

The Dominating Influence of the New Century

"In Europe, in England, in America, the 'impossibility of patience' is becoming the dominating influence in the political changes of a new century."

This is the most striking phrase in an important article on "Politics in Transition" in the Nineteenth Century for January, by Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P. It is quoted from Napoleon. "The greatest minds of the past," writes Mr. Masterman, "have always recognized that with the fading of supernatural encouragements from the ideals of the 'common people' the demand for betterment and social equality would become fiercely impatient."

"Society," said Napoleon, when he was establishing the Concordat in France, "cannot exist without religion. When a man is dying of hunger beside another who is surfeited with superfluities, it is impossible for him to patiently bear this difference if there is not an authority to say to him God wills it so. There must be poor and rich in this world, but later in Eternity things will be arranged otherwise."

"That eternity is vanishing below the horizon. That authority no longer speaks with unchallenged assertion. In Europe, in England, in America, that 'impossibility of patience' is becoming the dominating influence in the political changes of a new century."

This most interesting problem, however, Mr. Masterman does not develop explicitly. His immediate object is the discussion of the political situation in this country and how the contending forces stand. His reading of recent events here is that "realities have crashed into the activities of politics, which generally manage successfully to elude them. The social question has at last 'arrived' in England, as it has arrived previously in other European lands. Henceforth of necessity it must dominate the situation. Man will actually need to have his debts and earnings a little better paid by man," says a great writer, "which, let Parliaments speak of them or he silent of them, are eternally his due from man, and cannot,

without penalty, and at length not without death penalty, be withheld." The interest of the immediate future is largely bound up with the attitude in which each political party will confront this vigorous intruder.

"To the Liberal party, as the party in possession, is offered the greatest opportunity. If it can realize the magnitude of the challenge now presented and go forward boldly in some large and far-reaching scheme of social reform—in universal old-age pensions, in a national unemployment policy, in a shifting of local imposts from the houses and factories to the land—it may find itself not inadequate to the needs of the newer time. Tariff Reform, on the other hand, undoubtedly has a future as a practical weapon of social appeal. As an Imperial readjustment it has already become dead and a vision. As a means of promising more work for all, it will never lack allegiance. The fact that it is utterly indefensible as an economic system—if it be utterly indefensible—is no kind of a guarantee that it may not become a political reality."

"What's the use of talking to a hungry pauper about Heaven?" says Kingsley's forlorn inquiry. "What's the use of lecturing the unemployed about 'the balance of trade'?" is the equally pertinent inquiry of the Tariff Reformer. The appeal of Protection has hitherto only been propagated on a rising and therefore an unfavorable market. What would be its effect on a falling one? Only two forces are potent enough to disturb the great impact of this social upheaval. The one is the force of nationality. The other is the force of religion. Governments may be convinced that if the priests (of all churches) were removed, religious questions, in education and elsewhere, would no longer disturb them. But if they legislate upon the assumption that the priests have been removed, they are apt to suffer rude awakenings. Ireland, the home of a nation with a 'mind diseased,' stands outside all this bubbling and ferment of a new social interest. A Parliament with some eighty Irish members allied with a similar force of independent Labor, holding the balance between a Liberal majority and a Protectionist minority, would pro-

vide a political situation rich with unknown possibility of change. It is a political situation which demands no miracle for its production before the expiration of this first decade of the century."

Mr. Masterman's survey of the political situation is full of piquancy. "The Government in the last two years," he says, "has been subjected to every kind of criticism, obloquy, and abuse. The bulk of the respectable Press of England and Scotland has been perpetually assailing it with an increasing ferocity; and the majority of those classes who are accustomed to think that they are controlling public opinion are filled with bitterness because it refuses to disappear." The Government does not even lose by-elections, he points out, though over fifty contests have taken place. With one or two exceptions, which he names, he says "the tale is of maintenance and even (as in North-West Staffordshire) improvement on the General Election. All the hubbub of the newspapers and of Society, the violence of the Opposition platform; seems to pass altogether unnoticed amongst the masses of the people, who, gazing on these antics with something of the grave wonder of a child watching the fantastic attempts of would-be humorists to grimace and gibber before it in vain effort to amuse, only exhibit an indifference more baffling than open condemnation."

"Here alone, then," exclaims Mr. Masterman, "there would appear to be some evidence of a changed world; of some slow, profound and not yet entirely explicable shifting of the electorate away from allegiance to those who had for so long been master. Yet this is but half the tale of marvel. For outside the Liberal party, and altogether independent of it, there has suddenly arisen a third applicant for the suffrages of the electors, whose advance into public favor has been headlong in its growth. It appears to draw support from those who have formerly voted Liberal; and from a third class of electors risen as if from the ground or fallen from the sky. It possesses a kind of inner core or secret power of enthusiasm which the older organizations are unable to assure. That enthusiasm fills its meetings with a passionate emotion, and enlists numbers

of obscure men and women in disinterested service, and swings the whole affair forward with an energy and ardor, adequate to the achievement of the impossible."

"It can now reckon upon substantial support, varying in quantity, but of the same general texture, in any large industrial centre outside London. It arrives on the scene without previous preparation, it organizes the apparatus of agitation, it flings up marauders for its meetings or holds perpetual argument in the open air, it adds a novel and fierce zest to the normal decorum of the by-election; before it has finished it has concentrated popular attention upon itself and stirred the whole city into tumult. It can poll nearly a third of the electorate against both the historic parties, as at Hull and Huddersfield. It can beat in fair fight both the historic parties, as at Jarrow or Colne Valley. It can assail even one of the scanty remnants of Tory strongholds, as at Kirkdale; and leave as a result the impression of the seat saved, though hardly, by the beating off of the attack at the eleventh hour."

Here are Mr. Masterman's estimates of the Liberal and Conservative parties: "The Government, I think, stands if anything in a stronger position today than two years ago. Undoubtedly it has been assisted by very favorable external changes; two years of unprecedented prosperity at home, two years abroad of almost unprecedented peace. Today Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has attained a position which even the most contemptuous of his opponents is compelled to acknowledge as unique, incontestable, if also (as it remains to many of them) inexplicable. Almost every member of his Cabinet—an administration extraordinarily rich in varied personality—has revealed some unexpected quality of tenacity or inspiration. Some, who finding legislating difficult, are excellent in administration; those who possess no great stores of knowledge reveal a quick and lively intelligence; some who have only average intellect possess a more than average effervescence; those who are not men of genius are often picturesque. It would be difficult to convey to the outsider the domina-

tion which this group of men today exercises in the House of Commons. Opposite is little but desolation."

"The languid air of rather bored indifference, which came to be accepted as the tone of its predecessors in office, was perhaps a more exciting cause of exasperation among the plain business men than even the eccentricities of fiscal 'tactics' or the bankruptcy of social legislation. Mr. Balfour is probably as hard-working and enthusiastic as any previous Prime Minister. But he succeeded in conveying to the electorate the impression of a mind superior to and detached from the common work of the world; interested in ingenious problems of dialectic, but scornful to read the newspapers, and gazing on the squalid realities of the competitive struggle with some bewilderment and some disdain."

"But," continues Mr. Masterman, "if the Liberal Party finds itself in a position demanding courage and insight, the plight of its historic opponents is beyond measure more desperate. In Parliament itself, where dialectic and debating power occupy the supreme position, Mr. Balfour, a master of subtlety, quickness and dialectic, has been able to maintain some semblance of resistance. But in the country, where the appeal of the intellect scarcely counts in comparison with the impulse of the emotions and the demand of the will, and only some compelling energy of conviction can influence the energies of man, the party has sunk into the very trough and tangle of decay. They can neither do without Mr. Balfour nor without him—without him in the House of Commons, with him in the constituencies. They can neither do without Protection nor without it. Apart from their own vigorous dissensions, they cannot unite upon any rational measure of opposition. Unable to distinguish between what men care for and what men care nothing for, they waste their energies upon irrelevant denunciation of things to which the electorate is profoundly indifferent."

Mr. Masterman is of opinion that "every sign today would seem to point to an ad hoc election on the Lords' veto some twelve or eighteen months from today."

W. T. Stead and the Navy

"THE time has come when, to clear the air, we need to speak out quite plainly on the subject of the Navy," writes Mr. W. T. Stead to the Daily Mail. "Whether from sheer stupidity or from perversity the true position of the question has been so obscured by exaggeration and misrepresentation that a simple restatement of the A B C of the subject may be useful."

"The British Empire floats upon the sea. The command of the sea is the condition of its existence as an independent State. The maintenance of an irresistible superiority at sea is the absolute sine qua non of our national life. On this subject there is no difference of opinion among us. There are, it is true, two schools. One relies almost exclusively for safety upon the strength of the Navy. The other insists that it is necessary to safeguard the realm from invasion by the adoption of universal compulsory military service."

Invasion of Conscription

"To weaken the Navy is not merely to increase the danger of foreign invasion; it is enormously to strengthen the case in favor of conscription. As the peace party relies upon the Navy to shield it from two devils, whereas the Jingo only asks it to protect it from one, the zeal of the peace party for the maintenance of a supreme Navy ought to be at least double that of the zeal of the Jingos. And so as a matter of fact it is."

"The essential question is the maintenance of the supremacy of the British Navy, the irresistible superiority of the British Navy, without which we should exist only by sufferance of our neighbors and would inevitably be driven to conscription. What we tried to do in 1899 and in 1907 was to secure an international guarantee for the naval and military status quo for a term of years. As I had occasion to explain last February to the heads of the German Foreign Office, such an agreement was equivalent, so long as it lasted, to an international guarantee of the naval supremacy of Great Britain. But as it was also equivalent to an international guarantee of the military supremacy of Germany over France, and of Austria over Italy, it was fair all round."

Race of Expenditure

"Besides, as I pointed out with painstaking emphasis, however much Germany or any other Power might dislike to recognize our naval supremacy, it existed as a matter of fact, and in Britain we regarded its maintenance as a matter so absolutely essential to our national existence that we were—especially the pacifists—prepared to spend millions rather than see it impaired."

"Hence I said: 'You cannot help yourselves. British naval supremacy exists, and will continue to exist. We prefer that its maintenance should be secured by an agreement that neither Power

should exceed its present expenditure on naval armaments. But if you refuse to guarantee our supremacy by agreement, and challenge us to maintain it by competition, then it will still be maintained *coute que coute*."

"At the end of five or ten years the relative superiority of the British and German navies will be exactly the same. The only difference will be that each of us will have wasted many millions in an absolutely useless struggle, the result of which could be foreseen from the beginning. We hate such a prospect. We want to avert it. We offer you the status quo based on agreement to spend no more than we are spending now. But if you reject our offer and challenge us to maintain our position, we shall accept your challenge. Even if it is necessary to expend our last penny the relative superiority of the British Navy will be maintained."

"So far, therefore, from there being the least inconsistency in the attitude of the British Government, it is obvious that the proposal at The Hague to arrest the increase of armaments was made in order to prevent the evil which has now arisen. In a time of profound peace, when Anglo-German relations are more friendly than ever before, the German government proposes to increase its naval and military expenditure by seven millions a year."

Germany's Ambition

"We need not worry over their military expenditure. But their naval programme is avowedly intended to alter the relative positions of the German and British navies—to the detriment of Great Britain. We shall maintain the status quo, no matter what it costs. We cannot do otherwise, unless we acquiesce in our extinction as an independent State."

"We make no complaint against the German Government. The Germans are entirely within their rights if they decide to challenge the naval supremacy of Great Britain. We can, indeed, sympathize with them in their dissatisfaction with the status quo. So far from having strengthened their position in the world by building a fleet, they have weakened it, and until they can make their fleet as strong as ours or stronger the whole German Navy is virtually a hostage in the hands of the stronger naval Power."

"So long as the German Navy is inferior to our own, so long the German head is within the jaws of the British lion. It is natural they should wish to reverse the position, but we, naturally, to preserve the status quo. It is not a question of a ship more or less. The new German naval programme with its three millions increased expenditure in a time of profound peace is avowedly a proclamation to all the world that Germany means to depose us, if she can, from the position of relative superiority at sea which we now possess. We regret that she should give way to the temptation of such an impossible ambition. But that is her business. Our business is to see to it that the status quo is maintained."

A DEMOCRATIC UNION

The local unions of the International Typographical Union are about to nominate candidates for the various international offices. Nominations are made at the regular February meetings of the local unions. The election will take place on the third Wednesday in May. Inasmuch as the typographical union is the oldest and best conducted trade union on the North American continent, some information as to its methods of self-government will be of particular interest at this time. Many persons outside the ranks of organized labor are unfamiliar with the democracy that prevails in almost all trade unions. As a democratic body the International Typographical Union of North America is the pioneer, and stands pre-eminent as such in the organized labor movement."

The typographical union is a free association of economic equals, men and women, for be it known women are admitted to membership in this organization upon the same basis as are men, one of the cardinal principles of the union being equal pay for men and women for equal services performed. The international union is composed of unions scattered throughout the United States and Canada, and its jurisdiction extends from Alaska to the Philippines. Each local union administers its local affairs in conformity with international rules and regulations, said rules and regulations being developed by the combined local unions and administered by a central body known as the executive council in the interest of all the locals. This executive council is composed of certain of the international officers, who are elected by the referendum for terms of two years."

When, more than fifty years ago, representatives from the unions scattered throughout the United States met and organized a national body, which developed into the present international organization, the initiative and referendum were but little known or used, so that up to about ten years ago the annual convention, composed of delegates from the affiliated unions, elected all of the international officers and formulated the rules and regulations. This has now been changed. While the annual delegate convention is retained, all of the international officers are nominated and elected by the referendum, legislation is initiated and all constitutional laws and amendments must be submitted to the referendum. The officers of all local unions are elected by the local referendum. In fact, the way in which these men and women associated in a voluntary organization for their collective benefit, govern themselves is one of the greatest expositions of democracy extant. Not only does each local union govern itself, but each union shop is organized into a chapel, the members elect a chairman and secretary and such other officers as they may deem necessary, depending upon the size of the chapel. The chapel formulates and adopts rules for the government of its members, and it is the duty of the chapel officers to see that all union and chapel laws are lived up to. These chapels are not only for the benefit of the members, but are a protection to the employers, as the members are as zealous in seeing that the office rules are observed as they are to see that the union laws are lived up to.

First Victoria Directory

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. J. H. Lawson, of Messrs. R. P. Rithet & Co., The Colonist has been permitted to inspect the fourth issue of the first Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide, published in the year 1871 by the late Edward Malandaine, the architect."

An extract from the "prefatory remarks" reads as follows: "Two years have nearly elapsed since this work was last issued. Many and important changes have occurred since then. We are now under the shadow of confederation with the Dominion, to use a borrowed expression. Though often enthusiastically advocated and as often as pertinaciously rejected by its opponents, Confederation may now be regarded as an accomplished fact. It may not prove uninteresting to give here, apropos of the discussion as to the terminus of the Pacific railway, a few words quoted from a letter by one who has not unwisely been termed the 'Great Overlander,' Mr. Alfred Waddington. 'Mr John Roebing,' he says, 'the engineer of the Niagara bridge span of 800 feet, which cost £105 per lineal foot, would not mind adapting the principle to a span of 2,000 feet or more.' Nothing more need be said, as for a railway to connect Vancouver Island and the Mainland the greatest span in the bridge system would not exceed 1,800 feet. A better system even than Niagara bridge—that of John Dredge—carried out in many examples, would considerably reduce the cost, and give increased strength."

The directory had a generous advertising patronage, and it is noticeable that among the announcements are to be found the names of many business houses which are still being continued in this city at the present time. Thus we find the cards of T. N. Hibben & Co., T. Shotbolt, Peter McQuade, Wm. P. Sayward, L. Lowenburg, Findlay, Durham & Brodie, Charles Hayward (then Hayward & Jenkins). There is the following reference to the staff of the Hudson's Bay company: Chief factors, Victoria—James Graham, Esq.; Roderick Finlayson, Esq. Victoria office—Accountant, A. Munro; cashier, Wm. Charles; chief trader clerks, J. H. Lawson, John A. Andrew, J. O. Grahame, P. O. Leech. Store—A. McKenzie in charge; assistants, David Work, Donald McKay; John Boyd. Depot—James Bissett, chief trader in charge; clerk, C. Thorne. Wharf—James Jack, in charge; clerk, Gordon Lockery; toll collector, George Bond; Indian trader shop, Robert Horton in charge. Steamers—"Enterprise," J. Swanson, master; George Hardisty, purser; "Otter," Herbert Lewis, master; J. Smith, purser."

The personnel of the Victoria city council is given as: A. Locke Robertson, mayor; Yates street ward, J. E. McMillan, W. Heathorn; Johnson street ward, John Russell, G. E. Gerow; James Bay Ward, J. W. Carey, D. Spencer. The directory states that the district of

Cariboo contained a population of 920 whites, 685 Chinese, 570 natives, and 32 colored persons—total, 2,207. There were 1,698 acres under cultivation. There were in operation two steam saw-mills, 1 water mill, 1 quartz mill and 2 flour mills. The yield of gold was estimated at \$1,047,245.

No returns had been received from Cowichan Valley, but the population of whites and natives, including Salt Spring Island and Chemainus, was estimated at 1,400. It is described as "one of the most productive districts in the Colony."

The town of Esquimalt contained 74 adult whites, 51 natives, 9 colored and Chinese; 58 children, whites, and 29 natives—a total population of 221.

The district of Columbia and Kootenay contained a population of 108 whites, 139 Chinese, 2 colored, and 553 natives—total 802. It had one saw-mill run by water-power in operation and one bed-rock flume in course of construction. "The industrial pursuits are chiefly gold mining, sluicing and teaming."

The district of Lillooet-Clinton returned a population of 235 whites, 80 Chinese, 3 colored, 909 natives—total 1,224. There were two saw-mills, 2 flour mills, 1 saw-mill and flour-mill combined.

The district of Nanaimo returned a population of 601 whites, 36 Chinese, 29 colored, and 850 natives—total, 1,579. It had one saw mill in operation. It shipped in 1870, 27,000 tons of coal.

The district of New Westminster returned a population of 1,292 whites, 27 Chinese, 37 colored, natives 300—total, 1,650. It had three sawmills, capable of cutting 183,000 feet of lumber daily; 1 grist mill and 1 distillery.

The total estimated population for the entire province of British Columbia, not including the native tribes, was 19,225. The total Indian population was currently estimated at 45,000. The population of the city of Victoria was given as follows: White males, 1,045; white females, 1,197; colored males, 128; colored females, 89; Chinese, 210; natives, 350—a grand total of 3,629.

The estimated yield of gold for the Cariboo and adjoining districts was \$1,047,245. The actual shipments—all through Wells, Fargo & Co.—for 1870 were as follows:

Wells, Fargo & Co. \$264,168.88
Bank British North America .. 330,120.22
Bank British Columbia 432,482.16

Total \$1,026,771.26

"I don't mind telling you," said the pretty girl confidentially, "that I want to take a thorough course in cooking in order to fit myself to be a good wife." "You are doing the right thing, my dear," said the matron in charge of the cooking school. "May I ask how soon you expect to be married?" "How should I know?" rejoined the pretty girl, daintily rolling up her sleeves, "I haven't found the man yet."—Chicago Tribune.