

LORD MILNER'S FINAL MESSAGE

LORD MILNER sailed from Quebec for home on the Victorian. Before leaving Montreal he granted an interview to the Star; it was his final message before leaving Canada, and he amplified in some degree the subject of his discourse before the Woman's Canadian Club:

"I do not propose to preach a sermon," he said, in acceding to the interviewer's request, "but I am going to begin with a text and with characteristic modesty, I am going to take that text from one of my old speeches. I have said the same thing a dozen different times in different words, and in different places, but this is how I must have said it at Rugby on November 19, 1907. 'The greatest danger I can see is that the ideals of national strength and Imperial consolidation on the one hand, and domestic reform and social progress on the other, should become disavowed, and that people should come to regard as antagonistic objects which are really related and complementary to one another.'

What Is National Greatness?

"I believe in national greatness and power, but I hope I take a fairly comprehensive view of what constitutes them. It is not only armies and navies and guns and ships, though these have their functions to perform. It is not merely a well-filled treasury and good credit, though these also are essential. It is not merely high policy, though, according as that is wise, prudent and far-seeing, or short-sighted, spasmodic and impulsive, the value of armies and navies may be greatly heightened or diminished. But ultimate greatness depends upon the well-being and the contentedness of the mass of the people. And this involves so much—physical health of men and women, with all that is necessary to ensure it; air, space, cleanliness, good houses, good food and all that is generally included in domestic economy. Physical health first, then, of course trained intelligence; the power of thought and observation, quickness of hand and eye, various forms of industrial skill, etc. I might go on all day recounting the multitude of things which go to make for the welfare and contentedness of a people from physical health and education to the highest planes of morality and religion; all these things, which were never summed up better than in the old prayer-book phrase of 'health, wealth and godliness.' But my special point is, that all this involves an immense amount of social organization. In our complex modern world there is room, all the room needed in the world for individual enterprise and initiative, but there is no room for a policy of 'laissez faire'; go as you please and the devil take the hindmost, unless you

are prepared to have such a mass of hindmost, such a mass of failures as will drag the whole community to a lower level. The keen rivalry of nations, the constant competition between them from which nothing can escape (I am not thinking of war but of competition in general) one of the things which is going to count most is the waste of human power from bad social and industrial arrangements. There is a great silent force always working on the side of these nations which waste least in that respect. One other point. I have spoken of well-being and contentedness, but you cannot have contentedness, as distinct from mere sluggish acquiescence, without a certain task of well-being. More than that, you cannot have patriotism. Not that I mean to say for a moment that patriotism is the exclusive possession of the well-to-do. One often finds the strongest and soundest patriotism among the members of what is commonly known as the 'working-class,' and there is reason for that, too.

Value of Patriotism

"I think that in some respects the dignity of citizenship, pride in being a member of a great nation is a more valued possession to the man in a humble station than it is to the great and wealthy who have so much else to enjoy and be proud of. But there is a limit to this patriotism. Like all the ideal sides of life it can be choked, must be choked, except in very rare cases, by the squalor and degradation of the slums of our great cities, and by exceptionally hard and cruel conditions of life anywhere.

No shade for souls that sicken
In the furnace fire of life
No hope of more or better
This side of hungry grave
Till death release the debtor
Eternal sleep the slave.

"Where conditions exist in which a feeling such as this takes possession of the great mass of the people (and I fear these conditions exist too frequently in some of our great centres of population), we cannot expect to find patriotism. We cannot expect a casual laborer in an English town, for instance, with fifteen or twenty shillings a week and a wife and family to support, and no certainty whether he will get that fifteen or twenty shillings from week to week, to set much store by being the citizen of a great Empire, or even to care about a vote except for what he may get out of it, for himself or his class. I need not dwell further on this. I hope I have made my point clear, and it is, that one essential of national greatness is good social organization, and that patriotism and Imperialism (which is simply the highest development of patriotism in the free peoples of a world-wide state) must look inwards to the foundations of society, to pre-

vent disease at the roots, as well as outwards, to ward off external danger and attack. And this is where the influence of women especially comes in.

Influence of Women

"I do not mean to say I under-estimate their influence in any branch of national policy. It may be of quite peculiar value all round, were it only for this reason, that it is less likely to be deflected from the right line in any great national and Imperial issue by party considerations than is the opinion of the average man. No doubt women, too, are often partisans and bitter partisans, but they are not brigaded and platooned, as men are, in party divisions. They are not exposed to the same temptation, I might say to the same pressure, as the men, to subordinate public, national, Imperial interests to the supposed interests of a party organization. I say Heaven forbid that we should try to circumscribe the influence of women in public life. And, very fortunately, even if we wished this, it could not be done. Their influence is, in fact, all-pervading. But their actual work will necessarily lie more in the sphere of internal and social development. I want them to realize that, in doing this work, they are rendering as great national and Imperial service as any soldier, sailor, or diplomat is. I have been told that one of the foremost of living Englishwomen recently addressed this club, and that all she talked about was the provision of playgrounds and other means of recreation for the poor children of London and other great centres of population in the United Kingdom. I think she was perfectly right. What does one of our greatest modern writers and artists in words say about this? In simple and child-like language, no doubt, for he was only writing a 'Child's Garden of Verses,' but yet with deep underlying truth, he says:

"Happy hearts and happy faces,
Happy play in grassy places,
This is how in ancient ages,
Children grew to Kings and sages."

Avoid Growth of Slums

"I do not know that there is any greater Imperial service that could be rendered than if we were to provide, as we do not provide, but as we might provide, ample space and means of healthy recreation for even the poorest children of our great cities. Now this is a problem. One of a group of problems which are no doubt less urgent and come less home to you in a young and thinly-populated country like Canada than in the crowded and thickly populated countries of Western Europe. But I am not sure that the peculiar difficulties of crowded town life are not going to be repeated

on this side of the Atlantic, only with added irony, because there is so much room. I do not know how many Montreals have read a book called 'The Jungle'; it gives a terrible picture, an exaggerated picture no doubt, but still one not wholly devoid of truth, of the very undesirable conditions of one of the great cities in the United States. I do not think that people in many of the new towns which are springing up, especially in the Canadian West, hardly realize how rapidly slums and other evil features of crowded town life do spring up, unless careful provision is made beforehand to avert them. Provision might be made if people were only sufficiently far-sighted to reserve the necessary space for such purposes before land had acquired a prohibitive value. When it is too late they are sure to regret that in the first instance they did not reserve sufficient elbow room for a large population and a sufficiently ample public domain.

"If the men are too much absorbed in their business or too much concerned with political questions of more immediate interest, but by no means equal ultimate importance, I think the women might look after it.

"Now observe that this is merely a single illustration of a neglected public interest. I want women to come to the rescue on all the neglected sides of public life. I do not believe in division of interests; that women should confine themselves to one class of questions and men to another, but I do believe in a division of labor. We cannot afford to dispense with the aid of women in the great work of social organization, if only because there are not men enough to go round. I often hear of dearth of skilled workers in a particular trade or in a particular profession, but I have never yet heard of a dearth of men available for public work of all kinds. 'The fields are ripe for the harvest, but where are the laborers?' We cannot afford to dispense with the help of women who are willing and able to give their time and labor to forwarding social work. I know when anyone says this he is apt to be met by the objection that he is asking women to neglect their domestic duties and taking them out of their proper sphere. No sane person would encourage women to go into public work to the neglect of their domestic duties, but there are many of them who have time to spare, who have special gifts for social work and who are very anxious to undertake it. I say it would be madness to repress this, especially when there is so much work that goes undone. Now we have begun to learn this lesson, at least, in the Old Country. In the United Kingdom today, the assistance of women is welcome, and they are doing increasingly useful work in that direction.

"As inspectors of factories, as members of boards of guardians, and other bodies concerned in local government and especially with regard to the management of the schools, they are taking a more and more prominent position, and the community is the better for it. Everything that pertains to education, to housing, to hospitals, to the life of women and children employed in mines and factories, to the care of those who have fallen in the race of life, whether they have fallen for good or have only fallen temporarily, and can, by timely and sensible assistance, be set on their feet again—all these are spheres of work which are especially within the sphere of women's work. I might greatly extend this catalogue, but I am not here to give a catalogue of women's opportunities, but rather to bring home to you the national aspect of them all. I have spoken of the work done by the women in the Old Country; which I have myself seen and known. I cannot myself speak with equal experience of what they have done in Canada. But I am firmly convinced of this, that what is known throughout the Empire as the woman's movement, can only gain and may gain enormously from the exchange of experiences, from the women of one part of the Empire following the efforts and learning from the successes and failures of women in other parts. That is one of the chief advantages of the unity of the empire; of what I have spoken of as our common citizenship. We have got to evolve between us all a higher type of civilization. People do learn more easily from those of their own household. We do not doubt they learn more easily from the efforts and experiments made in other parts of our common empire than from what is done or attempted in foreign lands. Social experiments in other dominions of the Crown produce an effect which is not produced so readily by similar experiments in the United States or Germany. A special instance occurs to me at this moment, and that is the efforts at present made in Great Britain to deal with the evils of sweating, in respect of which we have derived much instruction from what has been done in Australia. There is a great deal that we can learn with regard to social organization generally from other parts of the Empire, and the Old Country need not be ashamed in this regard. She is in a good position to repay, in other respects, the debt which she owes to the younger countries. It is by mutual knowledge and mutual help; by learning from one another that we shall preserve in some, and develop in others the vivifying and inspiring sense of being one people, with a common mission in the world."

America's Yellow Peril—War Is Said to Be Inevitable

R. M. MAHLINGER, of Pekin, contributes the following article to the November issue of the International Review:

The conflicts between the American and Canadian Governments and Japan, which arose out of the emigration movement from the latter country to America, are still well remembered. At the present moment the ill feeling seems to have abated to some extent, but the question has by no means been fully solved, based as it is upon the antithesis of two social forces which have both been called into being by historical necessity and yet do not offer any possibility of lasting conciliation.

1. The population of Japan is rapidly increasing. This increase is calculated at 800,000 per annum at lowest, and on the strictly limited soil of the Japanese islands there is not a single spot left for this surplus. Japan is therefore forced to concentrate its whole policy on finding markets for its industries—so that it may provide for its large working population—and new lands for emigration purposes. This twofold point of view led to Japan's wars with China and Russia, and is today causing the colonisation of Korea in spite of the most determined opposition on the part of the native people of that country. Every day sees emigrant ships landing on its coasts, while fresh pieces of the country are continually being taken from the natives on one pretext or another, in order to make room for Japanese settlers. In spite of this, the possibilities of this colonial policy are limited. Even now Korea is densely populated, and force, as a method of gaining ground, has its limitations. The country may continue to offer favorable opportunities to the enterprising spirit of Japanese industrialists and traders, but as far as the Japanese peasants are concerned such opportunities are limited. For the Japanese workman there are no chances at all in Korea, since the rate of wages in that country is far below that of Japan, while the competition with native workers makes every attempt to raise it seem hopeless. As far as the Japanese possessions in Formosa and Manchuria are concerned the position is analogous. In time they may develop into valuable markets for Japanese products, and offer favorable opportunities for the placing of Japanese capital, but the problem of Japanese population will never be solved by emigration to these Asiatic districts.

2. Emigration to the United States of America offers entirely different prospects to the Japanese workman who cannot find work

at home. The wide regions of the Pacific coasts have only just begun to open up to economic and industrial uses: everywhere irrigation works, railways and factories are being built. The need of workers is very great, and the scanty white population of these districts can only supply them to a small extent. Thus the rate of wages in the United States and Canada rose very considerably, and powerful workmen's organisations were called into being to safeguard them in the face of the gradual slow immigration from the eastern states. The Japanese workman who immigrated was therefore certain of earning a wage largely in excess of that in his native country, but, in order to be preferred to his rival among the white workers, he was forced to offer his services at a lower wage than the latter. But this was all the easier for him, as his standard of living is considerably lower, and the ordinary Japanese food is obtainable at a very low price.

As soon as these immigrations assumed considerable dimensions, a wild outburst of opposition arose on the part of the white working population. Leagues were formed demanding the prohibition of Japanese immigration. Japanese workmen were assaulted in the streets, their houses were attacked, and their children were excluded from the schools of the whites by the public school authorities. It will be remembered how, in consequence of these events, the diplomatic relations between America and Japan became strained, and the last-named country energetically demanded adherence to the treaties which ensure to the Japanese the same rights as all other nations on American soil. The American Government was unable to comply with these demands, partly from constitutional reasons, since it is not in possession of actual means of coercion as far as the Californian authorities are concerned, and partly also from general reasons. It was held impossible to replace a highly qualified, well paid, white working class which was well disposed towards social and cultural progress, by a badly paid Japanese working class that was in a state of apathy as far as modern democratic ideas were concerned. It was, moreover, desirable to avoid fresh friction between two races of unequal strength, the disastrous results of which America had already experienced in the negro question of the south-eastern states. Even those persons and parties in the Union who believed in racial solidarity and humanity (such as the Socialist party in America) could not shut their eyes to these convincing reasons, and they therefore opposed Oriental immigration.

The diplomatic representations of the

Union finally induced Japan to some extent voluntarily to restrict the emigration movement to North America.

Under pressure of the above conditions the Japanese Government resolved to survey the other quarters of the globe with a view to finding fresh fields for emigration. Several experienced and capable men, who were well acquainted with the necessity and desirability of Japanese emigration, were sent to visit the

THE BEECH-NUT GATHERER

All over the earth like a mantle,
Golden, and green, and grey,
Crimson, and scarlet, and yellow,
The Autumn foliage lay.
The sun of the Indian Summer
Laughed at the bare old trees
As they shook their leafless branches
In the soft October breeze.

Gorgeous was every hillside,
And gorgeous every nook,
And the dry, old log was gorgeous,
Spanning the little brook.
Its holiday robes, the forest
Had suddenly cast to earth.
And, as yet, seemed scarce to miss them,
In its plenitude of mirth.

I walked where the leaves the softest,
The brightest, and goldenest lay;
And I thought of a forest hillside,
And an Indian Summer day—
Of an eager, little child-face
Over the fallen leaves that bent,
As she gathered her cup of beech-nuts
With innocent content.

I thought of the small brown fingers
Gleaning them one by one,
With the partridge drumming near her
In the forest bare and dun,
And the jet-black squirrel, winking
His saucy, jealous eye.
At those tiny, plifering fingers,
From his sly nook up on high.

Ah, bark-tooted little maiden!
With thy bonnetless, sunburnt brow
Thou gleanest at no more on the hillside—
Where art thou gleaning now?
I knew by the lifted glance,
Or thy dark, imperious eye,
That the tall trees bending o'er thee
Would not shelter thee by and by.

The cottage by the brookside,
With its mossy roof is gone;
The cattle have left the uplands,
The young lambs left the lawn;
Gone art thy blue-eyed sister,
And thy brother's laughing brow;
And the beech-nuts lie ungathered
On the lonely hillside now.

What have the returning seasons
Brought to thy heart since then,
In thy long and weary wanderings
In the paths of busy men?
Has the angel of grief, or of gladness,
Set his seal upon thy brow?
Maiden, joyous or tearful,
Where art thou gleaning now?

—Mrs. J. C. Yale

states of Central and South America. M. Yada was despatched to Mexico. M. Iwamura to Chile, Peru and Bolivia, M. Aaktsuka to the Philippines, and M. Fugita to the Isle of Reunion, which belongs to France. The result of these missions seemed to be favorable in the first instance, inasmuch as the Governments of Chile, Peru and Mexico had no misgivings whatever on the subject of Japanese immigration, but declared themselves quite ready to support it in every way. It is also quite evident that these countries, with their cheap Indian labor, had nothing to fear from Japanese immigration as far as a lowering of wages was concerned. Rather might they hope that their own economic wealth would be discovered by the ability and enterprising spirit of the Japanese. But, on the other hand, the low rate of ordinary wages in these countries could not but appear extremely unfavorable to the Japanese workman. In South America and the Philippines, just as in Korea and Manchuria, he would have to compete with an unassuming native working population, and would not be able to earn such high wages in a short time—as in North America—that he could live the rest of his life on his savings in Japan.

Thus we can hardly expect that the stream of Japanese emigration will be diverted from its North American course for long, and the Japanese Government is in an extremely difficult position. Even now it has to face a powerful section of the people and Parliament who reproach it for yielding to America, and demand the breaking down of American opposition, if necessary by force of arms. This party is effectively supported by the emigration societies, for which the transport of emigrants to America is a matter of life and death. Many of the shareholders of these societies are members of Parliament or occupy influential positions, and seek to fan the flame of opposition to the conciliatory Government policy everywhere.

To what extent this latter is an honest and sincere policy, and not an opportunistic method of waiting for a favorable moment to declare war, it is difficult to say. The strange forms and methods adopted in the case of Japanese emigration to Hawaii—a group of islands in the midst of the Pacific ocean, which would be of great strategic importance in the event of a war with America—seem to point to the last hypothesis. Of course, the Japanese emigration to these islands dates many years back. The American sugar planters, more than two decades ago, had turned to Japan to procure satisfactory labor, and for a long time agricultural laborers, chiefly emigrated to

Hawaii. But during the last few years these have been succeeded more and more by "skilled" workmen, traders with employees, and the economic life of Hawaii is gradually going over to Japanese hands. Today the number of Japanese and Chinese on the island amount to 87,000, as against 5,800 Europeans, 7,200 Americans, 53,000 natives and other people introduced for purposes of work in the plantations. The number of Japanese capable of bearing arms in case of an insurrection must be calculated at 60,000.

In face of these doubtful conditions the American government decided to make a detailed investigation, and the reports which came in from the General Director of Customs, Mr. Edwin Farmer, and from the Governor, Mr. Carter, confirmed their fears. The customs examination of their luggage showed that almost all had brought their uniforms and many their arms, though ostensibly only as mementoes of war. Orders, sabres and quick-firing guns were found carefully hidden beneath other articles. On being cross-examined they admitted that they had belonged to the staff of the generals, Nogi, Oku and Koruki.

Moreover, the plantation workers were organising school battalions for the younger men and shooting practice for the older men—though under guise of sport and social amusements. Since their work occupied them during the day, they performed these exercises during the night, and carried out complete military manoeuvres by moonlight.

In view of the above facts, the American government was forced to feel highly suspicious of the peace assurances of Japan, and people are beginning to openly accuse this State of sending a whole army corps, with complete equipment and trained staff, to Hawaii, under cover of working immigrants. Every one who remembers the Russo-Japanese war, and the varied disguises in which Japanese officers stayed in the Russian districts of Manchuria, every one who knows the unbounded self-sacrifice of the Japanese citizens, will scarcely be able to discard the above hypothesis, fantastic as it may seem. If it is right, it is to be feared that the economic conflict between Japan and America will hardly find a peaceful solution, but will rather cause a terrible war which will decide the fate of the coast countries of the Pacific.

Sub-Editor—What about this poem that came in this morning, "Give Me Back My Own?"

Editor—Oh, do as the author bids.—The Boston Transcript.

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