect the special characteristics of the various groups; so may their private laws and their local rules of individual behaviour, but if there is not a wide spread feeling that in spite of such differences, perhaps even at times because of such differences, all these things are good to conserve, are worthy of mutual respect, constitute something for the whole nation and for each individual to take pride in and which enriches the national heritage, how can we have a national spirit?

We are all of one country and though had it been given to us to choose, some might have preferred less heterogenous groupings, those groupings do constitute the mass of the Canadian people and the only material out

of which a Canadian nation can grow. Shall we not recognize that as a fact and shape our course acccordingly.

I referred a few moments ago to these as troubled times in the history of our social institutions. I would not have you infer, however, that your fellow Canadians of Quebec view these times with any feelings of pessimism.

It is true there are here and there symptoms of unrest and of some dissatisfaction with the manner in which human events and the conditions of social life are shaping themselves, but it seems to me one has only to look with eyes disposed to note that which is good as well as that which forbodes evil, to discern almost every where and almost every day indications of broad and intelligent citizenship which very considerably outweigh and overshadow these disturbing symptoms.

Is not the true test of citizenship the ability to think and to act not for oneself alone, but for the group to which one belongs, and for that group not as a passing agglomeration of the individuals who are here to-day, and who, to-morrow or in a relatively short time, will have passed away and made room for others, but for that group as a continuing social entity bound to the past by the ties of enduring gratitude for that which the past has bequeathed to it, and preparing for the generations yet unborn ever better and more complete dominion over those forces which hamper the full development of the faculties of body and of mind with which the human being is by nature so richly endowed?

This ability to think and to act for the social group was certainly put to a test, than which none has ever been more severe, during the great war through which we have just passed.

But this war, far from exhausting it, has rather, it would seem, stimulated the average Canadian's capacity to think and to act in terms of broad citizenship and of social service.

I would hesitate to draw your attention by way of illustration to that which is going on in my own native

province, did I not feel that were I more familiar with the happenings right here in your midst I would find ample material in them just as apt to illustrate my point.

Take for instance the tremendous success which has just crowned the appeal for funds by McGill University to enlarge the scope of its usefulness to the future generations of Canadians. You are perhaps less familiar with the similar success which rewarded a like appeal made for the Catholic University of Montreal last spring. And only a few weeks ago a similar campaign in the District of Quebec for old Laval met with even a greater measure of popular support. The amount raised for Laval totals something like two and a half millions of dollars. But it is not the amount raised that impresses one as much as the fact that over 18,760 Canadians of the City and District of Quebec contributed to it. There were some large subscriptions from men who have achieved wealth in a section of the Province where large fortunes are not frequent, but the bulk came from the men of moderate means who had to be content with subscriptions ranging from a few dollars to a few hundred, and of those there were more than 18,000 heads of families who, though expecting nothing from Laval for themselves nor even, as to most of them, for their own generation, yet realized that Laval is performing useful service for the group to which they belong, and wished to contribute to that service for the future welfare of their posterity yet unborn. May one not confidently feel that those men have the conception of a continuing social entity which shall not be arrested in its progress and in its development, and which shall provide for its future citizens ever better and more fitting conditions of social well being.

And what is being done for the Universities is being repeated almost daily in some section or other of our country for the various organizations which aim to provide healthy recreation and environment for the young men and the young women of our cities and towns, and so assist them towards better citizenship in a better Canada.

Your own Club is devoting some energy to bringing about more complete understanding between the Canadians who speak your language and the Canadians who speak my language, not because you or I expect personally to derive any immediate benefit from it, but because we both hope that those who come after us may avoid some of the petty quarrels we have had.

Are not these indications that the average Canadian is thinking and acting for a better and greater Canada, and do they not leave little room for pessimism?

Nevertheless, I might still hold to some pessimism, did I not hope and confidently expect from meetings such as these, that when we have come to know one another better, to recognize more fully in each other preordained partners in a necessary society, we will realize that if we have much to develop in Canada, we also have much to conserve, and that the national heritage can be and is the richer by counting in its assets the traditions and culture of two great races, the institutions and private laws of two great civilizations and, I venture to add, as inseparably linked up with both, the two great languages through which these traditions, this culture, these institutions and these laws have been turned down to us.

All these things bind us to a past and to an ancestry without which we would not be ourselves, and they enable us to think and to act for the future as a worthy continuation of that past still handing down from generation to generation traditions and culture and institutions and laws susceptible, no doubt, of being developed and improved, but eminently worthy in the main, of being carefully and jealously conserved.

Mr. Norman Sommerville in really eloquent terms conveyed to Mr. St. Laurent the hearty thanks of the Club.

# SOCIAL PROGRESS THROUGH SOCIAL SERVICE

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Thursday, December* 9, 1920.

PRESIDENT HEWITT in introducing Rabbi Brickner, said,—I want to say how a kindly Providence has favoured this Club in the circumstances under which Rabbi Brickner is appearing before the club to-day. The day was fixed for Dr. Brickner and his family, but the arrangement did not work out, and the little girl arrived just a week earlier than was expected. (Laughter and applause)

You all remember I know, with a great deal of pleasure, the Rev. Solomon Jacobs, who was the Rabbi of the Holy Blossom Synagogue in Toronto for so many years. Rabbi Jacobs occupied a very high place in the esteem and respect of our community because of his unselfish work, his general interest in all the affairs that concerned the welfare of our city, and he had become a prominent and well-known figure , highly respected among all classes of the community. We were sorry when death called him away from us.

I feel very glad to-day to have the opportunity of being the first to introduce to an audience of Toronto citizens the new Rabbi who succeeds Dr. Jacobs. (Applause) Dr. Brickner comes to Toronto with a record of attainments as a scholar, while his experience in social service work especially fits him to speak to us to-day on the subject which he has chosen. We feel sure that Rabbi Brickner will prove a source of strength to the religious, moral and social life of the city, and

we hope that he will find a very warm welcome on the part of the citizens that will make him feel thoroughly at home in our midst from the very beginning of his entrance into his work. (Applause) We welcome with a great deal of pleasure Rabbi Brickner, and I have much pleasure in introducing him.

## RABBI BRICKNER

*Mr. President and Gentlemen,*— Your President has already referred to the ominous conditions under which I come to your city; but I am happy. (Laughter, and a voice, "Boy or girl, Sir?") It is a girl, Sir, and I am thoroughly happy. I always told my wife—and you will excuse me if I get just a bit personal and reminiscent, because I might as well be out with it now as carry it with me—I always told my wife, as we quarrelled about whether it was to be a boy or a girl, that I preferred to have it a girl. You see the Almighty was good to me. I preferred to have it a girl because I wanted again to see her live, and I wanted to see her grow up; we met at college, and we were chums first and sweet-hearts later, and we have remained such. (Applause) I am sure that this great event will tie closer the filial bonds which have bound us so closely. She is particularly happy that I am here this morning, and just before coming here I had a wire from her in which she said, "Go about your business and try to be a big boy." (Laughter)

I am very happy to be in Toronto, my friends, because Toronto is a city of great promise, and it seems to me a city of young men and young women—young in spirit, young in its outlook and its hopefulness. Oh, I have detected that spirit. I detected it when I first came here a few weeks ago to be the guest of the congregation that I have the privilege to represent. I love to come to a city that has so many banks and so many churches. (Applause) I wonder, often times, whether you citizens of Toronto are struck by that phenomenon as one is driving through your streets—to see at almost

every corner so many banks where, in our cities, unfortunately, we have so many saloons—or used to have them. (Applause and laughter)

As I crossed the frontier line and was taken off at Bridgeburg because I told your immigration officer that I expected to make my home in Toronto—and saw that little bridge and that little stream, it dawned on me for the first time that you and I, that your country and the States, were bound by ties that were not of steel, that you and I were unified because in the back of both of us is a great democratic tradition—a tradition that goes back to the mother country, to Great Britain. (Great applause) I felt as I never realized before, that no matter what is said about the relationships of peoples, of governments, here was a great big boundary-line fully 4000 miles long, and never a gun or soldier or a fort on that line. Friends, that has meaning, much meaning,—and the time is, or soon will be, when the boundary-lines between, peoples, between societies of peoples, will be as harmonious and as peaceful as that. (Applause)

I come here, and I am grateful for the privilege of coming here because I realize also the honour done me as a silent tribute to my deceased and honoured predecessor, and that is also a tribute to the community that I have the honour to represent. We fellow-Jews have much to be thankful for to your flag, to the English people, to the British Empire. If we may be called the people of the Book, England may be termed the people of the Bible. (Applause) We have much in common. Your great mother-country was the first among modern European nations to stretch a welcoming hand of fellowship and invite into citizenship our distressed and persecuted brethren; and we have endeavoured to be loyal to the flag, we have endeavoured to be citizens of the land, placing God first and king and country next. Friends, the last work of friendship that the Mother Country showed to our people was the great Balfour declaration that said that the persecuted of our race in Poland, in the Ukrainia and in Russia

should come to the cradle-land and there build the foundation of a democratic commonwealth in Palestine. (Hear, hear) So my friends, if words could but describe the feeling of gladness that surges through me as I stand before you, if I could but show you how I appreciate your remarkable hospitality, I would be doubly glad.

The subject that I have chosen for this afternoon's discussion seemed to me, when I chose it, a bit abstruse, and possibly it sounded that way to you. I did it very largely because I was reminded in a way, of the story that was told of the two Irishmen who were walking down the street one day, and saw at the corner a great big cathedral, and Pat said to Mike, "Let us go in and hear the Holy Father." Mike was married, and happily so, I presume, and it was difficult to persuade him, but finally Pat persuaded him, and they walked in just in time for the sermon. The Holy Father was discussing the question of matrimony and its bliss, and he went on and on but it finally ended, and Pat and Mike walked out. Pat said to Mike, "Well, Mike, aren't you glad you came? Aren't you really, really happy that you came?" And Mike replied, "Yes, I am happy, in a way, but really Pat, I only wish that I knew as much about the bliss of matrimony as the Holy Father does." (Laughter) Friends, coming to your city, a city reputed for its social conscience, to speak of social service was difficult, for I knew almost nothing of your work. I was almost in the same position as Mike, and possibly the Holy Father, about your social work. Oh, I have heard, and all of us have heard, of your wonderful health work, and of Dr. Hastings—I have never met him personally—but would like to meet him some day; I have read of the wonderful things he has done as a health officer with a social conscience in Toronto (applause) and I am glad I can be in such a city.

"Social Progress through Social Service" that really raises the question, what do we mean by social progress? I recollect a very remarkable figure of speech—a picture if you please—that my former professor, James Hardy Robinson, used when he talked of social progress.

He said to us, "Students, imagine a great big face of a clock. Imagine that the face of that clock represented in figures, 240,000 years; each hour representing 20,000 years each minute 333-1/3 years." Then he would say, "About the first eleven hours and forty minutes we know very little or nothing. We do know that about twenty minutes of twelve, Babylonian and Egyptian civilization commenced. Then about seven minutes of twelve the Greeks and the Romans started to flourish. When Bacon, your countryman, in the broader sense, wrote his 'Advancement of Learning' it was about a minute of twelve. And here we are at twelve o' clock. Really you know, Plato and Aristotle, Isaiah and Jeremiah are our contemporaries, Shakespeare is our playmate, and Francis Bacon our dinner guest."

Friends, Social Progress is a very, very recent thing: it is almost contemporary with us. The very word progress is a new word; it is a new idea; it dates back really from the time when we commenced to understand that we were social rather than individual beings. Progress is different from change. The French philosopher Bergson is supposed to be responsible for the formula, "Life equals change; Change equals Progress," but I think there is a fallacy in that formula. Life equals change, development, evolution, but change, development, evolution, is not synonymous with progress. Progress is a human concept that spells "Power." Progress spells a setting up of a goal and an ideal which we wish to achieve. Progress conceives and implies that there is a great force in the world that is governing the world, that is ruling it, that is pushing it foward, and that we humans, though but mortal, are imbued with a tiny spark of His nature, of that Divine Spirit, and that it is our duty as men to so develop that spark that it shall go in the direction in which He dictates. When we become social-minded, then we become truly divine. That is my conception of social progress; and as I can see men such as you, and other groups of men and women here and there, separated all over the democratic lands, banded together in organic groups with a view of further

welfare of mankind, then I know that God is in the world; then I know there is a divine spark in men. (Applause)

There was a time in the lives of mankind when our vision was directed heavenward in a physical way. We felt that this world was but a vestibule, and that our flesh was filled with temptation; that this was a world to get rid of, to disappear from, in order that the heavens might open up their portals and that we might enter Paradise. But not so many years ago, mankind's eyes have turned from heaven to earth, and with that turn has come a realization in the truest sense of the word, of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. (Hear, hear) Then we realized that charity, in the Latin sense of the term, or philanthrophy in the Greek sense of that term, was not a means of winning one's way into heaven or helping the other fellow to get there; it was not the question of saving man's soul; to-day it is a question of saving man. (Applause)

We have progressed, truly progressed, and there are several tests of social progress. There is the test of population, of the increase in population. There are those who advocate the increase of population because they say that nature is wasteful, very extravagant in order to produce; hence let us multiply and be fruitful endlessly in order that the residue might remain. In other words, death and destruction was taken to be natural with the ways of nature and God. There are those in this room who donned the uniform and went overseas to destroy that idea that we must have large populations to expand our frontiers and to have a large standing army, with it to control the destinies of the world. That idea, thank God, has been shattered. (Applause)

There are many wrong ideas about population and its growth, but if we are to have large and increasing populations—and may they continue to increase—there must be a concept that goes with the idea that longevity of life shall be encouraged, that individual fitness and improvement shall be encouraged, that there shall be a steady improvement in the standards of life, and that mankind shall have an opportunity.

Another way to judge of social progress is the relative distance of the ideal world from the practical world of affairs. We are unfortunately living at a time when we are using up the mental storehouses, the intellectual batteries, which were collected by previous generations, which were not by them utilized. We are living on the intellectual heritage of the Hebrews and the Greeks and the Romans and the great English peoples of generations ago, and we are wearing down those batteries by putting their ideas into reality. But are we filling up those batteries? We are living in too practical a world. We do not pay enough attention to the need for research, to the need for intellectual development *per se*, for culture's sake, so that the future generations might turn to the storage batteries as we turned to the storage batteries. There is a danger. I warn you, friends, that unless we betake ourselves to educating our youth properly, paying attention to the values of research, that we shall become so practical a people that the practicality will eat our souls out of our bodies—and then we shall not be men. (Applause) I warn you that that is a test of progress.

There is another test of progress, and that is—to what extent does civilization make possible the democratization of the opportunities, the economic opportunities, of the masses of the people? I say, that we may regard ourselves as having reached a high level in social progress because in our countries the masses have received opportunity for economic advancement. There are those to-day who are myopic and blind on both sides of the fence, both as regards capital and labour. There is that group amongst the so-called capitalist class who insist that they were born to govern economically, commercially and industrially; that the masses of the people are to be regarded merely for the purpose of exploitation. On the other hand there is the extreme party in labour that says that the capitalist, the initiating, thinking, pushing group, is not essential to the progress of the country economically or in any other way, that it is an accretion on the social body, a leech that merely ex-

ploits its own greed, that should be destroyed, that God himself must curse; and you have that expression in Bolshevism, with all the concomitant tyranny that that brings with it. Is there not a middle ground, friends? Do we have to accept either horn of the dilemma, or be damned if we don't? There is a rule in physics, that when two opposing forces meet, a third force, known as the resultant force, comes into being, and that force is a force whose direction and velocity is different from the two opposing forces which meet. (Hear, hear) There is coming, and with your help and God's inspiration a middle ground upon which banker, merchant, industrial, manufacturer and labour will sit around a table as mutual friends and as helpmeets, realizing that social progress is at stake, that mankind itself may be doomed unless they meet around the table to exchange opinions and to settle economic differences. (Hear, hear and applause)

Social service is the true hand-maid of social progress, Yes, social service is the natural and concomitant outlet of a great emotion that stirs mankind. One of our great teachers in psychology whom you all know, I am sure, Professor James, always said, in explaining the so-called James-Lang theory of emotions, "When I see a bear I run; I don't stop to consider whether I should run or not run," In other words, the two are concomitant of that same emotion. When you feel joyous you laugh and dance. So when mankind is stirred by that great Divine spirit of progress, the natural outlet and concomitant is social service. That, friends, is the test whether you or I are in the spirit of the times or whether we are not in a spirit of the times. That is an emotion that must bestir us, we must get away from the doctrine of the Old Testament—"The poor shall be always with us." We must get to a point in social service and in social progress where the conditions that make for poverty and the poor shall never be with us any more. (Applause) That may not come in our time, and it will not come in mine, but that is a great striving, that is a great hope, that is a great wish. Shall you and I not be worthy of it?

There was a time in social service when the social worker turned to the case and did what he could. Oh, friends, blessed are they who have not been social workers. (Laughter) Blessed shall ye be who have merely been donors and sat in the Boards—(laughter)—and curtailed the wings of the social worker in his flight. (Laughter) Many of you recall that when my colleagues, the social workers, appealed and said, "Such and such a case—sick children, a consumptive father, a broken-down mother, a delinquent boy, and wayward girl—shall we give $12 a week or shan't we?" The Board looked at its exchequer, the Treasurer looked into his books, and the answer came back, "They will have to get along on $10." That palliative kind of social service is no more—(hear, hear)—no more; gone has it, for ever—that attempt to dip out the ocean of misery with a spoon; the idea of patching the leaky holes has gone with the thought that every child that comes into the world, even unbidden, that that child too, shall have a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (Hear, hear and applause)

Friends, social service has entered the era of social progress, of constructive and preventive work. Social service is calling to you—calling your attention to the fact, as your Royal Commission on feeble-mindedness in England pointed out, that one out of every eighteen people in society is or will be declared feeble-minded. Our army tests, our intelligence tests, pointed the same way; 70% of the men drafted into the American army showed an intelligence quotient that was equivalent to the mentality of a school-boy of twelve, 20% of the boys examined showed physical defects that made it impossible for them to join the colours; and 50% of those admitted had serious defects. We examined a group of 500 school-children and we have been doing it for several years regularly and my last report showed that 340 of those 500 school-children were from 10 to 23 lbs. under-weight, and an inch or more under-height, after discounting the 10% allowed in the insurance tables. We examined retarded Jewish children of our city and

we found 212 children feeble-minded, or high-grade morons.

You can see what is coming, my friends, if such conditions are permitted to continue and we sleep on peacefully, awakening merely to be tagged for a few dollars. I merely mention these as an instance. I could pick out any number of problems that are besetting you, that you know of and that you speak of casually and occasionally, but it would be folly for me to harrow your feelings with a summary of social conditions, because your fund for the collection for your community social service chest is over.

I would like, however, to prick your conscience a little bit and say to you that if you have not given enough, that does not reflect on the fund; that reflects on you. (Hear, hear and applause) It means that your children are going to grow up defective, and that your next generation won't be as virile and as strong as the pioneer generations of Canada. Don't forget, my friends, that you are the sons of pioneer people that came to explore this country. Don't forget that that in itself is a selective process keeping alive the strong and those that would survive, and eliminating the unfit. You are the sons of the most fit. But I am afraid, friends, that we are letting ourselves drift into a state of intellectual lassitude and indifference, and our children run the danger of showing the effects of that heredity and that condition.

So I would urge upon you, in the name of social progress, in the desire to make this land a better land to live in, that for your own sakes and for the sakes of your children you shall be stirred by the Divine spark in you. Harness that force which bound you together under the Union Jack to fight for Liberty. Take that spirit ere it is too late, ere it is atrophied and disappears. Harness that force and that energy that you put in the war, into social service, and make your city a better, happier and nobler place to live in, and with God's help you may have and will have my help. (Loud and continued applause)

# PHOTOGRAPHING THE SKY

AN ADDRESS BY EDWARD E. BARNARD, A.M., D.SC.
YERKES OBSERVATORY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

*Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, March* 25, 1920

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—*

I am very glad to be here today to do what little I can in the interest of the establishment of such an observatory as the Chairman has mentioned, and which Professor Chant and other members of the Royal Astronomical Society have so deeply at heart. Though we represent two great nations we really are but one in that we are all Americans. Therefore we of the United States, where great observatories prevail, can sympathize with our brother astronomers across the border in their efforts to found a suitable observatory in Toronto. The more we study the stars together the more strongly will our friendship be cemented. The great trial we have just passed through shows how strong that friendship already is. Canadians are doing splendid work in astronomy as is seen in the observatories at Ottawa and Victoria. We may also add that one of the important observatories in the United States, the Leander McCormick Observatory at the University of Virginia, has as its Director a Canadian astronomer, Dr. S. A. Mitchell, who is doing remarkable work in the determination of the distances of the stars with the 26-inch refracting telescope of that observatory.

It must also be remembered that the late Professor Simon Newcomb, the greatest of American astronomers and one of the greatest the world has produced, was a Canadian by birth, though of good New England ancestry.

*The Value of Photography in Astronomical Work*

The great value of photography to astronomy lies in its power to correctly represent the forms and positions of the heavenly bodies. As an artist in black and white (and later on it will be an artist in colours also) it is unapproachable in its fidelity to nature. The most skillful human hand, though it may make a picture that closely resembles the original, and sometimes is better than the original (whether in the human face or in the beauty of the landscape) fails sadly when it attempts to delineate the features of the sky where the slightest deviation in the different pictures of an object is of vast importance if it be a true one. The photographic plate will repeat as often as you like the portrait of a celestial body and, if there is no actual change, it will constantly duplicate its first work. If there is a difference in the appearance of an object, you may know that there has been an actual change in it and sometimes the change, even though very slight, is of profound interest to the astronomer. Such a small change would be utterly masked by the errors of the most skillful artist. And it is upon such small changes that many of the most interesting and important discoveries of astronomy have been based. The human hand and eye are fallible; the photographic plate is essentially infallible. It can be misinterpreted, however, but generally some one will detect the mistake and will find from the photograph itself the true interpretation, for it can always be consulted in case of doubt. But the human hand and mind cannot be thus overhauled. They make a mistake and, in general, there is no remedy for it.

This is only one side of the question. The artist-astronomer—and he is generally of the most inferior type of artist—sees something and draws it. He fails to represent it, not because he does not see it correctly, but because he is wanting in the skill to picture what he sees.

The other side is a question of far greater importance; it is the question of what he sees and what he does not

see. Manifestly the artist cannot draw what he does not see. He may, however, see it only in his mind, but that is another question. The human eye and the ordinary photographic plate see things with two different kinds of light pulsations. It is thus that we may watch our plate develop with a light which does not affect it, while the light that impressed the image upon it probably would not affect our eye. Such a plate is highly sensitive to the ultra-violet light while the eye is most sensitive to the yellow region of the spectrum and it is by the yellow or red light that we develop the plate. Therefore if an object were shining only with the true photographic light, the eye would either not see it or would only feebly recognize it. Some of the celestial bodies (the comets and the nebulae for instance) are shining mainly with this light to which the photographic plate is so sensitive; such an object will photograph readily, though it may not be visible to the human eye. It is thus that the vagrant comet often becomes an astonishing object when it impresses its features on the sensitive plate, and shows us wonderful changes that the eye with the most powerful telescope knows nothing of. And the nebulae, though their main features are clearly seen with the eye as they are shown on the photograph, reveal to us on the picture vast extensions of feeble nebulosity that the eye fails utterly to perceive.

Thus we have two great and infinitely valuable attributes of the photographic plate in astronomical investigations, fidelity or accuracy, and seeing the unseeable. There is also the cumulative effect inherent in the photograph that does not belong to the eye. The longer the exposure, ordinarily, the more the plate sees, while the eye becomes tired and through fatigue really sees less by prolonged looking. Of course, by staining the emulsion with certain dyes, it is also possible to photograph objects to which the ordinary plate is entirely blind.

*The Rainbow, a Promise for the New Observatory.*

I am going to give you some pictures now, and that you may not tire too much of astronomy, I am introduc-

ing several photographs foreign to my subject. At the same time they will have a bearing on it as showing indirectly the application of photography to familiar objects, and may lead in a way to a better understanding of the real astronomical slides. They also have their purely interesting side for they are somewhat different from the general run of photographs of similar objects. (Here were introduced a picture of some clouds, and of a rainbow.) A rainbow! The symbol of hope. Let us take this as a promise that the ambitions of our friends will be fulfilled and that the observatory at Toronto will soon be a reality. It is said that at the end of a rainbow (which end!) is always a pot of gold for him who seeks it. Let us hope that this rainbow will have a real pot of gold at its end and that it may be used to build and equip the Observatory!

*The Great Canadian and other Observatories, and How the Telescope Aids the Human Eye*

I am going next to show you some of the large observatories in Canada and the United States. Here is an observatory of which Canadians should be very proud and I am glad to see that it is placed in a favourable part of the world—not in an extremely cold climate, which would be unsuitable for a telescope of its size. It is the large reflector at Victoria, B. C., which is seventy-two inches in diameter and which, with the exception of one other telescope of a similar nature, is the largest in the world. Professor Plaskett has already done splendid work with it. Its very great value is shown in the fact that in photographing the spectra of the stars, where a great amount of light is necessarily thrown away on account of the prisms, Professor Plaskett can get with a few minutes' exposure satisfactory photographs of the spectra of stars (from which astronomers can tell what the stars are made of and how fast they are moving) which would require a much longer time with any of the large refracting telescopes now in use.

The great advantage of such an instrument as the one

at Victoria may be better appreciated when we remember that the diameter of the pupil of the human eye is about a quarter of an inch.Therefore you will receive only the amount of light that will pass through such an aperture and any object will appear just so bright. If the pupil of the eye were larger, you would receive more light and you would see fainter objects. Now suppose the pupil of your eye were seventy-two inches in diameter; how vastly more brilliant would an object appear. This, in effect, is what occurs with the seventy-two inch telescope. All the light that falls on its immense surface (except a small amount cut out by a second small mirror) is brought to a focus at the eye and enters the pupil and falls on the retina. The result, therefore, is the same as if the pupil of your eye were enlarged to seventy-two inches in diameter. As the amount of light thus received will be proportional to the squares of these quantities (one quarter inch and seventy-two inches) an object will appear more than 83,000 times brighter with the large telescope than with the eye alone, and you can penetrate vastly farther into the depths of space with it, for it increases the penetrating power of the eye thousands of times. And with the photographic plate (which is so much more sensitive than the human eye) and prolonged exposures, stars so faint that the eye with any telescope will never see them, are readily shown. You can, therefore, understand the wonderful advantage of this great Canadian telescope for investigating the sky and the distant inhabitants of space.

This next picture shows the home of the greatest telescope the world has ever seen. I know you will pardon the pride I take in the monster instrument (which is even greater than the Victoria telescope) for it belongs to the United States, to Mount Wilson in southern California. This great telescope is 101 inches, or over eight feet, in diameter, and what we have just said about the Victoria telescope holds with even greater force in the case of this instrument; for by the same means we find that an object seen with it will be 164,000

times brighter than with the eye alone. We have in effect increased the pupil of our eye to 101 inches in diameter, so that we can penetrate twice as far into space with it as with the Victoria telescope! This noble observatory belongs to the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Professor G. E. Hale, whose name stands among the highest in astronomy and who created this and the Yerkes Observatory, is the Director.

Our next picture shows the wonderful refracting telescope of the Yerkes Observatory of the University of Chicago. This observatory is located on the high ground about 150 feet above beautiful Lake Geneva in southern Wisconsin, some seventy-six miles north-west of Chicago. The dome that covers the instrument is the largest moving dome in the world. It is ninety feet in diameter and turns on a system of wheels by electric motors so that any part of the sky can be observed. Two large shutters cover the observing slit when the telescope is not in use. The moving part of the instrument weighs twenty tons. The tube is pointed to different parts of the sky by electric motors and a great driving clock keeps it moving with the stars. The floor of the dome is an immense elevator, seventy-five feet in diameter, which carries the observer up and down to follow the eye end of the telescope. Professor E. B. Frost, eminent in spectroscopic work, is the Director of this great observatory.

The two telescopes of which I first spoke are called reflectors. In them the light of an object is collected and reflected by a great concave glass mirror which has a highly polished silver surface and is placed in the lower end of the tube. In the Yerkes telescope no mirror is used, but the light is collected by a lens forty inches in diameter at the upper end of the tube and brought to a focus at the smaller end where the light enters the eye. This immense tube is sixty-two feet long. The nature of this telescope is quite different from the others. Of its kind, it is the greatest in the world. It is only necessary to say that these great reflecting and refracting

telescopes are mutually supplementary to each other. Each has its good qualities in which it excels. One work of the Yerkes telescope (which is done by Dr. Lee and Professor Van Biesbroeck) and of some of these large reflectors is the determination of the distances of the fixed stars, which is the first step in fathoming the depths and dimensions of our universe.

And here, last but not least in importance, is the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton, California, fifty miles south and east of San Francisco. It is a monument to James Lick, who gave the money for its erection. His body lies in the base of the pier of the great telescope and never had man a more wonderful monument. It has made his name famous all over the world and is constantly writing it on the sky in the lasting work done by astronomers there. The object glass of this telescope is thirty-six inches in diameter. Of the large refracting telescopes, it is second only to the Yerkes in size. It was the first of the great telescopes of to-day. The Director of the Lick Observatory is Professor W. W. Campbell, well known for his pioneer spectroscopic work. Our friend Professor Chant has imbibed some of his love for astronomy from a season's work with the astronomers of Mount Hamilton.

### *Photographing the Earth's Rotation*

If one stands at night on Mount Wilson (six thousand feet above the sea) and looks toward the valley below him he will see what seems to be two beautiful star clusters, where the electric lights of the cities of Pasadena and Los Angeles appear as innumerable bright points. Here is a photograph of this splendid scene. (See Plate I) The camera was fastened to the side of a house and the sensitive plate was exposed for one hour. This was an easy picture to make, for the lights were stationary and the camera could remain stationary also. If we look closer, however, we will see that all the lights were not stationary. Here and there in Pasadena and at other points in the picture are bright lines.

These marks were made by the lights in the electric cars which were moving and thus made bright streaks or what we call "trails." This effect is interesting because, in a way, we sometimes have a duplication of it in photographing the sky, where a small planet, or asteroid as they are called, will happen to be, and by its motion leave a trail of light among the stars on the plate. If, from this beautiful scene, we look above to the star-strewn heavens, one would think that it is just as easy to photograph these stars as those in the valley. Let us see what would result. Here is such a photograph of the stars made in a similar manner to the one we have just seen, but of the real sky. (See Plate I) The telescope was stationary during the exposure of one hour, but the stars have not remained stationary on our plate and are not points of light. The plate is covered with straight bright and faint lines that stretch nearly across it. These are due to the drift of the sky westward by the rotation of the earth on its axis. The telescope was pointed to the equator of the sky—to the constellation of Orion. Here is another photograph made with the instrument stationary and pointed to the pole of the heavens. In this case the star trails are sections of circles. The exposure was five hours. Had it been possible to have made it twenty-four hours they would have been complete circles. By this means we do not get a picture of the sky, but simply a photograph of the rotation of the earth. We can overcome this difficulty, however, and secure a photograph of the stars as they appear to the eye. Here is a photograph of an equatorial telescope with a photographic lens and camera strapped on to it. The telescope is mounted on an axis that is parallel to the earth's axis and is made to rotate westward by what is called a "driving clock" just as fast as the earth turns to the east. It will follow the motion of the sky and keep every star approximately fixed in the field of view, or on the photographic plate in the attached camera.

### *Keeping the Stars Stationary on the Photographic Plate*

But no driving clock is so perfect as to move the telescope exactly with the stars. There is always more or less irregularity of motion, all of which would be recorded on the plate, and the stars, instead of showing as points of light, would be elongated or blurred, and the fainter ones would not show because they would not be still long enough to be photographed. That is the reason why in this picture you see the observer with his eye "glued to the telescope" watching a star—a "guiding star"—which he holds constantly behind the intersection of two illuminated spider threads in the eyepiece by the slow motion rods which are controlled by his hands. Thus every star is kept immovable on the sensitive plate. If he does this carefully, every star image on his photograph will be a round point—some of them large and some small—and the finished picture will be an exact and perfect map of that part of the sky as you will see in the slide that is next shown you, which is a part of the heavens in the constellation Monoceros.

### *Short and Long Exposures*

To help you to better understand my subject, "Photographing the Sky", it has been necessary to go into these details to indicate how the work is done. Now I am at liberty to show you some of the results obtained with these great telescopes and tell you something about the various things that are shown. To bring this more clearly before you, it must be photographic work, where the celestial body paints its own portrait. I have already explained to you that, on account of the rotation of the earth, no celestial object will remain fixed in the telescope unless the instrument turns westward as fast as the earth rotates to the east. A driving clock is therefore absolutely necessary to turn the telescope westward to follow the diurnal motion of the sky. In the case of the sun some of the photographs of it are made instantaneously, because of its great brilliance. Here is a picture that

was made in India at an observatory where such pictures of our great luminary are taken daily. At the instant of making the photograph a bird was flying between the telescope and the sun. So instantaneous was the exposure that you can see every sharp detail of the outline of the bird in its rapid flight. I show you this that you may see how brief an exposure is necessary in the ordinary photographs of the sun. Indeed it is difficult to make them quick enough. But the photographs made at night of the stars, the comets and the nebulae, are of much greater duration, and many hours are frequently given to the sensitive plate before it satisfactorily sees the faint and distant celestial body. All this time the telescope must revolve with the utmost accuracy so that the object shall not move and be blurred. No driving clock will do this unaided, but as I have explained, the observer must sit at the telescope and guide the instrument so that the images of the stars remain fixed during the exposure. Sometimes such an exposure requires the entire night, and in some cases the telescope is exactly set on the object a second, and even a third or fourth night, and the exposure continued before the faint object is satisfactorily shown.

### *The Sun and Its Effect on the Earth*

The sun is a great spherical luminous shell, 865,000 miles in diameter, whose interior is perhaps purely gaseous. The brilliant surface which gives us our light and heat is called the photosphere. It seems to be in the nature of clouds, but not clouds formed by drops of water. What its exact nature is we do not know, because, as it is not in the form of vapour, the spectroscope cannot analyze it. Every throb on the earth is dependent upon the generous output of energy from the sun. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that we study it constantly and find out all we can about its mysteries. It is an intensely heated body—we cannot produce any heat on the earth to equal it. This will be strikingly apparent to you when you hold your hand in the sunlight and feel

its warmth and know that the source of heat is 93,000,000 miles away! As you will see from the next photograph, this glowing surface is not always uniformly white. Frequently large dark spots, such as these shown in this picture, appear upon or in its surface. These are not permanent features, but come and go, and are due to disturbances that emanate in the sun or on its surface in the form of storms—sun storms—in which the bright surface seems to be torn asunder. That these are holes in the bright surface of the sun is the old idea of the nature of sunspots, and a very satisfactory one so far as appearances go, but those who study the sun believe it is not the true explanation of the sunspots. From all the evidence they would rather look upon them as being masses of absorbing matter. They are possibly depressions filled with cooler absorbing vapours and not holes through the solar surface.

You saw the wonderful aurora of Monday night (March 22). The cause of these auroras has been traced directly to the sun. Great magnetic storms occur there that disturb the magnetism of the earth and produce the wonderful electrical displays such as the one you saw the other night. There is a large spot on the sun now which doubtless, in some mysterious way, has had something to do with this wonderful phenomenon. From the surface of the sun great masses of incandescent calcium, helium and hydrogen gases are thrown up for great distances. Here is a photograph made with the spectroheliograph of the Yerkes Observatory on May 29, 1919, by Mr. Edison Pettit, of an immense prominence or sunflame which finally attained an altitude above the surface of the sun of over 400,000 miles. This photograph has been coloured to match the scarlet ray of hydrogen by which the prominences are seen in the ordinary spectroscope. They are usually photographed with the violet ray of calcium. Such photographs are truly monochromatic pictures.

*The Moon and its Scenery*

Here is a magnificent photograph of a part of the moon's surface made with the large reflecting telescope at Mount Wilson by Mr. Pease. This superb picture shows the great lunar mountain range of the Apennines (about 300 miles long) which slopes gradually on the west and is precipitous on the eastern side. This range rises in sharply pointed peaks to an altitude of 15,000 or 20,000 feet, and when the sun has risen a few degrees above its horizon, the range casts a great black shadow on the plain below, serrated with many long black projections showing how slender and sharply pointed are the peaks which dominate its summit. Here is the splendid crater Copernicus, some fifty-six miles across and three miles deep, with a central cone 2,000 feet high. Below and near the north limb is the great flat crater, Plato, which seems to be partly filled with a lake of ancient lava; and here are a number of isolated mountains on the plain near it, whose black shadows are wonderfully distinct. The altitude of these mountains can be determined from the length of their shadows to perhaps a greater exactness than of similar mountains on the earth. Here are the lunar Alps and through them runs the great Valley of the Alps (a deep rift in the moon, like the Grand Canyon of the Colorado) some eighty miles long, three to six miles across and nearly two miles deep.

We say the moon is dead because it has no atmosphere and there are no changes taking place on it. Its surface is subject to intense heat in its daytime and to the bitter cold of space in the lunar night. It must also be subjected to the pitiless rain of meteoric matter from space, since it has no atmosphere like that of the earth to protect it from such bombardment. Its surface is diversified with great plains or lava beds which appear as dark spots to the naked eye, mountain ranges and great craters which are supposed to be due to volcanic agency in past ages.

The southern part of the moon, the brightest portion to the naked eye, seems to have been the principal seat

of volcanic energy. It is pitted with innumerable volcanic craters, of which the most striking one is Tycho, fifty-four miles across and nearly three miles deep, with a beautiful volcanic cone one mile high in its center. At full moon many diverging bright streaks run for great distances from this crater in all directions. The nature of these streaks is not known with certainty, but it has been suggested that they may be due to a cracking of the moon's surface with the great crater Tycho as a center, and the filling up of these cracks with a more highly reflective matter from the interior of the moon. Some of the craters in this great volcanic region are over a hundred miles in width. Some of the lunar mountains, especially in the southern part, are said to be higher than any on the earth.

We never see the other side of the moon and we know nothing as to how it looks, but we think it must be similar to the side we do see—pitted with volcanic craters and broken by precipitous mountain ranges and vast lava fields, where no sound is ever heard and the stillness of death abides forever.

### *The Planet Venus Transiting the Sun*

I am sure that many of you must be familiar with the brilliant planet Venus when it is evening or morning star. Its light is not its own, however, for it but reflects the light of the sun. Here is a photograph of Venus in transit across the sun's disc on 1882, December 6, made at the Lick Observatory by Professor D. P. Todd. As you see, it appears as a round black spot on the sun. These transits are very rare, the next one not occurring until the year 2004, so that no one who thus saw Venus on the sun's disc will live to see it so again. As seen in the telescope, this beautiful planet passes through all the phases that the moon does. Venus is just about the size of the earth and has a dense atmosphere. For all we know, there may be intelligent life upon it.

*Mars and His Snow Caps*

Here are some photographs of the planet Mars taken with the great telescope of the Yerkes Observatory. (See Plate II.) The white spot at the upper part of the disc is the south polar cap—presumedly of snow and ice. There is a similar one at the north pole. These white spots, during the winter of the planet, become very large and extend to middle latitudes; while in the Martian summer they melt away almost entirely. They perhaps consist of a comparatively thin sheeting of snow. In the south polar regions of Mars there seem to be mountain ranges. Their presence is revealed by the melting polar cap, which always leaves behind it, at these places, white strips that more slowly melt away. These white strips seem to be due to snow on considerable elevations. There do not seem to be any great bodies of water on the planet, but there are permanent dark regions that may be vegetation, for they seem to undergo seasonal changes of colour. The general surface is of a yellowish or orange colour, and may consist of great deserts. Mars is much smaller than the earth, being 4,200 miles in diameter, and has a very thin atmosphere. We have no reason to believe that it is inhabited—the fact is we know essentially nothing for and little against its being peopled with intelligent life. You will see that these photographs show the turning of the planet on its axis, from west to east. This great dark spot here, called the Syrtis Major, is to the right of the center, and here you see it three hours later to the left of the center, thus showing the rotation of the planet on its axis, producing day and night. The day of Mars is about thirty-seven minutes longer than our day. It has two tiny moons that may be only ten or twenty miles in diameter, one of which goes around the planet three times in a day! Is Mars the abode of intelligent life? Is it the abode of any life? We do not know.

*A World with Rings*

This is a photograph of the wonderful ringed world Saturn. (See Plate II.) What a splendid object it is! In the telescope it appears like a golden globe (76,000 miles in diameter) surrounded by a system of great flat rings that are perfect circles. These rings are 172,000 miles in diameter; yet they are so thin that we cannot see them when they are on edge to us, a circumstance which occurs every fifteen years. This will happen again at the end of the present year. Astronomers have shown, especially with the spectroscope in the hands of Keeler, that these rings consist of multitudes of small individual bodies revolving about the planet in thin flat zones. They appear as solid rings because we are too far away to see the individual particles, just as a sunbeam entering a darkened room with a dusty atmosphere looks like a solid bar of light until we go close enough to see the individual dust particles in it. There are two bright rings which are separated by a vacant space some 2,400 miles across, which appears as a curved dark line on the rings and is called Cassini's division. The space between the bright rings and the globe of the planet is 17,000 miles. Between these two rings and the ball is another and fainter one not shown on the photograph, which is transparent and is known as the Crape Ring. The planet does not shine with its own light, but by reflecting that of the sun. Saturn is very liberally supplied with moons. There are known to be nine of these attendants, which range all the way from 2,500 miles in diameter to one so faint that it can be, relatively speaking, only a few miles across.

*The Comets and Their Nature*

The comets are the most interesting and wonderful objects that we have to deal with photographically. This is not true of all comets but applies to the larger and more active of these mysterious bodies. They shine mainly with a light to which the photographic plate is especially sensitive—far more so than the human eye. By the aid of photography we find that the comets are

changing their physical appearance from hour to hour. We also find that they will sometimes discard a tail that is many million miles in length and immediately form another one in a slightly different direction which grows with amazing rapidity, while the old tail drifts away into space and is lost to the comet forever. We can imagine nothing—except nothing itself—so tenuous as a comet's tail. Several million miles of this matter will not sensibly dim the light of the faintest stars seen through it. Here are several photographs of Morehouse's comet of 1908, which was the most remarkable comet in some respects ever observed. (See Plate III.) You can see how it entirely transformed itself from night to night, so that from its appearance you could not say it was the same object. Here are two photographs of it made on the same night and only four or five hours apart. What wonderful changes have taken place in this short interval! We would have known nothing of these extraordinary changes without the aid of photography. Some of the comets, with their tails, are thousands of times greater than the sun; yet their actual weight is so small that we have never, in any case, been able to determine it. You will notice that the stars in these comet pictures are short lines of light. This is due to the fact that the comet was moving rapidly. In making such a picture we guide on the comet's head to keep it stationary on our plate, and this throws the motion on to the stars which are drawn out into trails of light. You remember the night picture of Pasadena. If we had moved our camera with the moving light of the trolley car, it would have appeared as a point, but all the other electric lights would have been drawn out into trails just as the stars are in these comet pictures.

Here are a few photographs of Brooks' comet of 1911. (See Plate IV.) These show the gradual development of the tail. At first there was no tail, but as the comet approached the sun the tail developed quite rapidly until the comet became a beautiful object in the morning sky with a tail thirty degrees long. These tails always point away from the sun. In effect it is the same as if the comet were made up of a great mass of dust and gaseous

matter and that a strong wind blowing out from the sun sifted out the finer particles to drive them away into space to form the tail. Though the comet probably does consist of particles comparable with dust mixed with gaseous matter, it is not a wind that blows it out from the sun to form the tail, but it is believed to be the pressure of the sun's light which produces the same effect. This accounts for the fact that the tail always points away from the sun. The spectroscope shows that these wonderful bodies are great masses of glowing vapour, shining in part with their own light and in part by reflecting that of the sun. They consist of some form of hydro-carbon gas, of which acetylene gas seems to be the principal element, mixed perhaps with finely divided solid matter. The first of these two comets which we have just seen, contained, in both head and tail, the deadly cyanogen gas.

### *The Pleiades*

Here is a photograph of the Pleiades. The exposure of the plate was short and it shows only what one can see in a small telescope—the seven bright stars and many smaller ones. But this is not all that belongs to the Pleiades, for this next picture, which was given a very much longer exposure, reveals the presence of an entangling system of nebulosity that binds up the principal stars of the cluster. The spectroscope shows that this matter is not gaseous. A few of these nebulosities can be seen with the telescope but most of them are shown only in photographs. Indeed all the region about the Pleiades, for an area of ten square degrees, is involved in streaky nebulosity. Besides the bright stars, there are many faint ones connected with the cluster. The Pleiades are moving together across the sky in a south-easterly direction. This beautiful cluster is very far away from us, being placed at a distance of some 300 light-years. That is, if every star in the cluster were instantly destroyed, there would be no change in their appearance for 300 years, when the cluster would vanish

from sight. Alcyone, the brightest star of the Pleiades, is many times bigger than our sun.

*The Great Globular Cluster Messier* 13

This is a photograph of the great cluster of Hercules. There are perhaps more than a hundred thousand stars in this cluster, in a space not so large as would be covered by the disc of the moon. Undoubtedly each of these small stars that form the cluster is a great sun. Indeed it has been estimated by Shapley at Mount Wilson that there are fifty-thousand stars in the cluster that are several hundred times brighter than our sun. He estimates its distance to be thirty-six thousand light-years and that it would take a ray of light over several hundred years to cross it. These figures seem excessive and they well may be, for it is impossible to directly measure such quantities as they represent. They rest, however, upon certain reasonings that may be approximately true. However inconceivably great this distance may appear to us, it is small compared with some of the spiral nebulae, which may be several million light-years distant, according to Curtis. Some other astronomers would greatly reduce these distances.

*The Milky Way and Its Stars.*

This is a photograph of a portion of the Milky Way. (See Plate V.) It shows the large star-cloud in the constellation of Scutum where millions of stars, though vastly distant from each other, are seen apparently crowded together (through their immense distance from us) like the drops of water that form our terrestrial clouds. Each one of these myriad points of light is a great sun, in many ways like our own sun, some larger than it and others smaller. If we were placed on a world about any of these distant suns, our own sun, which is but an ordinary star of space, would appear as a small point of light just as these stars appear to us Indeed from many of them it would only be visible in a powerful telescope, so distant are they from us.

We see the sun as a large globe, but if we were to place it no farther away than the nearest fixed star, it would be only a point of light, even in the greatest telescope, and to the naked eye it would appear like a bright first magnitude star. So all these stars are vast suns shining by their own light, and our sun is but one of them. They all form an immense cluster in space and the Milky Way is but the visible effect of these stars apparently crowding together through the enormous distances at which they are placed from us. There are hundreds of millions of them, extending over an inconceivably vast region which, however, compared with space itself, is like a drop of water in a boundless ocean.

Many astronomers now believe that our stellar system, the universe of stars that surrounds us, is in the form of a great spiral not unlike some of the spiral nebulae—perhaps very much like Messier 33 whose picture I now show you and which many believe to be a vast star system like our own. Probably if we were placed near the center of Messier 33, we would see around us a Milky Way broken with star clouds resembling our own galaxy and with a sky studded with stars of every magnitude.

The motion of our sun with respect to the other stars of our system has been found to be about twelve miles a second. But as the spiral nebulae are moving with velocities as high as 600 or 700 miles a second, it is possible, if our sidereal system is really a great spiral nebula, that it may be rushing through space carrying our sun with it with a speed of several hundred miles a second.

### *Some of the Nebulae*

Here is a photograph of the planetary nebula Messier 97, the so-called "Owl Nebula" of Lord Rosse. It is an immense globular mass of gaseous matter, perhaps many times larger than our entire solar system. It is one of the best examples I know of for illustrating the value of the photographic method, over that of the human eye and hand, in giving us an idea as to how these objects really appear in the sky. You will see that the photo-

graph shows us an enormous globe of luminous gas rather sharply defined in its outlines, having in it two dark spots with no stars in them but with several small stars near. Here also is the Rosse drawing of the same object which is very extraordinary indeed, but as you will see, it does not look much like the photograph. In each dark spot shines a considerable star, making them look like two eyes. Fringing the outlines of the nebula is a system of whisker-like rays. These and other marks give it a most ghostly and solemn look. From these features, so curiously drawn, it was quite appropriately called the "Owl Nebula". But let us turn this picture upside down. (Slide reversed) What a horrible, bewhiskered, fiendish face we have here, with a grin that certainly could only belong to the nether regions. It needs but a pair of legs to execute some horrible dance in space. Perhaps Lord Rosse's observers drew it with the other side up, we do not know. But it was an honest effort to show how the object appeared in the great telescope at Parsonstown. With the most powerful modern telescopes we do not see these grotesque features. What we do see agrees with what the photograph shows and what really exists in space.

This is a photograph made by Ritchey with one of the large reflecting telescopes at Mount Wilson of the great nebula of Orion. (See Plate VI.) This object is a vast mass of gaseous matter. It is shining by its own light and the spectroscope shows that it consists of various gases, principally hydrogen and helium and an unknown gas called nebulium and not yet found on the earth. How soft and beautiful is its light! How restful and quiet this immense object appears to be! And yet the work of Fabry and Buisson, which has been verified by Professor Frost at the Yerkes Observatory, shows that the nebula is a seething mass of gaseous matter where there is no rest and over whose vast bulk relative motions of several miles a second are constantly taking place. Yet it is so far away that these rapid and large changes, which must occur in it, will require a great lapse of time before

they actually become large enough to be seen from the earth. Its distance from us is so great that it has been estimated that it would take its light, traveling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second, a thousand years to reach us. One of the component gases of this mighty nebula is called helium, so named because it was first found in the sun. It will take but a moment to tell you briefly the history of our knowledge of this wonderful gas which partly makes up this splendid nebula and which promises to be of such tremendous importance to the human race.

### *The Story of Helium Gas*

At the total eclipse of the sun on August 17, 1868, Janssen, the celebrated French astronomer, found a bright yellow line in the spectrum of the solar prominences, near the well-known sodium lines, indicating the presence of a previously unknown gaseous element. This being the first that was known of this element it was, as we have said, called helium. Efforts were made to find this rare substance on the earth but for many years without success. In 1895, however, Sir William (then Professor) Ramsay, in examining with a spectroscope the gas obtained from a rare mineral from Norway, called cleveite, discovered the presence of a bright line in its spectrum which seemed to be identical with that of helium. This gas was found later in other places, especially in some of the mineral springs of Germany. Two German physicists, Runge and Paschen, on investigating its presence found that the line produced by it was double, a bright line and a faint line, while that of helium in the solar spectrum seemed to be single. This fact made it appear doubtful if the new substance really was the same as that found in the sun. Professor Hale, then beginning his career as a young astronomer in Chicago, hearing of the doubt cast upon this discovery, at once examined this line in the spectrum of the sun with the powerful means at his command. Fortunately there was a brilliant prominence or sun-flame (in which

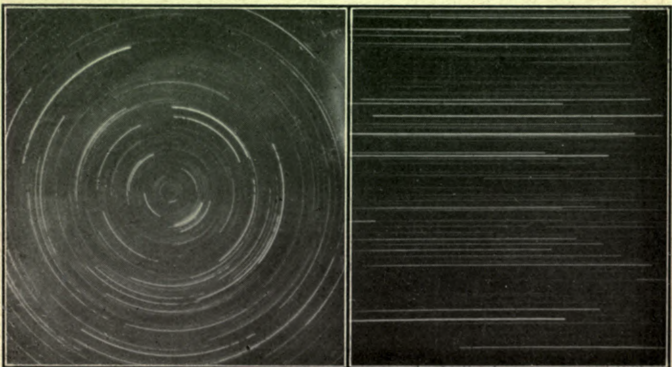
helium shows its presence) then visible projected above the sun's surface. Under careful examination he saw that the helium line was really double—a bright and a faint line! Thus was established the identity of the substance found by Ramsay with that in the sun. In reality there are many other but less conspicuous lines due to helium. Later this gas was also found to be present in the nebulae and in some of the stars, which from this fact are called helium stars. As time went on helium was found to be rather abundant on the earth, especially in connection with certain oil wells in Texas and elsewhere. Singularly enough it is also found to be non-inflammable and to have a lightness or lifting power but little less than that of hydrogen. Recognizing the immense importance of this gas for balloon purposes in the great war—for balloons filled with it could not be set on fire by incendiary shells or other means, which is the great weakness of the hydrogen balloon—the United States government erected large plants in some of the oil regions and put its experts to work to produce this wonderful gas in large quantities. So successful were these men that when the armistice was declared there were great stores of this precious substance on the Government docks ready for shipment to France. And to show how the war, while it greatly increased the price of things in general, made at least one thing less expensive, Professor Moore, who was put in charge of this department, states that before the war helium gas could only be produced at an expense of some two thousand dollars a cubic foot but at the close of the war it could be made at a cost of only ten cents a cubic foot.

In conclusion I wish to thank you for your patience in listening to me.

Yerkes Observatory, April, 1920.

Night View of Pasadena and Los Angeles, California, from Mount Wilson

—E. E. BARNARD

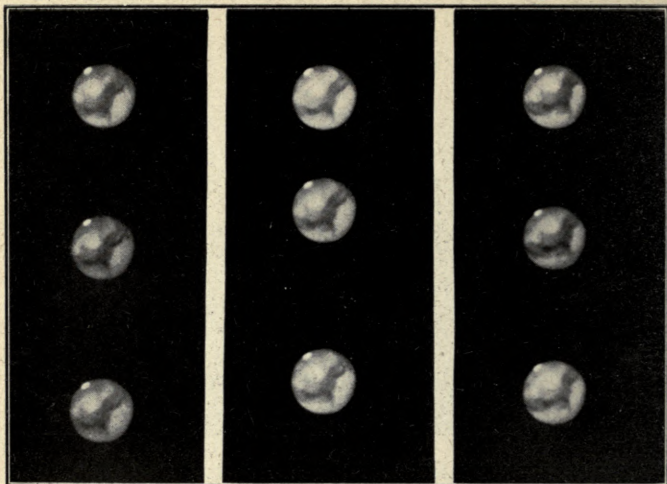


1. 2.

Photographs of the Rotation of the Earth; Camera Stationary, Stars Trailing

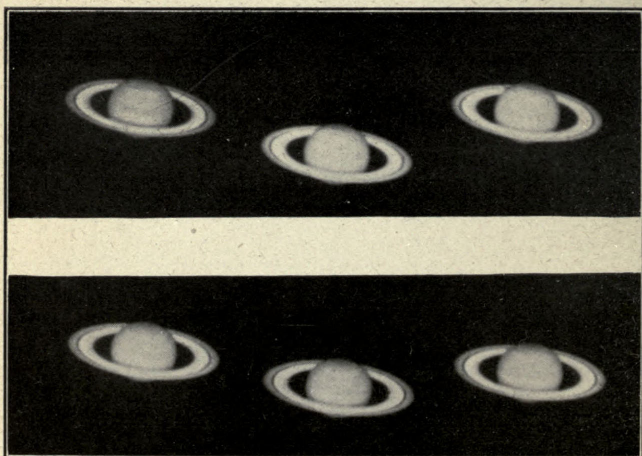
1. Pointed to Equator of the Sky, Exposure 1 h.
2. Pointed to Pole of the Sky, Exposure 5 h.

—E. E. BARNARD



Mars, September 28, 1909. Region of the Syrtis Major, showing change due to rotation. 40-inch Telescope, Yerkes Observatory.

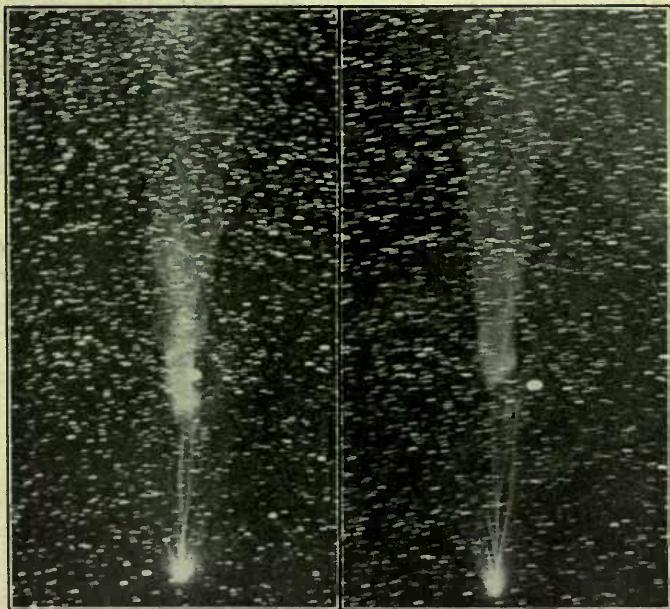
—E. E. BARNARD



Photographs of Saturn, November 19, 1911. 60-inch Reflector, Mount Wilson Observatory

—E. E. BARNARD

Plate III



8h 45m C. S. T. 13h 18m C. S. T.

Photographs of Morehouse's Comet, Showing the Rejection of its Tail, October 1, 1908, Bruce Telescope, Yerkes Observatory

—E. E. Barnard

PLATE IV

Brooks' Comet, October 23rd, 1911, 16h 32m C. S. T.
10-inch Bruce Telescope, Yerkes Observatory, Exposure 1 h 15 m

—E. E. BARNARD

PLATE V

Star Cloud in Scutum, July 30, 1905
Bruce Telescope, Yerkes Observatory
—E. E. BARNARD

PLATE VI

The Orion Nebula
60-inch Reflector, Mount Wilson Observatory
—G. W. RITCHEY

# ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Club was held on Tuesday Evening December 21, 1920, which was regarded as Ladies' Night. Dinner was served to a company numbering about 300.

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in opening the meeting after dinner, expressed his pleasure at seeing so many present, and welcomed to the Guests' Table, Miss Joan Arnoldi, the National President of The Daughters of the Empire.

The proceedings were enlivened from time to time by the singing of the Boys' Choir of St. Simon's Church under the leadership of Mr. George Crawford, some of their selections having been specially composed by Dr. Fricker. Master Raymond Sears, a pupil of Mr. Crawford, sang several solos.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in his annual address, said that when he was honoured by being elected President he realized that it would be difficult, if not quite impossible, to maintain the very high standard of 1919, particularly in the matter of securing attractive speakers. The war was over, and the natural reaction from the strain of the nation seemed to threaten to lower the interest of public men in coming forward to speak to such organizations as clubs, and besides this, there was a feeling that new subjects and addresses might not attract the attention of members to the same extent as formerly. However, those fears and anticipations had not been realized, for there had been even greater interest than ever in the new activities of the Club, and he believed that this interest would increase during the coming year. As there was no finality to progress, he believed that there would be no finality on this earth to the longing for and striving after intellectual and spiritual development on the part of men who took any serious view of their individual responsibility as citizens of one of the most favoured

countries of the world, and as belonging to the greatest Empire the world has ever seen. (Applause) What a wonderful array of speakers the Club had had during the year! It would seem almost impossible that any interest could have collected for the weekly meetings of the Club such speakers as composed last year's list. He would go over the list if for no other purpose than to pay our tribute of respect and gratitude to them for having taken the trouble—and in many cases a great deal of trouble—as well as expense in coming to the Club in the interest of the development of our Empire and the spirit which prompted all the activities of the Club. (The President then read the list, as given in the table of contents.) While it might perhaps not be right to single out one address, he thought that of Dr. Powell, Editor of the *Financial Times* of London, England, was so remarkable that he was tempted to read one or two paragraphs, as the ladies were not present at that meeting, and he thought it would be helpful to get the atmosphere of the weekly gatherings—that atmosphere which members of the Club took home with them to their wives, telling them what they had heard at the Empire Club during the day. (Laughter) As illustrating the tone and significance of the address of this business man, this financial editor, he read the following paragraphs:—

"And you Canadians, looking out across your own vast Dom- "inion, looking at what you have made of it within the last "fifty years, and then remembering that even your own "magnificent Empire is but an Empire within an Empire, and "that that larger Empire of which you are a part, an indis- "soluble part, as it is set upon the loftiest ideals of human "liberties and progress, can you set bound to what you can "achieve so long as that lofty vision inspires you, and so long "as in the background of your lives and in the background of "the Empire itself there is that Imperial Personality, that "Imperial soul pouring down its inspiration upon your sons "and daughters, and going on to a fate more splendid than any "which has hitherto gladdened the eyes of the sons of men?

"Finally, I do not apologize for presenting to a meeting of "business men, as a business man myself, some of the loftiest "topics that can engage the attention of mankind; because I "find that the business man and especially the Canadian business "man, is beginning to take a lively and incisive interest in these

"loftier topics, and because I find he welcomes every attempt at "their elucidation even if he does not wholly agree with what is "put forward; and no doubt that is a consequence of the realiza- "tion which is growing more and more upon the modern world, "that the Ancient Faith was right, and there is before us all in "another world a destiny of unparalleled beauty and splendour, "and that consequently, the more we can cultivate the things "of the spirit while we are wrapt in flesh below, the more ready "will we be for the higher and loftier life that waits us "beyond. These perhaps are bold words to address to a gather- "ing of business men, and yet I venture to hope that perhaps "there is not one among you in whose mind they will not awaken "a responsive echo; for, bear in mind, as I said, "Man shall "not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth "out of the mouth of God." "The things which are seen are "temporal, but the things which are unseen are Eternal." and "the higher Imperialism concerns itself both with the things of "this world and with the spiritual preparations for the loftier "destiny that is to come."

That address found a responsive echo in every man present at the meeting, and these extracts would show that there was something more than entertainment in the meetings of the Empire Club. The evident appreciation by the membership of the programmes arranged for them from week to week can de judged by the attendance at those meetings.

The President expressed his personal appreciation of the interest in the weekly meetings, as he had entered upon the duties of his office with fear and trembling, having followed in office a man who was enthusiastic, able and capable, who knew no tiredness, and who had to perform the duties which the speaker should have performed, and he thanked Mr. Stapells for his good offices in this respect. Dr. Abbott had found it necessary to relinquish the active part of the Secretary's duties on account of increasing pressure in other directions; but a kindly Providence hovered over the Empire Club, for a successor was found ready in the person of Dr. Goggin. (Applause.) Mr. William Brooks had been largely responsible for a great deal of the work in connection with the Year Book, which he found very valuable as an addition to any library. The publicity given to the Club

was due to the Publicity Committee under Mr. Darby, who had done his work well. The chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Featherstonhaugh, was always on the job in receiving guests and entertaining them and doing everything needful. The Floor Committee under Mr. Robert Patterson, has splendidly carried out arrangements for the luncheons. Mr. R. E. Stapells had managed the work of the Internal Management Committee. As to the Executive Committee, the speaker knew of no organization whose members could count near a hundred per cent present, as those do who attend to the executive work of the Empire Club. The speaker referred to the cordial relations existing with the Canadian Club, of which all were very proud. He added his tribute to the members of the Press, who took the keenest possible interest in the addresses and gave splendid summaries of them in the daily papers. (Applause) In closing, the President thanked the members of the Club for their splendid support, which had made the year a very happy one, and the meetings very cordial. He thought all the members had been delighted to meet one another, and he could not remember a single meeting from which members had gone without feeling better because of their presence. This was due largely to the spirit of co-operation and support. He had not heard a solitary criticism of anything that had been done, and this was not because the members of the Club were a passive crowd, for he had heard them kick on a number of occasions. This year they had been exceedingly good, and he expressed gratitude for kindness received during his term of office. He bespoke for his successor the same loyalty, support and success that had marked his own term of office. (Applause)

DR. A. H. ABBOTT read his report as Secretary, and Treasurer.

At this stage the Hon. Arthur Meighen, Premier of Canada, accompanied by Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid, entered the room, and were received by the audience standing and cheering.

PRESIDENT HEWITT, in introducing the Premier, said

the Empire Club wished to express absolute loyalty to the Crown, and deep respect for constituted authority. (Applause) The first citizen of Canada had, in a very busy day of a very busy life, and at a very busy time, condescended to come and say a word or two to the members of the Empire Club, and he was welcomed with overflowing hearts.

PREMIER MEIGHEN was received with loud applause, the audience rising. He said:—*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,* I could take no exception at all to the President's introduction, in which he ascribes to me a promise to come to this gathering to-night; but if, in the haste of the day, I promised to address the meeting, I assure you it was a step which I long since forgot, and which I now regret. Nor, was his language wholly appropriate when he referred to me as condescending to attend a meeting of the Empire Club. I hope the time will never come, that my life will never be so long, nor the office I hold so high and dignified, that an attendance at the Empire Club will be anything in the way of a condescension. (Applause) It is some years since a similar pleasure was mine, back in the early days of the great struggle; and those of us who will recall how dark were those times and how anxious were our hearts, will not soon forget the encouragement and the inspiration that the Empire Clubs and Canadian Clubs of this country gave to the people of the land through it all. Whatever else may be said of Toronto —which may make mistakes, and may occasionally even elect the wrong member of parliament (laughter) there is one thing that is not very likely to happen; when anything that is essentially Canadian is at stake, when anything vital to this Empire is in the balance, there is no possibility of Toronto going wrong. (Applause)

If the purpose of an Empire Club is to inspire and consolidate the spirit of Imperial Unity that must be preserved if the unity of the Empire is to be preserved, surely now is the time. The motherland, upon whose success, upon whose permanence our own fate and

happiness as a people depend, is now encountering difficulties in her journey such as never, antecedent to the war, she faced, and such as in many respects are greater and blacker than those which surrounded her in the worst days of the struggle. Whether you point your finger on the map of Egypt, on the map of India, or of Mesopotamia, or of Ireland, you have a location where a problem faces the citizenship of Britain such as challenges the best patriotism and the strongest intellects of which even England can boast. But those of us who have seen her survive the struggles of the past, those of us who have followed her course through the dark days of a century ago and through the still darker times of the last six years, those of us who know that her heart is prompted by justice, and that in her bosom she carries the very genius of liberty—we can never doubt that through the rocks and the storms ahead she will ride successfully, and that out of all she will emerge the greatest of world-powers, and will be the centre of the finest and most permanent League of Nations that any of us can look to as guaranteeing the peace and happiness of mankind. (Loud applause)

President Hewitt: I think I was fortunate in speaking of the honour the Premier had done us if quite alone, but he is accompanied by Hon. Dr. Reid, who runs the greatest groups of railways in the world, I suppose. I am not going to take the chance of getting in wrong with the second member of the government, but as the Premier has to leave in order to keep other appointments I am going to extend to him on your behalf, our exceedingly great thanks for his coming to us to-night; and notwithstanding his dislike of the word "condescension," I know many a man who would not even have condescended; but the Premier did. (Loud applause, the audience rising as the Premier and Dr. Reid departed.)

Dr. Abbott moved the adoption of the report of the Secretary-Treasurer, and on Mr. Gibson seconding the motion, it was carried.

Dr. Goggin read the report of the Nominating Com-

mittee, and on motion of Mr. Tyndall, seconded by Mr. Stewart the President was requested to cast a ballot for the election of Officers and Executive as nominated by the Committee. The President did so and declared the following persons named by the Nominating Committee as duly elected.

*Officers and Members of the Executive Committee for* 1921

*Honorary President: Field Marshal* H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, K. G., G. C. M. G.
*President*: Brig-General C. H. Mitchell, C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O.
*First Vice-President*: R. E. Patterson, Esq.
*Second Vice-President*: E. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
*Third Vice-President*: Lt. Col. W. G. McKendrick, D.S.O.
*Secretary-Treasurer*: D. J. Goggin, M. A., D. C. L., 3 North Street

*Committee*

Dr. A. H. Abbott
Mr. D. A. Balfour
Mr. Frank Bethel
Dr. J. Murray Clark, K.C.
Mr. A. E. Clemes
Mr. W. J. Darby
Dr. P. E. Doolittle
Mr. A. E. Gilverson
Mr. A. Monro Grier, K.C.
Sir William Hearst, K.C.M.G.
Mr. C. M. Horswell
Professor D. R. Keys
Lt. Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick
Mr. W. E. Lemon
Lt. Col. R. C. LeVesconte
Mr. S. R. Parsons
Mr. J. B. Sutherland

*and*

*Representatives of the Advisory Council of Past Presidents.*

Mr. F. J. Coombs
Mr. Arthur Hewitt
Mr. F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, K.C.
Mr. R. A. Stapells

PRESIDENT HEWITT: I have now much pleasure in introducing to you your incoming President. Brigadier-General Mitchell.

PRESIDENT MITCHELL was received with applause, and

assured the audience that he received the honour of election with a very great degree of pride, though he was oppressed at the responsibility which seemed to weigh so heavily upon the office of President, particularly after hearing the long list of labours which President Hewitt and his indefatigable committee had executed during the past year. One thing that made him anxious was the great example shown by the retiring President, of faithful attention to the work of the Club —an example which he feared he would not be able to follow. He considered it a great honour to be President of the Empire Club, particularly at this time when the Club represents so much in this world, so much to us here in Canada, so much more than it did before the war. This Empire Club with its 2,000 members and its tremendous influence must have a great place in this country and in the Empire; and it would be his great ambition to do his best to help along the traditions of this great Club; and with the aid of the splendid officers and executive he was sure he would be able to make a not unworthy showing in following the brilliant President and Committee which had just retired. (Applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: I am sure you will all be prepared to support General Mitchell to the very limit during his year of office. (Applause) He then introduced Miss Magda Coe, who had been filling a very important place in Great Britain during the war, and who had come to this country under the auspices of the Lord Mayor of London and the many interests in which he was concerned affecting the nation and the Empire. Miss Coe had been in Ottawa and had met the Prime Minister, and was returning to Ottawa again, and on behalf of the Club he extended to her a very hearty welcome to speak any message that she might have to deliver.

## MISS MAGDA COE

*Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,*—It is my happy privilege to bring you Christmas Greetings from the dear old motherland. I had no idea, when I was crossing over, that such a privilege as I am enjoying

to-night would be mine. My mission is to Canada. I bring you a message that possibly you have not heard before. I am not going into the details now. I shall be free to speak to you in public in a very short time, but at this moment I will only say that on Friday last your Prime Minister received me, my mission being to the Canadian Government. And here I wish to pay tribute to one whom I had never met before. Your Prime Minister received me in such a way that I shall bless him for all time. It was not an easy thing for a stranger to come, in spite of the fact that I was well equipped with letters. When I entered his presence I wonder if you can imagine what my feelings were? I tried in true British fashion to hide them; I don't know whether I succeeded or not; but quietly he read the letters through, put some searching questions, and then I saw the man. With deep courtesy and a quiet sympathy he uttered words to me which sent me out of that room full of thankfulness. I cannot pretend to know what the result will be, but I only know this, that as I left the building I thought to myself—"How fortunate Canada is in having such a Prime Minister!" (Applause)

Now I just want to say a few words. I came truly from the Empire of Empires, and it would seem almost impossible that one with such traditions as Great Britain has could ever know the weaknesses and the frailties that smaller nations have experienced. Your motherland is very, very tired. We have not yet got over the terrible strain of the past six years; and I want to say that I endorse every word uttered here to-night by your Prime Minister. The time that we passed through—that time of ghastly destruction—was difficult, in all conscience. We put our shoulders to the wheel and never flinched; we never will flinch (applause); and you, our Canadian brothers and sisters, came in at once. How we blessed you for that! I cannot tell you what that meant to us in Great Britain. We are never tired of saying, "Within eight weeks Canada was with us." And I think it is the remembrance of that which is going to make what I am now about to say all the easier. Great Britain is

not only war-burdened, but it is characteristic of her to bear the burdens of others. No sooner was the armistice declared two years ago last November than we found ourselves plunged into a chaos that seemed almost to eclipse the last four years that we passed through.

The time of destruction is over; the time of re-construction is more difficult than we can give expression to; and, coming as it does, making immediate demands upon us, we find that the strain is almost unbearable.

My message to Canada here to-night, and I hope on many occasions during the next month or two if you will only allow me to say it, is—"Canada, I want you to know that we are tired over there, and we want your help as we have never needed it before; we want you to watch closely what we are passing through in the Mother-Parliament; we want you—and I speak now especially to my own sex, the women here; for the men cannot do this thing by themselves, and we must take our place beside them and help them—I want you to realize that we are not all-sufficient; we need your advice, we need your help; we need your criticism—it will be welcomed."

Not very long ago I had a private interview with the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, who has been a friend of mine for many years, and truly I am not one of those who say he has never made a mistake; for I believe that the person who has never made a mistake has never made anything at all—(applause) and Lloyd George is one of the first to admit his mistakes. I cannot tell you all that he said during that private interview, but I will tell you this; looking at me steadily he said, "Don't you see, that the burden is well-nigh impossible when just a few are expected to solve these problems?" I was talking of the problems of the Near East; they are many, and they are vital, and I hope to go more fully into them later; and this is what he said—"Will you go out and make public these things? Tell the world, and tell them the truth; tell them that no Parliament can do these things alone, that we need the men and women outside to back us, and if we have not the people at the back of us, then we shall never move." I do feel that

it is a most important thing for us to remember. The Governments are there to do what we ask them. If we do not take an intelligent interest in the affairs of nations—especially now I speak internationally—how is it possible for Governments to do their duty? And so here to-night I say to you, come in; do not think that when the war ended you had only to come over here and settle down. You must not settle down, I beg of you to do nothing of the sort. I beg of you to get on the watch-tower and note carefully. The work that dominates me at the present time is the work of reconciliation.

Not very long ago I attended the conference that was held in the House of Commons in London, and I was asked what would be my solution of the difficulties in Asia Minor. My reply was—"Reconciliation;" and a member jumped up and said, "What? Reconciliation with the enemies?"—we were then talking of Turkey. I said, "Nothing short of reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey. And now here comes another problem, Russia and reconciliation with Russia." There was a silence. We parted that day. Shortly after, we went on a deputation to the Russian delegation in Bond Street. That deputation was headed by Bishop Gore. We came face to face with many questions that the papers never seem to talk about; and this was the gist of that long interview. "We are willing; we are utterly weary; why will you not understand that Russia itself is the victim of Bolshevism? Do you not know that there was bound to be this reaction? But how, how can we recover; unless Great Britain holds out the hand of fellowship, we are left."

We started a propaganda throughout the whole country, a propaganda that I venture to say has done more towards bringing about that reconciliation than anything else. Just five days before I sailed from Liverpool I was interviewed by President Krassin, and I told him that I was coming to Canada, and I said, "I hope they will ask me to speak from their public platforms, and I want you to give me a message to take to Canada, and later on to America, a country that is very

dear to me. What have you to say?" For a moment he thought. He had answered all my questions concerning affairs that were then taking place in the Caucasus, and slowly and with his hand clenched, he said, "We want your friendship; will you extend it to us, or will the Entente hinder?" Mr. President, I do think that that message, coming from such a man as Krassin, is something that ought to be noticed. The man looked utterly weary, tired and worn, and when he said that, I wondered whether I ought to bow my head in shame or whether I could look him in the face and say, "We will; we are extending the hand of fellowship to you." Friends, I want to leave that as the dominant note in your minds here to-night.

If at this moment I do not sound the highest note of all, and that is, Humanity, let me sound what to me is the second note, Imperial Interests. If I had my map spread out here, I would take you over it and show you in a very short time something that is more romantic than the most romantic novel that has ever been written. I am speaking now of to-day. Things have changed; everything to-day is so entirely different from what it was before the war. Now, where is Canada? What part is Canada going to play in this all-important question? Is she coming in? Will she encourage Great Britain to do the same without hesitation? Or will she loiter and allow others to come? Something in me tells me—No, that must not be. In the past we have always led the way. If Great Britain seems to loiter, I come back to what I said just now—we are tired, and our brains possibly do not work as rapidly as they might. There is a tension in that old Motherland which you here have no conception of. Directly I arrived here, somehow I felt free; I felt as if something had gone from me, and I could throw my head back, and I said, "I have come to freedom, I have come to the vast oasis." Are the people thinking in terms of reality here? Are you my friends? If you are, then there is no fear, and we in the old motherland will not have appealed to you in vain. I thank you. (Loud and continued applause)

PRESIDENT HEWITT: I am sure we are grateful to Miss Coe for coming to speak to us to-night, and I know that her words will not have fallen on deaf ears.

There are not many men within the confines of our Dominion who have brought more thrilling messages to us, delivered in a more thrilling way, than the speaker, whom I now welcome and introduce.

### MR. A. MONRO GRIER

Mr Grier, after very happy and congratulatory references to the addresses of the speakers who had preceded him, and some very humorous remarks respecting the intellectual and emotional processes he had gone through in preparing in an orderly way to contribute to the pleasure of the evening, and to give fitting expression to ideas called up by the subject of his address, "The Empire's Christmas, 1920," said:

Now let us consider together this thing that we have in hand. First of all the Empire. I am not going to be statistical, although upon other occasions perhaps, like others, I have alluded to the immense size of the Empire and its extraordinary importance in the world, not only as to the huge proportion of the world which in fact it occupies, or as to the immense number of people who are citizens of it, or as to the variety of religions comprised within its borders, etc. All those things are known to us; and to-night I am taking it for granted that we are well aware of this significant circumstance —that there is not within the whole boundary of the civilized world any such conjunction of strength and importance and might as the British Empire of which we all are citizens. (Applause)

That being so, let us just for a moment refer to the word "Empire." I do it again because years ago, and before it was the subject of discussion here by others, so far as I am aware, I ventured to say that in a certain sense it was unfortunate that the term was used, because to those who were not well advised as to what the British Empire meant, it confused them with Empires which have been. I said then, as I say now, that were it to have any other name it would be just as powerful, and

so far as I am concerned, just as agreeable to me to contemplate. I remember that years ago, in the height of my impudence—and this at a time when the Toronto City Council did not claim to have much merit—I said that even if you called the Empire the Toronto Council it would be a most admirable body and do all sorts of great things. The name does not matter. It is called the British Empire, but let us all bear this in mind, that so far from being like Empires of old, it is absolutely the contrary. Aforetime this thing happened—that a country which was subdued or annexed presently found that it was in a condition of comparative or absolute slavery to the country conquering; whereas, in our case this is the fact—that in the instant upon a country becoming part of this wonderful collection of nations, it finds itself not in a lesser degree of pride than before, but in a more splendid status than it ever occupied before, because it stands upon an equal footing with all the other component parts of the British Empire. (Applause)

Let us contemplate for a moment what will be happening in a few days around the world. It has been said, and said truthfully, and by an American, that drums beat throughout the whole range of the clock within the British Empire. But it is not only that martially these things are to be said of the British Empire. Other figures might be used; and I would like to think that presently at Christmas-time all over the world, dotted throughout the world, lights will be lighted successively so that when they shall have been put out at one portion of the British Empire they will be alight in another. Contemplate what a belt it means. Let us start, for instance, at Winnipeg, and take some of the capitals of the Empire that we should meet with before we got around to Toronto. What should we find?—Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, Victoria. Then let us skip across the sea and get to New Zealand, Wellington; and then to Australia, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Hobart; and then to India, Calcutta, Bombay; to Africa, Cape Town; and then up north,

Gibraltar, London, Edinburgh, Dublin; then across the sea to Halifax, Fredericton, Charlottetown, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto. (Applause) And so we have circled the world, you see, just contemplating these distant cities in the British Empire. What does it mean to emphasize? Is it not something to dwell upon with the greatest pride and satisfaction? And this Christmas of 1920, it is true, as Miss Coe has so feelingly told us, that the Old Country feels this period of reconstruction, in a sense, more than the terrible periods of the war itself.

What I should like to suggest to Miss Coe and to all of us, is that when we contemplate the Christmas of 1920 it is not materially, perhaps, as fine and splendid as it otherwise might have been, but it is absolutely more splendid and glorious in all respects by reason of the fact of what we did throughout the great war through which we have just passed. I say that we may all take pride in the fact that we are entitled to a glorious Christmas in 1920 because we endured such Christmases in 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917 and indeed since the war was over, in 1918 and 1919.

And now let us contemplate the circumstance of a Christmas held 1,000 years ago—I take 1,000 because it is a round figure, and because by that time London was unquestionably a settled town; but as to Toronto, where do you think it was then? How many people do you think lived here? Is it conceivable that there was, in fact, any human kind? And yet that number of years ago, and for perhaps 900 years before that London had itself existed. It is therefore so much older than we. What is our age? Toronto, not under its present name, but under a name, was a trading centre, I believe, about 1749. In 1794 the then capital of the province, Newark, was moved from there to here, but still it was not called Toronto,—and I may say, by the way, that in 1813 the population of this place was 456 people, but in 1834 it was nearly 10,000, and at that date a charter was granted to the city, and Toronto became Toronto in name, as I believe it is quite properly interpreted—"A Place of Meeting."

I want to consider Toronto and London together for a moment—not that I compare them, of course—(laughter)—but presently, I will suggest to you that there is a sort of likeness between them, at least in one respect. Toronto, a place of meeting;—that is one of the great features of London, that it is a place of meeting. Most of you probably have been there; more of you, I expect, have lived there for years, as the speaker has, and to you it is well known; but to those of you who have visited it for only a few days or weeks or months it can only be partially known. It always amuses me, in a pleasant humble way, when people try to compare with it the capitals on this continent, because obviously London has such an advantage over them. If you were to take New York, plus Washington, plus Boston, and combine the component elements in those cities, what would you think of that combination as compared with London? Perhaps there might be some sort of reasonableness in it, but not until then, because whilst each of those several cities has its advantages—and I am not stupid enough not to recognize them—you cannot get such a combination of qualities as you get in London. I know of no city in the world in which you can get quite such a combination, though in Paris you get a great many of them.

London is such a wonder. Have you ever contemplated its extraordinary literary interests? In certain sections of the town, in fact almost throughout it, except the more modern suburban parts, you can scarcely pass along a road that is not celebrated either as containing a house at which an author lived, or as being a house in which a character celebrated by some author was supposed to have resided. And so all over the place there are charms, literary charms, artistic charms, and besides those things great human charms. The range of human beings in the city of London is amazing. I know a little of the range, and as I am talking to you I recall two old clerks who used to be in the office that I was in, in New Square, Lincoln's Inn Fields; and those old boys regularly on Derby Day used to dine together;

I don't think they ever went to the race, and I doubt if they had ever been to Epsom, but it was a sort of article of faith that on Derby day those two old clerks should have their grub together. (Laughter) Speaking of the range of humanity, I was a little bit interested in reading of a good lady who lived in one of the more retired parts of London, who said, "I really don't know what to do with the girl; I have had her confirmed, and I have had her vaccinated, and nothing seems to brighten her." (Laughter)

But if the human range of London is great, certainly the range geographically, the mileage, is tremendous. I remember, when I was not more than a boy, I was walking home at the end of some summer holiday, and presently I became aware that hard by me was a chap who belonged to the class which we denominate work--ing-class—though I have always belonged to a working-class—and he, unfortunately for himself, had been taking liquid refreshment not wisely but too well. However, he was able to tell me that he had been spending the holiday not wisely, and that he had to go to work in the early morning. He lived in some part of London which I don't think I had ever been in before, but which he named to me, and he did not know how to get there. I think the last bus had gone, and it was in tones of nervousness and apprehension, because he did not know how to look after himself; so I did myself the honour and pleasure of walking home with him. I really do not know how many miles we travelled, and I do not recall precisely in what part of London he lived, but I know when I got to bed it was almost dawn in the sky. (Laughter)

There are a very great many miles to be traversed in London, and all of them are of very intense interest. How would it do if we were to take together, you and I, a walk down just one part, which we could do in the compass of a morning, were it not for the fact that as we go along there would be places of such vast interest that probably we would have to stop and talk, and so on? But without doing that, let us see if we can make

the journey. Of course, you who know the places will realize how I am skipping the ground quickly.

Let us start from Charing Cross, of historical interest because there was the chief cross of the set of crosses erected by King Edward in respect of the birth of Queen Eleanor. Starting from Charing Cross we immediately find ourselves in Trafalgar Square, a spot which it is absolutely impossible for anybody with the slightest affection for the British Empire to enter upon the precints of without almost a sacred and holy feeling, for shall we not see there, as we raise our eyes, the monument to Nelson?—and it is impossible for anyone who belongs to the British Empire to fail to realize that of all the wonderful agencies which have stood for its preservation and for the acclaim of the world throughout all these hundreds of years there has scarcely been any, if there has been one, greater or more splendid than the British Navy. (Applause)

Hard by is a beautiful church, beautiful in architecture, called St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, now in the midst of bustling streets, but the original church—not the one there now—was built actually in the fields.

Hastening on, we find ourselves in Haymarket, and there realize that we are in the region of theatres as well as of hotels and clubs and what-not. Then we get into Piccadilly—such a funny name, derived, as I understand, from pecadil, the Spanish word for spear-head, on account of the clothes which were worn, which had a sort of spiky head. In Piccadilly we shall find some things of great interest round about that neighbourhood. What is this over here?—modest, absolutely unpretentious, and yet housing very well-off bachelors—the Albany. Now, you might have supposed that a place like that would have no particular interest, and yet I venture to say that if you were to see the names of the occupants of the Albany Chambers, you would be simply amazed at the range of interest; and so that you may realize it in a moment, I may tell you that in modern years they contained these three diverse personages Lord Byron, Gladstone and Morley. (Applause)

Passing on from there, we come to "Apsley House," round about that neighbourhood of Piccadilly and Pall-Mall; and they tell of the first Lord of Apsley a story which is very charming to dwell upon. The first Lord Apsley, when his son was of the age of 60 or 70, and the father a youth of 89—for he died at 91—these two relatives so circumstanced—the son said to the father that it was high time to say "Good night" to his friends and go to bed; whereat, not getting his wish carried out, the son stalked off, and the young gentleman then at 89, said, "Well, now that the old gentleman has gone to bed, I think we can crack another bottle." (Laughter)

Let us turn aside here to pass through St. James' Park, noticing as we go on that wonderful memorial to Queen Victoria, and then coming to Buckingham Palace, which I shall not dwell upon except to say that the occupants of it, endeared as they had been to the British People of the Empire before the war, have certainly doubled the affection in which they were held during and since the war. (Applause) The affection and regard and respect go not merely from citizen to ruler, they go from man to man, from woman to woman; human affections have been enlarged, and I venture to say that there was no dwelling place throughout the whole of the past war in which the welfare of the soldiers and sailors and the warriors generally of the British Army was more seriously considered, no matter whether they were officers or of the ranks, and perhaps particularly if they were of the ranks, than they were considered in Buckingham Palace. (Applause)

Then turn aside and go to a part which I know a little of, from a professional stand-point.

We pass through Downing Street, which you all know, and which you perhaps know more because of reminiscences lately written (laughter) and at the corner of that street there is a modest building in which are held the sittings of the Privy Council. Some of you have heard me tell, and yet I am going to tell again, because I like to tell it on such an occasion as this, of the extraordinary thing that was to be seen in that building on the 4th of

August, 1914. I like to tell it to as many people as I can, because it so absolutely rebuts the notion of England being a grasping power, and of her land being intent upon going to war, and so on. On the morning of the 4th of August, 1914—by mid-day of which day, as you remember, the word was to be heard from Germany—on the morning of that day the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—and may we never cease to have connections with it (hear, hear and applause)—composed that morning of a personnel stronger than I had ever seen, because it had an immense range of men of genius sitting that day—this Judicial Committee was sitting considering what—at this moment of the day, mark you? They were considering how during the next year, namely 1915, they should conduct the argument of a case as to the rights of the natives of Rhodesia! Now I challenge you, to get at anything more significant of the composure and of the attitude of England toward any country in the world than this single circumstance—that the highest tribunal was there on this momentous day considering how, later on, they should adjudicate upon the rights of native tribes of Africa! (Loud Applause) And I am almost too modest to tell you that in the very afternoon of that day they discussed the subject whether the Company to which I have the honour to belong should or should not pay certain taxes in the township of Stamford in the County of Wentworth, Ontario! (Laughter) And if you please, sitting on that case, was Lord Haldane, who at the time was Lord Chancellor, and as you know was one of the men chiefly interested upon the subject of whether or not we were going to war. Yet, with absolute composure those matters were dealt with; and all the while what was happening outside? From time to time a member of Parliament was being taken from Downing Street to the Parliament house, and the crowds were hurrahing and making all sorts of noises, and inside all was composure, and things were going on as though nothing was happening outside. I tell you, it is that kind of thing that enables one to appreciate something of the grandeur of the spirit of the British Empire.

Shall we move on from there? Let us take a run just for a moment down to the river—we are very near there. We will go there because I want to tell you the story of a retort made by John Burns to some rather boastful Americans who said to him that the Thames was not such a river as the Mississippi. Mark the significance of his answer, and bear in mind that when he answered London had existed about 1800 or 1900 years. The answer John Burns made was this:—"The Mississippi is dirty water, but the Thames is liquid history." (Laughter)

On the banks of that river is to be found that mother of Parliaments, the House of Parliament at Westminster; and of course if I stopped for a moment to speak of that I should speak for several hours; therefore I pass on.

We pass on to Westminster Abbey, which I like to make my last reference because for years I have thought, as we all have thought and I have said, that no man with any sort of spirit or soul whatever could possibly enter that building and not be immensely affected for good. But mark you this; I said that in a day when it had not received its crowning glory; in a day when it contained principally Kings and Queens who had died, generals and admirals, men of letters, men of the Church, poets—all big significant men. These indeed made an immense company the contemplation of which enabled one to see something of the splendour of the Empire, but the whole of them put together, and what they represented, fade into insignificance now since rest there the remains of an "Unknown Warrior." (Loud applause) In this connection, perhaps more particularly if there are any who have lost those in the war either nearby or indirectly, I would like to give you some simple lines by Whitman which, though written long years ago are considered by at least one English paper as the most fitting thing that has been said in poetry in regard to this particular thing:—

> The drums and the trumpets give you music,
> But my heart, O warrior, O comrade,
> My heart gives you love.

And that was the situation. There went out to that unknown warrior, whoever he may have been, all the pride and all the affection of the British Empire. And it is made not the less but the more beautiful that upon the coffin was sprinkled earth from France, French earth. Nor is it rendered the less but the more beautiful, that it was hallowed by that moment at Whitehall where the two moments of silent devotion were indulged in. These are things the contemplation of which make us realize that though we are, as all mankind ever have been, just poor players that strut and fret our hour upon the stage and then are heard no more, yet we are one, we are units of a long succession, and that whilst we may be small and impotent and inconsiderable, individually, yet viewing humanity in the large, the view is not the same; and when you get a whole nation, nay, a whole Empire with its heart welling up with one emotion, then you get something which has scarcely been had in the world before, I venture to think.

Perhaps the nearest we ever came to it was in the epitaph written during that Antarctic expedition, the heroic character of the men in which has sometimes seemed to me to be a sort of prelude to the great war. You will perhaps remember that when Captain Oates realized that if he stayed with the party he would make it less probable that they would get back to safety, he went out and was never heard of or seen again; and the epitaph which they put up—which in my judgment might be put near the head of virtually every warrior who fought for righteousness during the great war—was this:—"Hereabouts died a very gallant gentleman." I like to think of that epitaph as being applicable to those who suffered in the war afterwards.

And now I must be hurrying on, because the time has been running on, and we must get back from old London to where we are. Before we do, may I once again give those lines from Shakespeare which are so beautiful, so that we may have the notion of England, the old land, well in our minds:—

> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in a silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a host,
> Against the envy of less happy lands,
> This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

England in these lines represents the whole British Isles; and what I want to say to you is what I say to myself when I am there and while I am here—that we must bear in mind that it is our posession. Toronto is theirs; London is ours. There is community of possession in the British Empire. It is true that the Americans think, and I do not discourage them the thought, that in a sense, through ancestry, they are entitled to contemplate London and the British Isles as theirs. While it is true in that sense, it is not true in the way the English can use the phrase; and I mention it because it seems to me it ought to be a matter of great pride and satisfaction to us that we actually possess those marvellous things.

Now, as to Toronto, I venture to say, as I said before the war, that outside of the British Isles Toronto should be the most important city of the whole British Empire. I pointed out the relative distance from the British Isles of Toronto on the one hand and of Australia and South Africa on the other. I pointed out also its contiguity to the United States; and for those reasons and others, I ventured to suggest that Toronto would become the most important city in the overseas dominions. Mark you, I am not saying the largest, for I am not one of those who thinks that avoirdupois is absolutely the greatest thing in the world, or that weight and size are of immense importance. Having made that remark, I am free to say that it is a perfect delight to me to come across my big fellow man, so that it does not arise from any predilection in favour of short men; but speaking of cities and of nations, I do quarrel immensely with the idea that size is of any consequence. It is not. You could have a city of 100,000 people that would be worth nothing, and you could have a city of only 10,000

of such splendid inhabitants that it would be the admiration of the world; and for my own part my thought with regard to Toronto is that it is most immensely favoured. I spoke of the advantage which it had over other places, and suggested that in a way it was like London—in this respect, for instance, that it is the capital of the Province, and it is the centre of a vast number of other things. Things are centralized here. We have all sorts of adventitious aids. The only thing that we have not got is that we are not the capital of the Dominion, but that is one of the disadvantages of a confederation of Provinces, and just the same things happen in the United States—the capital is not the chief town. There are perhaps advantages in that, and there are obviously disadvantages, because a capital does not furnish the highest, or at all events the biggest and most important opinion of the country surrounding. But aside from that circumstance, Toronto has every advantage in its favour. I thought so before the war; but what think I now, when I can see it the centre of men not born here, but citizens by adoption only? I can say this, that so far as I can see, there is no city in the whole world which has greater cause to be proud of what it did in respect of the great war than Toronto has. (Loud applause)

Now, under those circumstances, what is there for us to do and to be? I do not wish to deliver a lay sermon, but I want to be very sincere and I want to be of some aid. We are nearing the end of the year, and it will interest you to know, by the way, that this is a sort of a Christmas Day utterance, for the old English, even before they were converted to Christianity, kept the 25th of December, from which they began the New Year; so that whilst they were not Christianized before that date, even in a sense they kept Christmas Day. Now, what are the two main thoughts that arise from all this about this time? I am speaking to those who, like myself, are grown up; I wonder if I am correct in saying, first, that we miss others that were once with us, and that has peculiar bitterness and poignancy about Christ-

mas Time; and secondly, as to New Year's Day, that those of us who have any sort of sensibility are aware of this fact, that in travelling through life we have not attained to the ideals to which we had hoped to attain, and that we have not accomplished things that we had hoped to have accomplished.

Now, what shall we say, then, of these things? As to the first, may I suggest to you in all sincerity, since constantly I do it with myself, that in my judgment we never lose those whom we have loved. Of course I am not now discussing any such notions as manifestations, whether spiritual or bodily or what not; nothing of that sort; I am speaking of this simple circumstance, that if anyone is really resident in your heart, there he or she must live forever; so in that sense we do not lose, but constantly have with us, those who have gone before. For my own part, I should consider myself but a sorry, sorry specimen of humanity, were I not able to make the world richer and more beautiful for myself by the contemplation of those whom I mourn. So I suggest this to all of you. Then as to the other—which perchance affects us men more than the women, for all I know—I know not how that is—but as to your not having accomplished what you should have liked to attain, or perhaps the feeling that others have done greater things—may I say that there is no advantage in repining, but that the only object in looking back is to get courage from the contemplation of what has gone by. And as to the comparing what we have done with what has been done by others, may I say that there could not be a much sorrier occupation than that, unless it is to incite us to greater accomplishments. It is of no consequence that I have not the talents of X and that X consequently is doing far greater things than I have done or hoped to do. The thing of consequence is this, that I, possessor of one talent only, we will say, should not make use of that one when X is making use of his ten. We cannot shirk our duty, but our duty does not lie in contemplating our relative poverty and non-possession of talents possessed by others. Our duty con-

sists only in doing the best with such possessions as we have,—and is it not a happiness to think this?

O, it seems to me as a human being—and of course I am not speaking theologically—that we do but sorry justice to any contemplation of religion if we deny to Him who is supreme a kinder attitude towards our faults than we find upon the part of those of our fellow-erring fellow-man.

So I suggest to all of us at this Christmas time that the Christmas of the British Empire, 1920, may very properly be a happy one in the contemplation of good things done as an Empire. I suggest that we should bear in mind the possessions which we have, not only, and certainly not chiefly, Imperial, but the possession of the spirit that we own in belonging to this Empire.

Supposing that 1,000 years ago the most poetic of the few Britons convened at any Christmas gathering, I do not care how active his imagination might have been, had been asked, "What is your wildest dream of what we should ever accomplish?" Probably it would have been, "That we shall unify this little bit of land in which we live, and hold it in our own possession undisturbed." And in 1920, thousands of miles away, I, a human, humble member of the British Empire, pointing back to that time, should say that such a dream as that was absolutely nothing as compared with the realization. And why was it? Because doubtless in that humble band, as in all the successive humble bands of Britishers, there has been a fine spirit which has led them on to do great things; and this big spirit must be that, or we shall not do anything, but if it lies with us we shall accomplish almost what we will.

Then let us bear in mind the spirit of those who have gone before and battled manfully for everything that is right.

I said just now that the British Empire might be compared to various things; amongst others a constellation of stars has been suggested, and what not—a garden, with our English roses in the edge, and in rounded group the flowers of the different countries.

But for the moment, apropos of what has gone forward this evening, may I suggest to you that it is, as well, a choir of nations singing at this Christmas time majestic words, singing the words of old—"Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, Good-will towards Men," and in more modern language chiming bells and singing at the same time, and saying:—

> Ring in the valiant man and free,
> The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
> Ring out the darkness of the land,
> Ring in the Christ that is to be!

Mr. Justice Craig expressed, in most acceptable terms, the thanks of the members and their guests to the speakers for their interesting and helpful addresses and to Mr. Crawford and his Choir for their beautiful rendering of music so suitable to the season and the occasion.

afernoon of that day they discussed the subject whether

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Hall, Lt.-Col. W. B.
Hall, W. H.
Hallam, Jno.
Hallam, Prof. W. T.
Halliday, F. R.
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Hambly, George
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Hamilton, R. C.
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Hammond, Harry G.
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Hancock, Wm. Norman
Hand, L. E.
Haney, M. J.
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Hanlyn, Chas. F.
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Hannah, Dr. Beverley
Hannigan, B. M.
Hamson, F. K.
Hanwood, Chas. F.
Harbinson, Vincent D.
Harding, C. V.
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Hare, Wm. A.
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Hardy, H. R.
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Harling, R. D.
Harmer, R.
Harper, E. D.
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Harrington, H. A.
Harron, L. W.
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Hassard, W. E.
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Hearst, Hon. Sir William
Heaslip, W. A.
Heaton, E.
Heaven, W. J.
Heintzman, G. C.
Helwig, N. W.
Henders, R. J.
Henderson, C. D.
Henderson, D. C. M.
Henderson, Robert
Henderson, S.
Henderson, T. A.
Hendrie, His Honour, Lt.-Col. Sir John
Henry, Norman F.
Herington, Gordon
Hermant, Percy
Herod, Wesley J.
Hetherington, Major E. A.
Hermiston, Dr. G. M.
Hewes, F. L.
Henry, Thos.
Henwood, Chas. P.
Hewett, Alfred
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Hewitt, A. J.
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Hill, F. W. J.
Hill, Lawrence R.
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Hobden, J. L.
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Hodgins, F. C.
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Hogg, Douglas
Hogg, H. D.
Hogg, Sidney S.
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Hooper, H.
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Hopkins, Dr. R. R.
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Horne, H. R.
Hornell, A.
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Howard, Thos. H.
Howe, H. J.
Howland, P.
Howson, E. J.
Howson, F. K.
Huber, S. J.
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Hughes, H. T.
Hughes, Dr. Jas. L.
Hulbig, F. M.
Humphrey, F. W.
Hunnusett, Jas. E.
Hunt, G. S. D.
Hunt, H. W.
Hunter, Colonel A. T.
Hunter, Cecil
Hunter, Rev. E. Crossley
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Ivey. A. M.

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Macdonald, John
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Macdonald, Stuart
Macdonald, W. B.
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MacDougall, W. P.
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Marshall, Col. Noel
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Michael, Rev. J. H.
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Miller, Andrew
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Millichamp, Reuben
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Milnes, James H., Sr.,
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Mitchell, Brig.-Gen. James
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Mitchell, Lorne W.
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Mockford, Julian
Moffat, J. Gordon
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Morden, W. S.
More, W. G.
Morely, Herbert C.
Morgan, Ernest A.
Morley, Gerald W.
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Morrison, J. A.
Morrow, F. K.
Morson, W. R.
Moore, F. B.
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Morley, Geo. W.
Morley, R. B.
Morris, C. H.
Morrow, C. S.
Morton, Thos.
Mortimer, Herbert
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Morton, R.
Mott, E. A.
Mott, H. S.
Mowat, H. M.
Moyer, I. W.
Moyle, David
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Muirhead, Allan S.
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Mulock, Hon. Sir Wm.
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Muntz, G. H.
Murchison, E. W.
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Murphy, J. E.
Murphy, W. K.
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McAdam, H. S.
McAll, H. W.
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McBride, R. H.
McBride, Con. Sam
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McClung, J. E.
McColl, Major E. L.
McColm, Ernest E.
McConnell, Dr. J. H.
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McCrimmon, D. A.
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McCurdy, F. P.
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McDonald, C. L.
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McDonnell, T. E.
McDonnell, W. T.
McDougall, D. H.
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McEwen, G. C.
McFadden, J. W.
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McGarry, Hon. T. W.
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McIntosh, D. W.
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McKellar, Geo.

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McLaughlin, G. C.
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McLean, Duncan
McLean, Hector
McLean, Hugh R.
McLean, Percy S.
McLean, R. T.
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McLellan, W. H.
McLeod, Geo. J.
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McMurrich, Arthur
McMurtry, W. J.
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McNaught, C. B.
McNeill, W. K.
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McPherson, R. S.
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McTaggart, G. M.
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McWhinney, W. J., K. C.
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Neil, Rev. John
Neild, Bertram
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Neilson, C.
Nelles, R. C.
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Newton, F. A.
Nicholls, Lt.-Col. The Honourable Senator Frederick
Nicholson, Jas.
Niddrie, Dr. R. J.
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Nixon, Harold
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