

REFLECTIONS

BY THE EDITOR

The Eternal Struggle

ULSTER has been the chief theme of Canadian conversation during the past fortnight. The Liberal papers have published news headings and editorials intended to show that the Asquith Government is right, while the Conservative papers have exalted Carson and the Ulster Resisters. The political lines of the British Isles are followed here more closely than at any time in recent years. The partisanship of Canada finds itself easily adapted to the partisanship of Great Britain. Slowly but surely the political programmes of the older country are reflected in those of the newer. The only difference is that what would correspond to the "Nationalist" and the "Labour" parties of Great Britain have no separate existence here, but are largely, though not wholly, found within the Liberal ranks. The Liberal party is represented in Parliament by a smaller percentage of Protestants than the Conservative party, and the only purely Labour member is on the Liberal side.

The Ulster controversy is essentially a religious one. The despatches are almost devoid of any reference to this, but every thinking person recognizes it. Rightly or wrongly, the Protestant does not believe that he gets quite the same fair treatment from a Roman Catholic government as a Roman Catholic gets from a Protestant government. The Protestant is willing to give a Roman Catholic equal privileges with himself—short of a predominate vote in parliament. The Protestant will tolerate a Roman Catholic premier and accord him the full measure of respect; he will accept Roman Catholic Ministers of the Crown as freely as he accepts Protestant Ministers; but he stops short at a Catholic majority in the parliament. This is wholly because he fears the influence of the hierarchy, or the invisible power which that word represents, and not because he has the slightest distrust of his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens as such.

Thus Ulster is explained. Thus much in Canada's political and social life is explained. Thus only may one discern reasons for such organs as the "Orange Sentinel" and the "Catholic Register." This mutual distrust of each other's "system" is not creditable to either Protestant or Roman Catholic, nor is it beneficial to the nation, morally, socially or intellectually.

This is the eternal struggle. It came into British life with the Reformation. It is part of Canada's inheritance. It will vanish only when sin disappears and the millennium dawns. In the meantime, we must bear with it as best we may, working always towards the elimination of the extremist and the exaltation of the virtue of toleration.

Paroled Prisoners

ONE good feature, among the many bad, marks our system of prison administration. Last year, according to Mr. Archibald's report, 445 prisoners were released on parole from the penitentiaries, and 470 from provincial reformatories. This system has been in vogue for fourteen years and is working well. Last year, the number of cancellations was 77, or eight per cent. of the total number of paroles. The total number of paroles during the fourteen years is 5,495, of whom eighty-two per cent. completed their paroles honourably.

Mr. Archibald does not believe in automatic paroles. Each case must be studied on its merits. The great advantage of the system is that the prisoners on parole return to industrial life and earn support for their wives and children. If they remained in prison, their families would receive no benefit and the expense to the public would be increased.

Most important of all considerations is the fact that during fourteen years, 5,495 erring men and women have been removed from the contaminating and soul-destroying life of our inefficient and politics-ridden prisons. Having national detention places which are twenty-five years behind the times, and in which men are made more criminal instead of less, it is pleasant to know that the parole system steps in and saves a few of the unfortunates who come before the automotons who administer our criminal laws.

The First Research Bureau

CANADA'S first Municipal Bureau has been established in Toronto. This permanent organization has grown out of the committee which superintended the "survey" of the administrative methods of the city by New York experts. The Bureau is to be supported by private contribution from the heavier taxpayers, and the expenses are estimated at twenty thousand dollars a year for five years. A director has been appointed at a salary

of six thousand dollars a year, and he will have several assistants. An honorary committee of management, and an honorary board of trustees comprise the governing body.

Municipal research bureaus have been established in various United States cities and have been doing good work in educating the citizens to a livelier and saner interest in civic affairs. These bureaus do not attempt to interfere with the political phases of civic administration, such as the election of aldermen, or appointments to civic offices. They confine themselves to research work, and the publication of facts relating to municipal government. They aim to inform the taxpayers as to what the administration is doing, and leave the electors to draw their own conclusions. They also aim to co-operate with the administration in initiating reforms which the officials and the council may decide to be necessary. They work with the administration, not against it.

One of the maxims of these Bureaus is worth consideration in all Canadian cities: "As regards great social undertakings, the Informed Taxpayer means the Generous Taxpayer." This idea is somewhat new. It is based on the theory that efficiency in civic administration has its genesis and its existence in a well-informed, active and intelligent public opinion.

Canadian Ship-building

A MOST remarkable statement appears in a recent editorial on ship-building in the Toronto Globe. It runs thus: "Before Canada ruined the business by protection she was among the leading ship-building nations."

Such a statement cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The protective policy which Canada has pursued for thirty-six years cannot be bolstered up by false facts, nor can it be changed by misleading

His Place in the World

BY MRS. BILSBOROUGH.

A new serial story by a new English author, being a remarkable case of loss of memory by a noted surgeon, and the equally unusual event by which he was restored. The first instalment in this issue. Complete in twelve weeks.

statements. The Globe statement is in the latter class.

When ships were made of wood, Canada built many ships. When steel was introduced as a substitute for timber, the building ceased. Canada could not make iron and steel plates. Iron and steel mills did not exist in this country, whereas they were numerous in Great Britain and Germany even in the era of wooden ships. In order that Canada could engage in steel ship-building it was necessary to establish the basic industries. This is now being done, and some day Canada may get back her ship-building. In the meantime, the world's ships are largely built in Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States.

Germany's experience proves the falsity of the Globe's statement. Germany is a protective country, just as Canada is, yet Germany is second in the list of ship-building countries. It is a question of industrial ability, not a question of protection.

Finally, it would be equally false if the Globe had stated that protection ruined our square timber business. Everyone knows that the export of square timber declined because the supply of trees ran out.

This is not a defence of protection, but a plea for truth and common-sense.

Heroism of Premiers

WHEN President Wilson said in his Chicago speech "I am the trustee for the prosperity of the United States," he made a statement which every Cabinet Minister in Canada should remember. Our Premiers, if they told the frank, brutal truth would probably say, "I am the trustee for the prosperity of my party clique." There is a tremendous difference.

Under our system, it must be admitted, a Provincial or Federal Premier has not the same freedom as the President of the United States. He has more power to force his measures through parliament, but he is under greater restrictions imposed by the party caucus and the party leaders outside parliament. The President is a candidate chosen for the time being, not a leader who has grown up with the

party, progressing step by step to the top. The President may be an outsider, as President Wilson is, and hence comparatively free from past political history. Our Premiers never are. No Canadian Premier could reasonably be expected to take the detached view of public questions that Wilson does.

Admitting all this, Canadian Premiers are not noted for their courage or their leadership. They seldom tower head and shoulders above their Cabinet as Wilson does. More important still, they seldom make a big fight for a public reform to which the leaders of the party are opposed. They are usually compromisers. They think more of winning bye-elections than doing what is best for the people as a whole. They are usually grand men, anxious to serve their fellow-citizens, but not always willing to risk their political supremacy by courageous action. Hence they are more often party heroes than public heroes. Their heroism is for the party rather than for the people. There are exceptions, of course. Sir James Whitney is a notable example of a man who has led his party and has regarded himself as a trustee for his province. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Borden also have much of the quality implied in the phrase, "A Trustee for the People."

An Intelligent Critic

MOST of the critics who favour the editor of the "Canadian Courier" with their opinions of the material published from week to week, confer a benefit. Many of them have information to impart. All of them have a point of view which is instructive to any properly constituted editorial staff.

Of course, there are exceptions, and one of these sent a letter from Calgary a few days ago. He took the clipping from the "Courier" of February 28th, entitled, "Wanted—A Daniel," in which Dr. C. C. James and Principal Creelman were asked to answer a question. This interrogation was phrased as follows: "How can the producers be increased in number and ambition?" It was suggested that either of these two gentlemen, or some other expert on the subject, should give the public a real plan for increasing the number of the producers.

This critic from Calgary has solved the question in eleven words, not counting the signature. These eleven words should be written on tablets of gold, as bronze would not be quite worthy of the occasion. When so engraved they should be hung in every agricultural college in the Dominion as a tribute to the intelligence of the grangers of the West, because, as mentioned above, the author of this wisdom lives in Calgary, or thereabouts.

Here, then, is the famous message in eleven words, the message for which so many of us have worked and prayed for years:

"Goosie! Also chump! Take off the tariff and let them breathe!"

The author of this brilliant sentence signs his name and this will be furnished to any reputable citizen who may apply for it. If any person from Calgary asks for the name he must give assurance that the thing will be done quietly and without any disgraceful public exhibition. The ordinary method which has distinguished the historic days of the Foothills should not be used. Perhaps a selected Oriental method would be better.

Statesman and Politician

FEW people are able to distinguish between a statesman and a politician. In his book, "True and False Democracy," President Butler, of Columbia University, says:

"The distinction between a political leader and a political boss is perfectly clear. The leader studies only the public good and party success as contributing toward it. He draws to himself the strongest, the wisest, and the best of those who bear his party's name. He urges forward talent and capacity; he represses presuming ignorance and self-seeking. He rests his case upon his capacity to persuade and to convince the people. By sheer intellectual strength and vigour of will he attracts men to him and to his policies. So Hamilton and Jefferson, so Lincoln and Douglas, so Gladstone. The political boss, on the other hand, is below the horizon from which the public good is visible. Party success is his highest aim and party success is interpreted in terms of his personal supremacy. He surrounds himself with the weak and obedient, with those whose conscience is held safe prisoner behind the bars of ambition and desire for gain. He bases his hope of victory upon effective political machinery, upon a lavish expenditure of money, and upon promises of preferment. His arguments are alternately exhortations and threats."

By substituting "statesman" for "political leader," and using "politician" instead of "political boss," the comparison will apply to Canada. There is only one other word which might be changed—the politician would probably use "patronage" instead of "preferment."

Canada needs more statesmen and fewer politicians, but there is not much hope for improvement until the people learn that their political fealty should not be bartered for a mess of pottage in the form of local public works.