

Analyze, even hurriedly, the ability that these men displayed. They evolved an instrument of government that has given us plain sailing to date. They carved out spheres of Dominion and Provincial activity that have stood the test of such time as has yet been vouchsafed to us. They provided a model that has recommended the Federal system to the favorable attention of the whole world. They pulled out a new stop in the organ of political development. They proved that at last there was something new under the sun. They blazed the path which in large essentials Australia and South Africa have followed. If there is any vitality whatever in the concept of Imperial Federation, it is due literally to the success of the Canadian experiment.

So, indubitably, we should exalt our past. We should not permit this milestone to be passed with a *Te Deum* for what was done in 1867.

In many respects the Canadian people have reason to be proud of what they have accomplished. They have faced, and, in a very large sense, mastered great difficulties. There is no manner of use denying it, we have a harsh climate. Think, just by way of one particular, what a tax that climate has represented during the last three years in the training of our soldiers. The United States can train its armies continuously in its southern portions. Our country is only a riband of territory—a great riband, but still, relatively only a riband. Great natural barriers divide our constituent sections. Maine and the Gaspé stretch between the Atlantic and the Central Provinces. The North Shore of Lake Superior between the Central and the Prairie Provinces. The giant bulk of the mountains between the Prairies and British Columbia. Again, from the outset a sharp line was set between the two dominant races. This line was accentuated by the fact of the Conquest. One of these races had been beaten, and yet the spirit of the Constitution is that neither is to be treated as a helot.

In parentheses it may be said that Western Canada has had little occasion to remember or be conscious of this great initial fact of our history. But one realizes it in its force when one stands on the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe fell; and when one stands in Quebec before the house where Montcalm died. One realizes when one finds oneself in the Chateau de Ramezay at Montreal. There is a house built in 1704 by the father, I think, of the man who signed the capitulation of Quebec. From 1704 to 1760 it is the residence of the French Governors. In 1760 into it steps an English Governor, representative of the triumphant race. It bears mutely in its frame the memory of racial humiliation and of a racial victory. In other words we started with a sword in our vitals. Western Canadians have comparatively little to remind them over what we have so far so well triumphed.

Further, we do not realize sufficiently the character of our national beginnings in other particulars beside those concerning the relations of the British and the French. It is a commonplace for Canadians to approve of the American Revolution. We conceive ourselves as exalting the British race when we complement the founders of the American Republic; because they achieved their purpose in the spirit of Britons. England was off its own track when it tried to coerce America. We adhere to that view. At the same time there is another side that we habitually overlook. Go to Fredericton, the capital of New Brunswick. On the walls of the Legislature hang the portraits of George III. and his Queen. We do not propose ever to say much that is commendatory about George III. He broke the back of the Anglo-Saxon race. He tried to rule Anglo-Saxons on principles incompatible with freedom. He was bound to fail. The stars in their courses were fighting against him. But the United Empire Loyalists who founded New Brunswick put his picture on their wall. They arrive on the banks of the St. John in 1783. They get legislative powers in 1788. How little we talk of the nobility of these men. They applied for an academy, ultimately to ripen into a university, in 1785. On the walls of the Library of the University of New Brunswick the original memorandum hangs to-day. In simple, but moving terms the memorialists, addressing the Governor, refer to the suddenly interrupted education of their sons. This lifts the veil and shows the nature and the extent of the sacrifice they had made for the sake of loyalty to the British Crown. For the sake of this they saw their property confiscated. For the sake of this they made a hiatus in their whole life. How little attention we pay, the most of us, to the memory of these Loyalists. Many of them lie in nameless graves. They

bequeathed their fibre to us, but their names are wrapped in an unstirred oblivion. The Canadian founders of my own family, to whom I have to date given scarcely a thought, rest in totally unmarked graves at Green Point, on the shores of the Bay of Quinte. They hewed down the forests. They were cut off from supplies. They all but starved. They lived their lives, and passed out.

To resume what I have tried to say. The beginnings of our Colonial history are noble. Confederation was a great task worthily fulfilled. Since 1867 until now our system has worked smoothly. The success that we have so far achieved has been worked out in the face of the difficulty presented by the presence along our border of the enormously

into Canada at Niagara Falls and travelled to Windsor. I was chagrined with the character of the country in that old section of Ontario. There ran, or rather lay, the wretched old log fences. Even in what I had supposed was one of the gardens of Ontario the cultivation looked to me sloppy and down at heel. How sharp was its contrast with even Western States like Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Think of the hopeless undevelopment of a great stretch like that, say, from Kenora to Pembroke. Coming out of Montreal, the commercial metropolis of the Dominion, on the way to St. John, how soon one finds oneself running through territory that is neither more nor less than primitive. Then after the jungle of Maine, how primitive in the extreme is New Brunswick right up to the very edge of Fredericton.

I am not adducing these points in any particular order. I say now that our lack of national education is regrettable. France, by centralisation, places a stamp upon her people. The attitude of her people at large toward England—an attitude which happily now is changing with great rapidity—is itself proof of this. Her school histories did the trick. We regret this instance, but it illustrates the point under consideration. We have suffered from the fact that education is not under central or federal control. Take the matter of technical education. Large amounts are expended in the labors of a commission. Of the labors nothing has come to date. I presume that at bottom the big reason is that the central authorities dread to embark even in the technical domain on the adventure of nationally controlled education. We must, of course, acquiesce in the assignment of education to the provinces. That is a fact which cannot be disturbed. But we must labor at any rate to reform our education with a national afflatus with a national spirit, and with a consciousness of a national objective.

We have failed hitherto in large national organization. We might as well admit that we are not organized on a national scale for the effecting of national objects. It is only within the last three years that the Universities of Canada have so much as thought of getting their heads together in order to articulate educational tendencies, methods and purposes. The Union of Canadian Universities, so far as I have been able to gather, held its first successful meeting this year. They will, I think, make rapid progress in this direction from this time forward. Of course, better late than never, but it is fairly late. I contend that the twenty-three universities of Canada have done little collectively with regard to the war. We have raised men among our students and our faculties, but we have played small part as an organized national auxiliary in a supreme crisis. Leaving the universities, it may be said that as a nation we have so far exhibited little capacity for energized collective action. Our chance is not lost. We shall right the condition. We shall get under way, but the first essential is that we recognize our limitation hitherto. The United States has long since acquired the mental habit of organization. She abounds in nationwide organizations that can achieve great results with amazing rapidity. Of course her ability in this regard has its quota of weakness. Many Canadians think the Americans shout too much, that they organize too much, that they exalt machinery. But that sort of thing is necessary with a vast conglomerate proletariat. If it is true that yesterday 10,000,000, or anything remotely approximating 10,000,000 Americans, between the ages of 21 and 30 registered for the purposes of the Selective Draft, it is because America has acquired even at the cost of excess the habit of national response to a national demand. This one great result, even if there were nothing else, vindicates their national practice.

Canadians are too undemonstrative. America bursts into a flame of bunting for the French and British Commissions. Fifth Avenue, New York, was the sight of a lifetime when those Commissions made their progress along it. When Balfour entered our capital city of Ottawa the display of flags was ludicrous. I am quite aware that bunting is not an essential. The heart of Ottawa was all with Balfour; there is no doubt about that; but all the same the flag is the symbol of sovereignty, of nationality, of national consciousness. And you cannot build a composite nation on the tacit, non-committal basis.

I have suggested these limitations; but I am far from pessimistic about either the character, or the capacity, or the future of Canada. We have undeniable and great points of strength. I reckon here our large Scottish population, a pledge of thrift and caution. Our rigorous climate will build up a sturdy

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From Premier Sifton

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

AFTER fifty years of Confederation we are in a position to estimate the success of the great experiment. The last of the fathers has passed away and in this, the jubilee year of union, the people of Canada without division of race, creed, interest or political faith unite to revere the memory of the men who founded the Canadian nation and pay a just tribute to those who were called upon to guide its course through all the multifarious problems that followed in the train of the British North America Act. Real problems existed and still face us—amity between the races, diplomatic and trade relations with the United States; delimitation of federal and provincial rights, cheap and adequate facilities of transportation, the tariff, and our relations to the Motherland and the other overseas Dominions. All centre round the paramount idea of building up a durable and virile nationalism within the Empire that will secure the efficiency of the state without destroying the individuality of the citizen.

In the solution of these problems the present generation will do well to guide themselves in the broad principles that actuated the Fathers of Confederation. They stood for a workable system of government, not for a theoretical constitution; they desired the union of the Provinces on the only basis possible—compromise and fraternity. Above all, their hearts were set to maintain our British connection. In this it is hardly too much to say that they converted British statesmen to a new view of empire. When the delegates from Canada visited, England in 1865 on behalf of confederation, George Brown wrote back that there was a manifest desire on the part of British statesmen that ere long the British North America Colonies would shift for themselves. To-day there are gathered again in London other delegates from every Dominion deliberating on terms of a grander union that will include them all with the Motherland as equal partners in a galaxy of nations around the British Crown.

Time and the irrefutable logic of events has justified the constructive work of the Fathers of Confederation. Fifty years ago some of their actions were misconstrued and much petty criticism was directed against them. But they worked faithfully with the materials at hand and with sincere purpose. "They may sometimes have taken half a loaf where others would have gone hungry by proclaiming their right to the whole, but they welded the Dominion and kept it part of the Empire for which their grandsons were willing to die at Neuve Chapelle, St. Julien—Courcellette and Vimy Ridge.

prosperous American Republic. At almost every stage of our history people have felt the pull, from the material point of view, of that great success. It has been very hard for Canada to keep from being drained of her best blood by that strong attraction.

What I have said, so far, I have said by way of emphasizing our success. That being said, and said with conviction, I should be free now to go on and speak a little critically of our present condition. With a view to confirming our prospects let us analyze, however roughly, some of our limitations. What we have that is strong is ours. Let us drive from our system our weaknesses. Taking this attitude frankly and consciously, we stand to gain.

What is to be said in a critical way at this time, which should in all conscience be a time of stock-taking?

First, let us admit that our development has not been rapid. We have fewer people than we ought to have. It makes me squirm to think of our 8,000,000. And it may even be that we have quite a few less than that.

Nor is our general development what it should be. I was depressed a few weeks ago as I crossed