

## The Semi-Weekly Telegraph

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Semi-Weekly Telegraph  
and The News

ST. JOHN, N. B. NOVEMBER 15, 1911.

## MR. BALFOUR

The "B. M. G. Club" of the Unionist party has accomplished its purpose. It will now dissolve. B. M. G.—Balfour Must Go—was its motto, and Balfour has resigned. He had no peer in the party, and the question of a successor will be infinitely difficult. He is not by any means an old man. He was born on July 25, 1848. He has always had an immense strength of will and a boundless capacity to disregard criticism; so it is possible that the members of the Halsbury Club did not send the party into the last ditch in which it apparently is at present. They exerted all their power, however, to accomplish that result.

Among politicians, Balfour has always been a philosopher; among philosophers, a politician. He has, perhaps, been too anxious to show that he was not as other men are. In the early days of his parliamentary experience he allied himself with the quartette known as the "Fourth Party." Its leader was Lord Randolph Churchill, and associated with them, was Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Mr. Gerst. Mr. Balfour took no direct part in their attacks on the "old gang," and it was generally considered that he was amusing himself with politics. The seeming delicacy of his physique and the languor of his manner helped to create the impression that, however great his intellectual power might be, he had neither the bodily strength nor the energy of character requisite for a political career.

Never was a greater mistake. He proved that when the opportunity offered, on the resignation of Sir Michael Hicks-Baugh as chief Secretary for Ireland, Balfour took his place, and with persistent courage made the best of the Unionist policy regarding that country. Eleven years ago he came to the premiership with the cordial approval of all sections of the Unionist party. He reconstructed the cabinet, and undertook the task of clearing up after the war, both in South Africa and at home. All went well till Chamberlain upset the coach by his proposal for a general tariff, involving a radical alteration of the established fiscal system of the country. No man could have a more difficult position with his cabinet than Balfour then had. They represented as many divergent views almost as the present Canadian agglomeration. Mr. Balfour at first made it appear that he was neither for nor against the new movement, and had no settled convictions on the subject. He did not go far enough for the tariff reformers, and he went too far for the Duke of Devonshire and the other out-and-out free-traders of his party. They went to the polls with divided counsels, and sustained a crushing defeat. Mr. Balfour's dextrous balancing for two years was in a fashion continued after the election, and his leadership of the opposition was continued.

That leadership brought him more marked popularity than his whole previous political history. He never spoke more brilliantly than in these years when he had to confront a House of Commons, three-fourths of which was hostile. Mr. Balfour is a type of man of whom there are quite a few in politics. He has always been the enemy of what Mr. Ruskin called "the obnoxious empires of Mammon and Belial." Amiable and learned, a philosopher, a dilettante, an enthusiastic golf-player, and a cultivated musician, he also had sufficient humor to save him from official

solemnity. Perhaps too much he cultivated the air of indifference. Many ignorantly thought of him as a jaded Epicurean who craved only for a new sensation. This with a certain mental and social aloofness made him very difficult for the ordinary member of Parliament to understand, and proved sometimes irritating.

His resignation leaves the Unionist party shaken, groping, confused. There is no man of outstanding ability to lead it. Austen Chamberlain is not big enough to bend Ulysses' bow. F. E. Smith is new, and lacks weight in the party and the country. Lord Curzon in some respects might serve better than most, but he like the others mentioned is out of touch and out of sympathy with the greatest forces of the hour in the United Kingdom. The manifold stirrings of the new democracy. A new Tory leader, to be successful, would have to unite a great wing of his party with the moderate Liberals and so form a third party. To undertake the re-creating of the whole Unionist group along lines sympathetic to the social revolution would be to follow Lloyd-George to an extent that would alienate land and privilege. There is one other way open to a new Tory leader—he might combine all the reactionary and fight a stubborn rear-guard action against the irresistible legions of Progress.

Meantime Mr. Balfour has shaken the temple. He sheaths his sword in a crisis so far as his party is concerned, but he is the sort of man who will not worry much over the party if the country but avoid the rocks. And it will.

## EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY

It is found that in ten years the employers' liability companies of the United States took in almost \$100,000,000 in premiums from American employers. During the same period they paid out in the settlement of claims of injured workmen about \$43,000,000. The United States seems to be in the dark ages in the matter of employers' liability laws. The leading element in the law is that it requires the workman to convict the employer of fault before he can receive damages. This means legal expenses almost prohibitive to workmen, and long delays when litigation is undertaken.

Unless the employer can prove that nothing but the employer's negligence was responsible for the accident, without any other contributory cause, the workman can recover no damages. If any other workman besides the one injured has been in part responsible for the accident, the employer cannot be held responsible. It is only in very rare cases that this fellow-servant rule cannot be made to serve the purpose of the employer. In some states bills have been passed somewhat broadening the scope of the law, but the law still remains inadequate.

The systems that require compensation by employers, no matter what the cause of the accident, unless it can be proved that it was caused wilfully through the sole fault of the employee himself, are due to England in the first instance. Austria-Hungary, France, Spain, Norway, Italy, Switzerland and several other countries have followed her example. These countries are also considering the plan of compulsory insurance. At present it looks as if Lloyd George will be successful in getting reforms in this particular through Parliament.

The premiums paid to employers' liability insurance companies and the amounts spent in lawyers' fees would, with a similar amount from the government, enormously reduce the suffering from industrial accidents. The work of the world today involves such titanic and varied tasks that everything must be done to give a fair protection to those engaged in carrying out its tasks. It is notorious that this is not done today. There is in many industrial activities a complete carelessness of life. Seventy thousand accidents occur annually in getting the work of New York State done alone. War is mere child's play in comparison with this.

## TRIBUTE

The Canadian grain growers have made no secret of the fact that they are weary of paying tribute to the manufacturers of the east. They have done splendid work in the cause of free trade, and more will be heard from them in days to come.

Just now their association is reminding Mr. Borden of some of his promises when in the irresponsible days of opposition. Not the least important of these promises is, "An act to facilitate establishing co-operative societies." They expect that he will implement this with the others at the first session of parliament.

The capitalists, corporations and manufacturers who contributed to his success will be heard from before Mr. Borden introduces any advanced and progressive legislation. The Wholesale Grocers' Association will have something to say also on this matter before Mr. Borden's government passes any such bill. It will be difficult to hurry these statesmen in any legislation for the masses of the people. For the last fifteen years the rural population has had much to do in influencing and directing the policy of the government. The Liberal party fell in trying to compass a great measure of relief for the village, progressive and intelligent farmers of the West and East. Instead of getting any relief now they will be compelled to pay a still larger percentage of their products to the privileged and protected classes.

No measure of relief, such as an act to facilitate establishing co-operative societies, can possibly be expected from the present government. Various members of this cabinet of all the views, will speak of the forces that hold them in thrall, but these forces will prevail just the same. The spectacle is not without its pathos. Mr. Borden perhaps would like to carry out his promises; his masters will refuse him permission.

## MR. A. BONAR LAW

The cable brings the announcement that Mr. A. Bonar Law, a New Brunswicker by birth, has succeeded Mr. Balfour as the chief of the Unionist party. Mr. Law, while he was born in this province, his father having been a clergyman in Kent, left New Brunswick when he was twelve years old and since his boyhood has not been in touch with affairs in this province, and, in fact, none too intimately with affairs in Canada generally except from the standpoint of a long-range observer.

He was educated in Glasgow, went into business there, and from that into politics, and may be said to have made a large success of both. Mr. Law, who is now fifty-one years old, has long been regarded as the most able exponent of the doctrine of Tariff Reform in England, and while in a sense his succession to the leadership is a compromise, it is at least indicative of the Unionist desire to select not only an able man but a man who will ride straight toward protection, which Mr. Balfour could never do.

And here we have the most significant thing about the choice of Mr. Law. It means that the protectionist element is in the saddle in the Unionist party, and that protection and anti-Home Rule will be the slogans written large across its banners for the immediate future at least.

Mr. Balfour's stature is not diminished, to put it mildly, by the announcement that Mr. Law has been chosen, for while Mr. Law is today by reason of sheer ability one of the foremost men in his party, there is still a great gulf between him and Mr. Balfour in point of experience, political dexterity, and workmanship in respect of the larger questions of the day. In regard to Home Rule, to take the first example that suggests itself, and which is a question of immense difficulty, not perhaps intrinsically but by reason of partisan tactics, Mr. Balfour's absence from the battlefield will necessarily prove a grave loss both to his party and to the country.

Mr. Law is concededly the ablest of the tariff reformers, but tariff reformers as yet have scarcely got out of the doctrinaire stage, and Mr. Law will not soon forget an encounter he had with the editor of the Melbourne Argus a few years ago in London at a dinner given by one of Mr. Chamberlain's lieutenants for the purpose of converting certain overseas visitors to the Tariff Reform faith. On that occasion Mr. Law and some of his warmest associates discovered that they had not worked out their theories to any extent, and that the path before them was beset with difficulties of which they seemed not to have dreamed.

Personally, of course, Mr. Law will be congratulated most warmly upon the distinction he has won by merit—and it is a great distinction. It is not often that a man who is not of the aristocracy, rises to the leadership of the Conservative party, though at least one distinguished exception—Disraeli—will be suggested. Mr. Law comes to the centre of the stage at a time when big questions are pressing for solution, and there will be no lack of occasions to test his quality.

## TAFT AND THE NEXT ELECTION

President Taft is palpably strengthened as a result of the several state elections. The Republicans have made gains, and they have badly shattered Tammany in New York state and city. This will not greatly weaken the chances of the Democrats in that state next year, for the uncurbed power of Tammany was one of their chief weaknesses. Yet the result throughout the country clearly indicates that the Democratic party are not to have the walk-over many anticipated. Only complete leading, wide generalship and ample harmony will give them the control of the government in 1912.

The net result of Taft's tour through the West has been most favorable to him. His tour was frankly political, and his speeches defensive. He defended the Sherman Law decision, the arbitration treaty, his vetoes of the farmers' free list and the wool schedule. The latter he stoutly defended—"Apologia pro rebus actis," one writer called this speech, which was one of the most important of the trip. His tour was not an obvious, enthusiastic success, but it has undoubtedly strengthened him, and if he addresses himself fairly to reviving the tariff during the next session of Congress, he will be very much in the running next year.

The people like Taft and trust him personally. He is fair, reasonable and logical in argument, and his personality is most genial. Even his confession at Chicago that the prospects looked exceedingly dubious for the Republicans was not at all bad politics. It was simply another case of an honest man thinking aloud, and it strengthened the people's impression of his sincerity. He is personally liked. The storm centres of his administration—Cannon, Aldrich, Ballinger—are in the background. He knows nothing of the art of "enthusing" a crowd, but his administration has accomplished more than any preceding one for a generation. He has none of the instincts of the demagogue, but he has promised a further revision of the tariff schedule—so far as he can secure it—in the coming session of Congress. His present swing round the circle and the strong arguments on which he based his speeches are in marked contrast to his earlier trip in which he defended Aldrich, Cannon and other of his ilk.

Taft is often blamed for the split in the Republican party; but these apparently irreconcilable differences in the two sections of the party are not sudden developments. They were not revealed earlier was due to the fact that the party was in the hands of men who substituted organization for opinion, party for principle, power for right. McKinley harmonized those differences by a peace-at-any-price policy, for the sake of party success; Roosevelt smashed opposition when he could; McKinley was thinking always of the next election, and his means were invariably "practical." Roosevelt had also a good deal of the demagogue and something more of the tyrant in his methods, and he beat all the old-time politicians at their own game. Taft is neither a demagogue nor a tyrant, but a man with traits of the people and who is fired with a desire to serve them. When Americans came to worship the great god Success, Taft will be easily recognized as the greatest of the three. The Republican party may be disciplined in the next elections for its many delinquencies, and power given to the Democrats, but if so the Democrats must find their strongest man for the nomination and work in absolute harmony in the interests of the people.

## THE PASSING OF AN ARISTOCRACY

Mr. Asquith has announced the intention of his government to introduce a bill establishing manhood suffrage, and thus destroy the last remnant of a property franchise in England. The agitation for such a change has gone on for many years, and at one time Mr. Gladstone made it a plank in his platform. How little prepared for it the country was at that time is well shown by an anecdote familiar in London political clubs. Two laborers stood before a boarding on which in large letters were painted the words "One Man, One Vote!" whereupon the following colloquy took place:

First laborer—Say, Bill, wot does it mean?

Second do—Wot does wot mean?

First do—Wot, that's one man one vote business.

Second do—Garn, can't you read, wot it means one blasted man, one blasted vote?

First do—Ow, that's hit, is hit?

Thus it was that an ancient political ideal entered into the head of that son of Demos, and it has no doubt borne fruit in many a discussion since. It struck him with the vivid force that all great truths hold in themselves; and all great political theories are little better than half-truths. Politics, as Morley said, remains the science of the second best, but he might have added that at its finest it is the inspiration of the best. And the best is always a half-truth; the whole truth, excellent though it be, having never inspired anything but a book on metaphysics. In the face of all reason, the imagination of the democracy has been captured by the notion that all men are born equal. The theory will not stand the shock of experience, but since it is one of the things that obviously ought to be true, most people will choose to believe that it is so. It is on this fiction that the political principle of one man one vote is founded, as illogically as property was once the only test of citizenship for all who kept outside jails and lunatic asylums, when a stock broker might vote in a dozen constituencies while a Shakespeare was not enfranchised in one. Our faults are trimmed and our boasts are set, for, a new political Hesperides. Yet are the old illusion fades entirely from us; let us raise a glass (of the mild innocuous liquor which modern reformers affect) and drink to immortal splendid memories.

There is no student of politics but at times becomes somewhat old-fashioned. He nurses a desire for the Platonic republic and government by a class specially trained to govern. He has rarely a love for a political franchise based on property alone, but he has a rare love for the ideal of an intellectual oligarchy. He will not believe that the moon of his desire is any further off than the perfect democracy which his friends desiderate and foresee. Therefore he leaves his study, and walking out into the world, sets political hooks with the Gadarens into whose hands the sceptre has passed. He becomes one of the many types of demagogue. He is not of those who believe that the people have God-given seeds of political righteousness and political genius hidden away which, brought to fruition, might eventually create a heaven upon earth. He takes the view rather that "we must educate our masters" and turn their destructive inclinations towards the architecture of a society where their manners and their pursuits will be more civilized. He will, if he can, tolerate their anarchy, join those leaders of the people who desire a social democracy as a means to a spiritual aristocracy, who wish to give the people education, power and responsibility in order that their souls may grow.

Now in Great Britain, in obedience to the new democracy, the principle of one man one vote is to be inscribed on the statute book. The last, or almost the last, blow is about to be given to that government by aristocracy which, in the past, has desired and heeded it, built up a great race of colonizers and fighters, laid the foundations of an empire. So does the British constitution develop, not according to abstract political principles, but in obedience to the inexorable laws of changing social conditions. This last is but the climax to that movement which began with the Industrial Revolution when power passed from the man to the machine, from the land to the factory, from the country to the town.

With that change came the spread of education and other influences which destroyed outstanding personality in the social and physical world; and militarism began to die with the political system on which it peculiarly thrives. The aristocracy which founded itself by the sword has been destroyed by the spinning-jenny. There is plenty of modern jingoism, it is true, but it merely takes battles as it talks football, and it pays cheerfully for the amusement of seeing other people exert themselves. It is not in its blood to fight as it was in that of the ancient days. That is what makes jingoism doubly objectionable. The sword is not really to these shouters the emblem of achievement that it was to their fathers. By everybody nowadays, except small boys and women of an impressionable age and a vivid taste in fiction, the qualities most admired are the qualities that bring success in the mart, even though in later dinner speeches enthusiasts allow themselves the luxury of a sentimental dallying with the glory of arms.

Other times, of course, other manners. The new democracy calls for, and no doubt will bring forth, qualities in many ways not less heroic than were called forth by aristocracy and militarism. Pershaps even to one who has felt the reality of the aristocratic regime the great modern business, armageddon, with its triumph of science and diplomacy, would seem as picturesque as old days seem to us. There is an almost Aeschylean grandeur about some of the figures in the novels of Frank Norris. Men stand out in the world of finance who wield greater power than ever did Alexander or Caesar. But even their day is passing; the dilapidated are gathering around Gulliver and they are binding him with their thoughts. The age of great personalities is passing away. Socialism, if nothing else, is at least a prophecy that plutocracy will follow aristocracy on to the scrap heap of human institutions, where, he remembered, nothing is wholly lost, but all becomes, under the ever-renewing power of life, material for new illusions and new despairs.

## NOTE AND COMMENT

It would seem that all the troubles of the Borden cabinet are not to arise out of the navy problem. The Montreal Gazette, Conservative, is already protesting against the public ownership declarations of Hon. W. T. White.

It is a fairly safe bet that we will have a "B. M. G. Club" in Canada before many months. The simple and humdrum qualities of Mr. Borden will not long satisfy the brilliant and energetic Bourassa. And if he says "Borden must go," Borden will go. He will go as Hood and a man went who was chased by a lion: "The man ran off with all his might and the lion with all his mane."

The Toronto Globe observes that the Conservative protectionists who were recently assuring Canadians that Balfour would soon be back in power to carry the British food taxation policy into effect are now convicted of loose talking, and adds: "Balfour has thrown up the leadership of his party in disgust, and is quite likely before long to be found openly opposing the Chamberlain wing which engineered his downfall."

In Ontario, attention has been directed to the fact that Mr. Rowell, the new Liberal leader, in accepting a grave responsibility, as a matter of duty, has been heartily complacent by the Conservatives. This must be gratifying to Mr. Rowell, for while he was sure of the support of the Liberal press, he was not sure of the support of the Conservative newspapers. What is more significant, Sir James Whitney must feel uncomfortable when he sees this new advocate of progressive measures acclaimed by his own followers. Sir James will be sorry that he did not delay his manifesto a day or two longer, and in it embrace some of the things which the people want and must be given sooner or later.

## A Last Link With The Whigs.

(Toronto Globe.)

Two bulky volumes by Bernard Holland, C.B., on the late Duke of Devonshire—better known to an earlier generation as the Marquis of Hartington—give a new angle of vision to stirring events that are still subjects of keen controversy in the United Kingdom. The biography of a statesman who served for a period of twenty-one years in the cabinets of Russell, Gladstone, Salisbury and Balfour, and who declined the high honor of forming a ministry, and who on two notable occasions left his party rather than contentedly approve of policy of which he could not approve, is naturally a valuable contribution to the history of our times.

The career of the duke is practically a history of two striking epochs in British history. His opposition to Mr. Stewart's managing director of the Tobique & Campbellton Railway Company, he carried out. Something must be done before Dec. 1 next, when the dominion subsidy of \$6,400 per mile will lapse. The road when built will be 28 miles long. Both the C. P. R. and G. T. P. are said to be willing to lease the road, paying sixty per cent. of the gross earnings to the New York men. The New York men are said to be behind Mr. Stewart in the enterprise, and will furnish the money, taking the bonds of the Tobique & Campbellton Railway Company as security. The road will cost about \$18,000 per mile, it is estimated.

"I have waited for four years for this company to do something," said Mr. Stewart to your correspondent, referring to the Tobique & Campbellton Railway Company. "They want to wait the opening of the house at Fredericton but that would mean going over the top. I have done as our agreement with the dominion government will lapse next month. I mean to give the people up Tobique a road and I believe I can carry it through within a year."

## ENGLISH CAPITALISTS

## MAY PURCHASE THE

## MIRAMICHI PULP MILL

Chatham, N. B., Nov. 10—Carl Riordan, of the Borden paper mills in Ontario and Charles Head of Ottawa, interested in several large pulp and paper manufacturing, arrived in town yesterday morning and proceeded at once to the Miramichi pulp mill, which they expected to purchase. They are acting as representatives of Sir John Milbank, of England, who has taken an option on the big property, and is a possible purchaser.

The visitors went through the mill thoroughly. They returned today. It is expected that the report they will submit will be a very favorable one, as Mr. Riordan confessed he was surprised at finding a mill of such a solid and substantial character, and he sees greater possibilities of profit than even the pessimistic doubter. William Dick, felt justified in holding out to the possible investors as an inducement for them to come and inspect property.

Mr. Dick has been leaving no stone unturned to get the mill in operation again and is much pleased with the prospects at the present time. The report has to go to England before Sir John Milbank's action in the matter can be known, but Mr. Dick has arranged to have his decision by cable as soon as the report reaches Sir John, because he has had several other inquiries both from England and the States respecting the mill.

First Typewriter Girl—She's a pretty good one, isn't she?

Second Typewriter Girl—Quick! I should say she was. She hadn't been in her job two weeks before she was engaged to the boss.—Philadelphia Record.

Hot fannels will frequently relieve neuralgic pains.

Myrtle Louise Mops, who was visiting at Morgantown, left her home after Astor wedding. Rain an apathy have ruled many a convention.

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