OVERSEA ADDRESSES

JUNE - JULY
1921

BY

THE RIGHT HON.
ARTHUR MEIGHEN

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PREFACE

Since my return from the United Kingdom a number of persons have asked for copies of addresses which I delivered on various occasions during the months of June and July last while I was attending the Imperial Conference.

These were somewhat *discours de circonstance,* and their value now must lie in the fact that the ideas and sentiments they contain were approached from what I believe to be a general Canadian standpoint. Owing to the pressure of public duties oversea they owe but too little to preparation; present preoccupations have left me time only for such revision as is involved in verbal corrections and the addition of a few explanatory notes; for convenience of reference I have given them titles: but otherwise they appear in

the form and order in which they were delivered.

I am fully sensible of their inevitable imperfections, and in submitting them to a wider, and, I can only hope, equally lenient circle of readers, I trust that the goodwill of those who have read them and advised publication has not overridden either their judgment or my own.

A. M.

Ottawa,
September, 1921.

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I.
LIBERTY AND LAW

LIBERTY AND LAW*

EVER since I received the invitation of this Society to meet here His Majesty's Judges and Lords of Appeal, I have looked forward with unusual pleasure to the event. No honour could be more prized by one who has spent some years in practice at the Bar—and my years were arduous though far too brief—than that which you are conferring upon me to-night. This learned and honourable Society has been a bright palace of the lawyer's vision in every British country from the days of Bacon until now. To its Bench and membership I feel a sense of lasting gratitude, but the institution itself has a significance and a dignity apart wholly from the respect that must attach to the fleeting incumbents of the

*Delivered at Gray's Inn Hall at the Dinner given by the Treasurer and Benchers of Gray's Inn, June 20, 1921.

one or the transient tenants of the other. It is your desire, I know, that the distinction you offer shall be held to come from this ancient foundation, as it is mine to receive it as filling the high office that for the time is mine.

A few years ago the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom,* addressing an assembly similar to this, remarked that a hundred years had passed since a practising barrister had reached, in this country, the post of highest responsibility in politics. At the same time he commented upon the large number of gentlemen of the long robe who, through all the history of England, had served the State with fidelity and success. In the Dominion of Canada, in the other Dominions, in the United States, as, indeed, in all countries where Parliamentary Government or its prototype prevails,—and Parliamentary Government is a British development and legacy—we have witnessed the same contribution of lawyers to the public service

*Mr. Asquith.

that has been characteristic of the Motherland. Perhaps the most conspicuous illustration is the United States. It may be doubted whether any nation in the world has ever been served by a long line of chief executive officers of such unfailing capacity and patriotism as the Presidents of the Republic. The great majority of them have been drawn from the legal profession. In Canada five of my eight predecessors—and this is not said as an incentive to migration to the Dominion,—five of my eight predecessors were in active practice at the Bar before being called to office.

It would be presumption to say that professional attainments are indispensable, or nearly indispensable, to usefulness in public life,—a score of great names chiselled not far from here would repel such an assertion forever—but it is not easy to understand British institutions without some knowledge of the history of British law. The two streams of law and

politics have flown commingled, all through the centuries. They started from the same fount and have expanded by the same accretions; they have encountered with the same spirit the varying currents of time and circumstance; their course has been directed less by considerations of symmetry and logic than by wise regard for the stern lessons of experience. The body of law thus developed, of living growing common law and of statute law, and the political institutions thus matured, have become an inestimable boon to mankind.

People of other countries who misunderstand British traditions, tell us that we have no constitution. Canada, they admit, has the British North America Act; Australia, the Commonwealth Act; and South Africa, the South Africa Act; and these may be called constitutions; but Great Britain has none, they say, and the Empire has none. Well, there is more in the constitution of Canada than is con-

tained in the British North America Act, and the fabric of this Empire is held in place by vital, and to us perfectly understandable, constitutional principles. What are constitutional principles? They are the common law of Parliaments. They bear something of the same relation to the charter of a State that common law bears to statute law. They are the injunctions taught by experience, and matured by practice into authoritative conventions. They grow to have a more binding force, a higher sanction even than law. It is because of respect for the majesty of constitutional right—something incomprehensible to foreign critics of our system,—it is just because of this respect that we of the British Commonwealth of Nations have been able to get along as one. We legislate each for ourselves unfettered; we advise through separate Councils a common Sovereign; we confer together in order better to understand the wider overriding common interest; be-

tween a sense of independence and a sense of unity there is no clash but harmony. On these principles our own league of nations has survived, and it has served the world wonderfully well.

I said that constitutional principles evolved until they attained an authority higher than law itself. If, for example, we must speak merely from the dictionary of law, we might say that the Parliament of the United Kingdom that passed the Canadian Act of Confederation could amend that Act of its own motion even to-day. If so it would be within its legal competence to impair, or indeed to destroy, the powers of the various legislatures and of the Parliament of Canada. But everyone knows that such a proceeding is as far beyond the constitutional right of your Parliament here as the Royal Veto is beyond effective revival. Everybody knows that such a step would never be dreamed of, and if taken would never be respected. The statutory trans-

lation of a Parliamentary Address from a self-governing Dominion, praying for a modification of its charter, is but a circuitous method of legislation, which, with our contempt for anomaly, we adopt until we find a better. The forms of law may remain after the spirit has departed, but the silent voice of constitutional right keeps every unit of our system in its proper place and orbit. That is why we are many nations but one Empire: an Empire that after a thousand years sees no westering sun, but is witnessing now what Victor Hugo called *la jeunesse de la vieillesse.*

As lawyers we are traditionists, but statesmanship knows no law of mortmain. If we neither miss nor misconceive their implications, there is wisdom in the *dicta* of the American jurist* that "the present has the right to govern itself so far as it can", and that "continuity with the past

*Mr. Justice Holmes, *Collected Legal Papers*, pp. 139, 214. I owe at least one other thought in this address to his pointed wisdom.

is only a necessity and not a duty". Rashness and inconsequence are alien to the British tradition. "Reform", though, was the advice of the glory of Gray's Inn*, "reform without bravery or scandal of former times or persons"; and he advised us "as well to create good precedents as to follow them", and to remember to "ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time what is best, and of the latter time what is fittest." There could be no better precepts for British statesmanship.

*Bacon, *Essays*, Of Great Place. Bacon was successively Student, Ancient, Barrister, Bencher, and Reader; and became Treasurer of Gray's Inn in 1608.

II.

THE BRITISH POLITICAL TRADITION

THE BRITISH POLITICAL TRADITION*

THE peoples of the British realms are not specially gifted with the faculty for expressing their deepest emotions and aspirations, nor do they often care to proclaim them publicly, so it appears to me that this gathering is one of peculiar significance. It is eloquent evidence of the common loyalty and essential unity of the peoples of all His Majesty's Dominions; of their attachment to British institutions; and of their desire to repay, at this ancient shrine and fount of freedom, their homage to the tradition which is Britain's legacy to them and her example to the world.

So experienced and informed a student of politics as Lord Bryce has lately made

*Delivered at the Royal Gallery, House of Lords, at the Dinner of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association, June 24, 1921.

the grave admission that "the dignity and moral influence of representative legislatures have been declining";* but with reasoned optimism he considers that if democracy has not fulfilled every extravagant hope, judged, as it has a right to be judged, by systems it has displaced, "it has in some countries destroyed, in others materially diminished, many of the cruelties and terrors, injustices and oppressions that had darkened the souls of men for many generations".† We, inheritors of the British tradition, are, I think, entitled to share Lord Bryce's optimism. Our unity of sentiment and aim have maintained while multiplying our parliamentary institutions, which in turn have protected while they advanced our freedom. Other countries developed representative institutions as early as England; but while her unity maintained them, their class divisions, reflected, even embodied in their assemblies, permitted, if

**Modern Democracies*, Vol. II, p. 391.
†*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 585.

they did not promote, the establishment of despotism on the ruins of liberty. It is our fundamental principle that the interests of no class, no party, no nation even, shall displace the overriding interests of the commonwealth.

But her legacy to the Britannic Commonwealth is not the full measure of Britain's contribution to the world. That vast and powerful community of British origin, where, though the King's writ does not run, the King's English is spoken, and the Common Law enforced; where British ideals of liberty and government prevail; which, on a four-thousand-mile undefended boundary of the King's Dominion that I represent, has kept for a century the King's Peace: the great Republic has received her share and upheld her part of the British legacy, moulding and completing it by her own peculiar genius. I hope it may not prove to be beyond the resources of statesmanship that that great country, to the exclusion of no other, may

be included in that congeries of nations which shall keep the peace and complete the re-establishment of civilization.

To that wider association, to which the United States has as yet refused her adhesion, but to the constitution of which almost no amendment could be objectionable which would secure it,—to the League of Nations what has British statesmanship contributed, and from it, what may the world expect? The contribution of my South African colleague is well known;* the League's foundation on consultation and conference is a British contribution drawn from the practice and conventions with which we, in the narrower, more intimate, and presently more successful league of which we are members, are familiar. The world must not too soon become impatient with the League's timid, tentative efforts. It is a great experiment which demands and re-

*The Covenant of the League followed closely the suggested terms of General Smuts's pamphlet, *The League of Nations*, published in December, 1918, just before the Peace Conference commenced.

quires our hearty support. The war showed us the intimacy and interdependency of international relationship. No country, no continent may live unto itself. The world once centred round the Mediterranean, then round the Atlantic, its centre of gravity may now be the Pacific; but British interests are world-wide, and surround and traverse the Seven Seas. No narrow policy will suffice for the safety of any nation. All must co-operate for the world's peace.

III.
A SYMBOL OF UNITY

A SYMBOL OF UNITY*

IT falls to me to propose the toast to the members of the Royal Family. This is a duty which is peculiarly pleasurable to one who comes to London on behalf of the Dominion of Canada. No tie which binds together our far-flung Empire is more valued or respected than the universal attachment of British subjects throughout the world to the House of Windsor.

The common Sovereign of the Empire has never, as such, visited the overseas Dominions; but it has been a happy procedure, which I hope has become an established convention, that the Heir Apparent should know from personal observation and intimate contact the far-away countries of the people over whom he is to reign. King Edward VII visited Can-

*Delivered at the Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, June 30, 1921.

ada in 1860, his present Majesty made an extended tour of the country in 1905, and we remember the evidences of his engaging personality and of the Canadian people's demonstrative loyalty which the visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, a year ago, produced.

Her Majesty the Queen is remembered in Canada with the most loyal devotion. She accompanied His Majesty on his tour of the Dominion, and the warmth of the welcome which she received was but the evidence of an attachment which is as lasting as it is sincere. Queen Alexandra has not, I believe, visited Canada, but the feelings of the Canadian people for her will ever be those of the greatest esteem.

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, represented His Majesty in Canada during a time of unexampled storm and stress; his courtesy, and his sympathetic efforts to appreciate the aspirations and ideals of its people, have left with them feelings of the warmest regard.

These feelings of human attachment which we are accustomed, in our somewhat inexpressive way, to sum up in the phrase, loyalty to the Crown, are a part, a large part, of that common sentiment of trust which is the tie that binds the British Empire together. Long may it live and flourish.

I give you the toast, in time-honoured words, of 'Our Gracious Queen Mary, Alexandra the Queen Mother, Edward Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family.'

IV.
CANADA'S PROBLEMS AND OUTLOOK

CANADA'S PROBLEMS AND OUTLOOK*

I THANK you heartily for the warmth of your welcome. It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that, at a time when, far from its shores, I am called upon, so far as it lies within my ability, to interpret the mind of our country upon affairs of great importance to it, I am permitted to seek support and counsel from so numerous and representative a gathering of my fellow-countrymen as that assembled here to-night. The tasks to which I address myself are not ones which I can hope to bring to success unless the solutions proposed receive general assent, and I hope you will believe that I have approached them with the most earnest desire that they shall be solved in a manner satisfactory to our

*Delivered at the Dominion Day Dinner, London, July 1, 1921.

countrymen and to the people of the Britannic Commonwealth as a whole.

There is a constant desire of all His Majesty's subjects, a deep-rooted desire which springs from our common traditions, our undivided allegiance, our mutual loyalty, that, after consultation and conference, decisions arrived at shall speak the united opinion of all. Individual points of view there must be, but we are determined that no thought of separate advantage, no claim of special privilege shall outweigh the overriding common interest. This is a principle which we Canadians can well appreciate, for it has been the foundation of our national policy and endeavour since Canada was a united country.

I shall not traverse ground familiar to everyone to point out landmarks in our national development. I prefer, if I may, to suggest, rather than accurately to define, some of the obligations which fall upon us by reason of the position which

our country has attained as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and of that wider society of states to which British practice has given the model, and to whose maturity and usefulness the assistance of British statesmanship will continue to be essential.

What then is our national position? Our allegiance to its common Sovereign and our membership in the Empire are fundamental; but our geographical situation, our social composition, our economic heritage and development raise problems which are not identical with those which confront the Motherland or any other Dominion.

First it must be noted that we are a western continental power, vitally affected in our aspirations and actions by our position on the globe. We are justly proud that, when earth's foundations were threatened, we came earliest from the New World to help redress the overweighted balance of the Old; and I believe

we have a duty to bear our part in reasserting and maintaining the equilibrium of civilization. We span a continent and are a link between East and West. We touch on four thousand miles of unfortified boundary another great branch of the English-speaking peoples; and I believe, because of our intimacy and understanding, that we have no small part to play in finding a remedy for some effects of a division which the Prime Minister of South Africa aptly termed "a historical mistake." We cannot, if we would—but if we could I feel it would be our duty not to—stand aside from the stream and tendency of civilization. The world lately learned by stern experience that no nation, as no man, lives unto itself alone. Canada will be more fully carrying out her task as an inheritor and moulder of British practice and policy as her interest and influence in every part of the world expand.

I will not venture a prophecy as to what

the future critic of national characteristics will discover to distinguish the Canadian people, but one fancies that sometimes there is misconception in this respect about parts of the Empire with which one is not so well acquainted as with one's own. Because the Dominions inherit the same strains of blood and tradition it will not do to identify them with each other or with the Motherland. New, immature perhaps, they may be; but it is a misconception, from force of circumstances more current in the United Kingdom than overseas, to suppose that each of the Dominions is but a replica of the Mother Country, instead of a living, throbbing society, developing a common stock of conventions, aspirations, and ideals, moulding them in its own way and according to the measure of its own genius. The people of two of the Dominions are not composed of one race, but they are the inheritors of the co-partnership of western European civilization to which the

world owes the ideas still dominating it. We have lately witnessed a fresh and luxuriant creation of racial States. No free man may question the justice of their national aspirations: the claims of freedom against tyranny stir a sympathetic chord in every free breast. But there is authority* for the principle that the united support of common ideals by those who, though of different descent, have a common allegiance, may hold the best guarantee and promise of liberty and civi-

*"The co-existence of several nations under the same State is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilization . . . . Christianity rejoices at the mixture of races, as paganism identifies itself with their differences, because truth is universal, and errors various and particular. . . . In pagan and uncultivated times, nations were distinguished from each other by the widest diversity, not only in religion, but in customs, language, and character. Under the new law they had many things in common; the old barriers which separated them were removed, and the new principle of self-government, which Christianity imposed, enabled them to live together under the same authority, without necessarily losing their cherished habits, their customs, or their laws. The new idea of freedom made room for different races in one State."—Lord Acton, *History of Freedom and other Essays*, Nationality, pp. 290, 291. In this essay the terms race and nation are used interchangeably.

lization. This, at all events, is Canada's conviction.

The task of subduing the natural products and forces of half a continent to the uses of man is no light one, especially if it is conducted by a small population which, I am glad to think, is not wholly concerned with the material things of existence; but it is a task which kindles enthusiasm and encourages optimism. If a vast amount remains to be done, we have made rapid strides in the distance we have gone; have, I think, proceeded along right lines; and ought to regard the future with abounding confidence. We have built up by the forethought and energy of successive generations a well-balanced and increasingly self-contained national existence. Our communications, built, many will think, in advance of our needs, will serve the purpose of national development, and will in the long future, I am fully persuaded, become in the aggregate a paying national investment.

Every phase of our national advance gives ground for hope. There are no dark shadows on the path of our national destiny. Within the ambit of the Britannic system we may anticipate continued security, ordered liberty, and sound economic development; and foresee an increasing contribution to the civilization, peace, and happiness of the world.

V.

THE GLORIOUS DEAD

THE GLORIOUS DEAD*

THE Great War is past; the war that tried through and through every quality and mystery of the human mind and the might of human spirit; the war that closed, we hope for ever, the long, ghastly story of the arbitrament of men's differences by force; the last clash and crash of earth's millions is over now. There can be heard only sporadic conflicts, the moan of prostrate nations, the cries of the bereaved and desolate, the struggling of exhausted peoples to rise and stand and move onward. We live among the ruins and the echoes of Armageddon. Its shadow is receding slowly backward into history.

At this time the proper occupation of the living is, first, to honour our heroic

*Delivered at Thelus Military Cemetery, Vimy Ridge, at the unveiling of the Cross of Sacrifice, July 3, 1921.

dead; next, to repair the havoc, human and material, that surrounds us; and, lastly, to learn aright and apply with courage the lessons of the war.

Here in the heart of Europe we meet to unveil a memorial to our country's dead. In earth which has resounded to the drums and tramplings of many conquests, they rest in the quiet of God's acre with the brave of all the world. At death they sheathed in their hearts the sword of devotion, and now from oft-stricken fields they hold aloft its cross of sacrifice, mutely beckoning those who would share their immortality. No words can add to their fame, nor so long as gratitude holds a place in men's hearts can our forgetfulness be suffered to detract from their renown. For as the war dwarfed by its magnitude all contests of the past, so the wonder of human resource, the splendour of human heroism, reached a height never witnessed before.

Ours we thought prosaic days, when the

great causes of earlier times had lost their inspiration, leaving for attainment those things which demanded only the petty passing inconveniences of the hour. And yet the nobility of manhood had but to hear again the summons of duty and honour to make response which shook the world. Danger to the treasury of common things—for common things when challenged are the most sacred of all,—danger to these things ever stirred our fathers to action, and it has not lost its appeal to their sons.

France lives and France is free, and Canada is the nobler for her sacrifice to help free France to live. In many hundreds of plots throughout these hills and valleys, all the way from Flanders to Picardy, lie fifty-thousand of our dead. Their resting-places have been dedicated to their memory forever by the kindly grateful heart of France, and will be tended and cared for by us in the measure of the love we bear

them. Above them are being planted the maples of Canada, in the thought that her sons will rest the better in the shade of trees they knew so well in life. Across the leagues of the Atlantic the heart-strings of our Canadian nation will reach through all time to these graves in France; we shall never let pass away the spirit bequeathed to us by those who fell; 'their name liveth for evermore.'

VI.
UNITY IN DIVERSITY

UNITY IN DIVERSITY*

TO become a freeman of this ancient and renowned City is regarded as among the very first of honours by the people of all those wide-spread realms of which it is the heart and pride. I should be unwarranted in thinking that the personal compliment involved was more than accidental, but on behalf of the Dominion of Canada I thank you with deep sincerity for the distinction you confer upon me as representing my country.

It has been the pride of men of Empires which have passed, to consider themselves, at whatever distance from it they might reside, citizens of the Imperial City. But the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations, differing as it does from those Empires in foundation, development, and aim, take pride of a differ-

*Delivered at the Guildhall, London, on receiving the Freedom of the City, July 15, 1921.

ent sort in London. We do not look upon this City as the promulgator of laws or the repository of power; we do not regard it as the imperial disposer of destiny with a mission 'to rule mankind and make the world obey'. The British Empire is *sui generis;* there is no precedent, there is no analogy even, for the communion of memories and hopes which is the common bond of its citizenship. In these Islands the cause of popular government was first won, and its worth vindicated by time. From these Islands it has spread, and around the globe nations have sprung up, with institutions fashioned after those of this Kingdom, who cling as a family together because they feel themselves one with you in the plan and purpose of their existence. The British Empire has become a world within a world.

In the history of London we can read the story of this development from earliest to latest times. Her attachment to the cause of liberty is a tradition. Here were

focussed those mighty forces that first established the free institutions which are now our common possession. Here is the Mother of Parliaments. Here there has been seen for centuries the eptiome of British life, the first fruits of every activity, whether political or industrial, of the British people. We look upon London as the greatest of the world's capitals, as belonging to us all in sentiment and tradition. We speak of London as the eldest brother among a host of free communities, and the leader in every good cause. In this City we see a reflection of our civilization. What memories of historic influence, what evidence of present greatness, what hope of future good the name of London conjures up! Other capitals have their peculiar characteristics, their special charm, but in the sum of these things London transcends them all. Where else will one find that extraordinary variety, energy, and abundance of human enterprise which meets one here at

every turn? The centre of art, of science, and of literature; the greatest mart of commerce and finance; the heart of a free system of government which includes a quarter of the human race; all these are London's. She is a microcosm of the Empire, the centre of gravity of the world.

I have a word to say now as to how you should regard the Dominions. In our political institutions we are, indeed, replicas of this country. The head of those institutions is a Sovereign common to us all and revered by us all. In that fact, in what I may call that momentous similarity, is wrapped up the sense of our common mission on earth and the secret of our unity. But I doubt if there is any other respect in which the Dominions are facsimiles of the Motherland. Our geography is different, our neighborhood is different, our racial composition is different. The assets stored by nature in our soil, they also are different. No two nations of this Empire travel an identical

path. Each encounters difficulties and each enjoys advantages all its own. These are powerful, immovable facts, and because they are facts we have to shape our plans to meet them. True it is that we share each others security, that and the peril of one is the peril of all; but subject to that consideration our Dominions must determine their policies in the light of the conditions that surround them. What may be right for one may be entirely wrong for another. What may have been for you a mere passing care may be to us the most persistent and baffling problem of our politics.

Canada for example is a nation of about nine million people spread over half a continent. You are forty-five million people gathered on two small islands. You have a more or less homogeneous population. Only about one-half of ours have their origin here, and one-third are of French descent. Your resources are largely developed; ours are undeveloped.

Your task of transportation is almost wholly by sea; ours is mainly by land. But the contrast I emphasize most is this: you are a mighty nation, for five centuries in the fore-front of the world; you lie on the edge of Europe, confronted by many great competing powers. Foreign policy has of necessity been the chief preoccupation of your government. We are a young Dominion, just grown to nation's stature; we have one neighbor and one only, and that one an industrial colossus. It lies for four thousand miles along our border, producing what we produce and doing constant but legitimate battle to forestall us in the world's markets and in our own. There is the dominating fact that meets Canadians every morning; and except during the period of the great war commercial questions have almost absorbed our minds. To achieve a measure of independence in commerce and transportation has been the constant care of our statesmen.

Observations closely paralleling what I have said with regard to Canada might be made from the standpoints of the other Dominions. We are not at all replicas of Great Britain, and it is important that our divergent conditions be recognized and understood. But in this same divergence, in the variety of our interests, in the very magnitude and inter-relation of our contrasting problems lies our ultimate strength. The experience we have gained all through these years in appreciating each other's viewpoint, sometimes failing, but, I think, always trying, has done the Empire good. It has developed a breadth of view, a range of sympathy, an aptitude for conciliatory compromise that has enabled British statesmen to render priceless service to mankind. There are years ahead—should I say months ahead?—when these qualities will be needed as never before. It will be the hope of Britain's millions in every quarter of the globe, that, during those months, by call-

ing into play the same spirit and the same talents which have preserved the unity of this Empire through the long and troubled past, her statesmen may be able now to contribute something of credit towards advancing, if not the unity, at least the happiness and peace of the world.

VII.
SCOTLAND'S CAPITAL

SCOTLAND'S CAPITAL*

MY first word must be an expression of the deep regret with which I learned of the sudden death of your Chief Magistrate. I had not the honour of knowing him, and very much deplore that my hope of meeting him cannot be fulfilled. I shall remember the Lord Provost by the gracious terms of the letter in which he expressed the desire of the Corporation to do me the high honour which I have just received, and beg the privilege of expressing to his family my deepest sympathy.

It is many years since I determined to see Edinburgh, and it is now difficult to understand why I delayed so long. In Canada, where, as you know, we have one Nova Scotia, and could show good reason to have several, this City is regarded as

*Delivered at the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, on receiving the Freedom of the City, July 18, 1921.

one of the Meccas of earth, one of the few places that have both a brilliant present and a fascinating past. There are, perhaps, not many of our people who could tell very much about its industries or could estimate accurately its population—important as these are, they are not vital to Edinburgh—but every one could tell something of its history. To realize at last the long deferred hope of seeing this City is a peculiar pleasure in itself; but at the same time to be admitted a burgess, with such circumstance of cordiality and ancient dignity, is to me a distinction so great that even pleasure is submerged in gratitude and pride. I thank you with very deep sincerity for this kindness to me and this honour to my country.

When I woke this morning I saw the soil of Scotland for the first time. As a citizen of Canada, even though my ancestors have not been traced east of the Irish Sea, I appreciate the debt Canada owes to Scotland. From these rugged hills we

have drawn unnumbered thousands of the most rugged of our men. From your town and countryside we have received an equal stream of talented and noble women. Industry, intelligence, and high character were the common equipment of both. We have regarded them not as immigrants but as pilgrims who came to stay. They have stood every test, and measured to every responsibility; they have marched in the forefront of every movement for the spread of education, the advancement of religion, and the establishment of trade. We should still, of course, have a Canada, a fine Canada, if we had never had Scottish settlers; but it would not be the Canada we have to-day. It would not be so good a Canada; it would not be so strong; it would not be so British.

As a citizen of the Empire, too, I am glad that there is a Scotland. From the first hour of her union with England she has given an example of patriotism and fidelity. She has been content that her

share of influence in the councils of Britain should be measured by the type of men she could produce and contribute to national life, by the ability and force of the statesmen she could send to Westminster. Scotland need never fear that standard of comparison. Under all skies she has played her part, giving the world an illustration of devotion to peace combined with dauntlessness in war.

I do not know that I can boast of Scottish blood, but except for that bond of affinity I can share every other strand of the tie which attached Macaulay to "this ancient and renowned capital of the Scottish race." I, too, feel the strength of "that tie", as he expressed it,* "which attaches every student of history to the spot ennobled by so many great and memorable events; that tie which attaches every traveller of taste to the most beautiful of British cities; and that tie which attaches every lover of literature to a place

*Speech at Edinburgh, 1839, *Works* (Edinburgh Edition), Vol. VIII, p. 144.

which, since it has ceased to be the seat of empire, has derived from poetry, philosophy, and eloquence a fame far higher than empire can bestow."

Few of us can be artists, and few, perhaps, competent critics, but all can be fond of art, and every lover of art has an interest in Ediburgh. If we turn our minds to science, to almost any branch of science, the name of some great teacher is remembered whose home and whose triumphs were here. We can roam the whole field of literature, through every display of its foliage and fruit, and never lose sight of Ediburgh. She has, I can see now, other titles to importance—I mean in the more practical activities of life; but her fame in other lands rests on the splendour of her achievements in those higher pursuits; and the hope of her admirers in this and every land is that, whatever else she may become, her glory as a seat of learning will never diminish but will be sustained by her children to the latest generation.

VIII.
SCOTLAND AND CANADA

SCOTLAND AND CANADA*

I SCARCELY know how to respond to the toast which you have received with such acclaim. Whatever words I may be able to utter will have to depend for their inspiration on the toast itself, on the ideas of the moment. At all events they will not be livid with the glare of the midnight lamp, nor will their freshness be blighted by hours of precedent reflection.

In the ceremony at the Usher Hall—the impressiveness of which has by no means yet departed from my mind—as well as in this luncheon, I find evidence of that innate and world-famed hospitality of the Scottish people that I can never forget.

You have spoken, Mr. Acting Chief Magistrate, both at the Usher Hall and here, of the essential unity of Canada and

*Delivered at the luncheon given by the Corporation at the City Chambers, Edinburgh, after receiving the Freedom of the City, July 18, 1921.

Scotland, and of that of both of these nationalities with all parts of the Empire. There is much in common between Canada and Scotland. Not only have we, in perhaps a larger degree than you would believe, a common kinship, a common composition of our populations, but in physical characteristics and problems we are more alike than any two other nations of which I know. Canada is at the north of the Western hemisphere, and many of the difficulties she must overcome are essentially those incident to the north. Scotland is at the north of the eastern hemisphere, and the character of the Scottish people that has left its impress on the world is due in no small measure to the fact that they had to face and surmount all those obstacles of nature that are so immense and so difficult to conquer in northern latitudes.

The unity of the British Empire is the marvel of the world to-day. Why there should be such unity, surviving so many

trials, people of other lands find it difficult to understand. They know that the various nations that comprise the Empire are different in racial composition, different in geographical neighbourhood, different in physical conformatiou, different in many fundamentals to this their parent State; and knowing all these divergences, and the consequently various outlooks of the peoples, they find it hard to comprehend that we still call ourselves one great commonwealth, and that we still, in peace and war, in sunshine and storm, face the world a united Empire. Well, those of you who have visited the Dominions—it matters little which one—will understand why it is that we pattern our methods after yours. Our political institutions we inherit wholly from you; our educational institutions are modelled after those that are familiar to you here in Scotland; and, more than that, our ideals of life and our sense of our mission in this world are just the same as those that animate you. If we

conceived that in our government we must regard ourselves as parts of a dull uniformity embracing the peoples of all the other Dominions and yourselves, if we followed the lines of a mere inanimate mechanism, we never could continue this Empire. We tried to do that once, and confronted disaster; and what might now be a large section of the English-speaking peoples, feeling towards you exactly as Canada feels, became a State by itself and decreased the power for good which arises from unity. We shall never travel that way again. We shall never treat as inanimate mechanism what is essentially life abounding.

You referred to the ties generated by the war and to the conduct of the troops of Canada in conflict overseas or quartered here in the British Isles. With deep pride I heard that they so conducted themselves as never to tarnish the fair name of their country. It is perhaps due to you to say that those Canadians who trace their

descent to the hills of Scotland were early in the battlefront. The war did much to cement the indissoluble union of Canada with the British Isles. It taught us that the United Kingdom was a real devotee to the cause of peace, and it taught us also that the children of these Islands had not lost their aptitude for war; that if war must come, the world would find that they were of the same stuff, that in their veins flowed the same blood which built the Empire first, and sustains it still. We discovered that the best that could be written of these Islands had not been written, and our soldiers brought home to us this lesson: that the conduct of this Empire through the war and at the table of peace constituted the noblest chapter in the whole book of its history.

IX.

EDUCATIONAL VALUES AND IDEALS

EDUCATIONAL VALUES AND IDEALS*

I AM eager to tell you in simple words and without undue superlative of the sense of pride and gratitude with which I accept this honour at your hands. There are many fine things that we have been forbidden to covet by the lawgiver at Sinai, but an honorary degree from Edinburgh was not included in the list. Nothing could have been more prized. Indeed the only reason why it was not coveted was that the possibility of receiving such a distinction had not entered my dreams. To know that it has actually come, leads me to the conclusion that, after all, there is some advantage in living a long way off. There are not many amaranthine wreaths that

*Delivered before the University of Edinburgh, on receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, July 18, 1921.

come by way of unearned increment, but this surely is one.

Scottish Universities are ancient foundations, and we have had enough Scots among us in Canada to teach us why this should be so. Those intrepid adventurers, half warrior and half tillsman, who first raised the standard of civilization in this country, had to overcome almost every obstacle that man and nature could marshal. They found a rigorous climate and a rugged obstinate soil; they lived in the midst of enemies. But they and their descendants created out of a rough, defiant wilderness this marvel of industry, this land of learning, this home of culture. When the Scot transferred himself to Canada he repeated there what his ancestors had achieved at home. He did not choose the soil of easiest tillage,—very often the reverse; but he was building for his children; his care was for the generations to come. Some of our Provinces owe their settlement in large degree to his

courage. Nor was his mind centred on the pursuit of wealth and comfort. More perhaps than any other race the Scots of early days in Canada set their hearts on education, and it was a rule of their lives that, whatever else might be denied them, they would lay foundations upon which their children could erect in the new land that system of intellectual discipline and development which had been the pride of their fathers in the old. It was a custom of those families to select the son of greatest promise, or more sons than one if by any means they could, and at whatever cost, whatever sacrifice, to give those sons every advantage that the Universities of their own, or even of this country, could afford. It is because of the stern idealism of such families that we have had good schools in the Dominion almost as long as we have had settlement. We are in the habit, as people are in every country, of pointing to the increase of our production and trade, to our triumphs of engineering

and construction, to the administration of our law; and nothing is easier than to find immediate causes or policies to which good results can be traced. But the simple and useful truth is this: whatever of moral and intellectual virility Canada enjoys, and she has much, not in her cities alone and around her cathedrals and colleges, but out on her frontiers and in her country homes,—whatever she enjoys of that moral and intellectual virility which is the real parent of every achievement, she owes to the severe self-discipline, the passion for education of her pioneers.

This explains a fact which already all of you know, all of you who take interest in the Dominion; it is the early growth of our Universities. Even before Canada received its present political institutions there were established several Universities. Those institutions were modelled pretty much after your own. The one I call mine owes its inception to the energy and devotion to learning of a Scotsman.

Compared with this ancient foundation its tradition is short, but when one remembers that the British flog has flown over Canada for only a hundred and sixty years, a University with a charter a century old is no longer juvenile. It has grown to extraordinary dimensions, and is now, I believe, if measured by the number of students within its pale, one of the largest in the world.

The preoccupations of a new country are, as you know, intensely practical; and institutions of learning like all other institutions, moulded as they are by the national temper, have in such a country greater tendency to concentrate on the practical than they would have in older lands. I hope that tendency will not drive too far. I hope that the example of Edinburgh will again be contagious,—that the example of the grand old Universities of these Islands will keep us right. I hope that all this glamour of the practical will never be allowed to obscure the lofty but funda-

mental purpose of every seat of learning: the enlargement of the mind, the cultivation of the understanding, the purifying of taste. To these ends every branch of the work of universities should be subordinate. Only in that way can they cause the light to shine; only in that way can they diffuse those better things which interest and invigorate, which inspire and sustain, which comfort in adversity and temper in triumph; only in that way can they contribute to the production of those finer fruits of literature and art and science by which people of our own and future ages are wont to judge the human standard of a nation, and which survive without concern of time long after the nation itself may have passed away.

THE END.