

WANTED—A NEW NATIONAL POLICY

By THE EDITOR

WE hear much of forward movements these days—in church work, in missionary activity, in railway building, in trade extension, in aerial navigation—indeed, in all branches of human endeavours. If there is any country in the world which has made a forward movement in the past ten years, Canada has. The "Last Great West" has been populated to an extent of which no one dreamed when the decade was inaugurated. Trade has grown at a tremendous rate, both foreign and domestic. The general increase in wealth has been enormous. But all progress needs examination after it has been running free for a certain length of time, and Canada's is no exception.

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LAST week, Norman Patterson raised the point that Canada needs a new National Policy. According to him the N. P. of 1878 and the N. P. of 1896 are out of date. There should be a new policy, up-to-date, modified by the experiences of the past fourteen years, and more applicable to all Canada.

We must all agree that the Canada of to-day is not the same as the Canada of either 1878 or 1896. The outlook is different. The immediate needs are different. The policy of development has been modified by growth of population, by railways and canals built, by redistribution of population and by new ideas among the people themselves.

The keynote of Sir John Macdonald's national policy was "Build the tall chimneys." The keynote of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's national policy was "Let us develop our undeveloped resources." Both policies have been successful. The manufacturing interests of Canada have grown and grown until the manufactured products are double the agricultural; the "Last Great West" has been gridironed by railways and spotted with growing towns and vigorous cities. Manitoba has more railways in proportion to its population than any other of the nine provinces.

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A CONSIDERATION of this and other features of Canada's development leads the COURIER to take up this topic for the serious contemplation of its readers. We should like to see the question given thorough discussion. Does Canada need a new national policy? If so, what should that national policy be? Here is a question which no one man, no one class, and no one section of the country may decide. It is as deep as the foundation of the Dominion. It is as broad as the life of the Canadian people. It is as big as the ambitions of an ambitious nation. It involves an estimate of the past, the present and the future considered as a whole.

Canada's national policy must ever be complex. It involves her political destiny as part of the British Empire, as part of the Confederated Anglo-Saxon race or as an independent nation. It involves the relations of the nine provinces one with another. It involves the interests of the maritime section and the inland section. It involves commercial, financial, industrial and labour interests. Indeed, it is as big as the broadest conception of the greatest Canadian mind.

While this problem is vast it must be solved by the application of many minds and it is for that reason we lay it before our readers for consideration. As our contribution to the discussion some of the leading points will be examined briefly.

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DOES the West realise what the East has lost in its efforts to build up Western Canada? Take the following from a recent Nova Scotia government advertisement:

SAMPLE FARM FOR SALE.—700 acres in Hants County, 80 cultivated, 150 in pasture and 470 under wood. 40 acres intervals. Land is well cultivated and yields 70 tons of hay, 350 bushels oats and 200 bushels potatoes. Farm is in a valley where fruit thrives. Good house of 6 rooms. Two large barns besides outbuildings. Railway station at the door; school and church 1-4 mile. Good water supply. Good fishing in lake. Wire fencing. Price \$3,500.

Think of it, ye prosperous westerners, a finished farm in Nova Scotia at five dollars an acre! If that farm were in the centre of one of the western provinces it would be worth *eight times as much*. Yet that Nova Scotia farm was once worth more than it is to-day—it was a valuable farm before

the lusty youth of that province discovered the wonderful possibilities of the Prairie.

Again, here are others from the *Canadian Farm* of November 4th:

100 ACRES—KING—Twenty-five miles from Toronto; two miles from station, soil clay loam; eighty cultivated; balance bush and pasture; watered by creek and wells; six-roomed house, barn, drive house, hennerly and piggery; three thousand.

450 ACRES—SIMCOE—1-2 mile from station; close to postoffice, school and church; soil clay loam; 250 cultivated, balance bush and pasture, with running water and over seven hundred rods of Page fencing; twelve-roomed brick house; large bank barn; hay shed, drive house, piggery, hennerly and sheep house; all in good repair; sixteen thousand.

Do not these advertisements prove the contention that the agricultural sections of Eastern Canada are making less progress than those of the West? Do they not prove even that some rural communities in Eastern Canada have gone back in recent years and that in spite of Canada's growth these farms are less valuable than they were a quarter of a century ago?

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DOWN in the Maritime Provinces, where there are no immigration sheds, no crew of energetic immigration officials, no host of railway officials anxious to see the population grow, no bustling boomsters who are encouraged by the authorities at Ottawa—there is a standstill population. Through this natural gateway of Canada is flowing a tide of population which rises and falls but leaves no trace of its coming or going. Every immigrant is carefully instructed before he leaves Liverpool not to stop until he has reached the Great West. No immigrant ever heard of the Great East. And yet the East was great long before the West was great.

Nor is Ontario making much progress outside of a few large cities. As in the provinces of the Atlantic, its legislature is a sleepy county council without any great ambitions, while the Dominion Government does as little promotion work there as

in other parts of the East? After the census of 1910, Ontario will have a smaller representation at Ottawa than it had in 1885. How would Saskatchewan and Manitoba and Alberta feel if they found their small population going behind, their parliamentary representation being reduced and their general influence in Confederation diminished?

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THE new National Policy must be such as to reconcile the farmer and the manufacturer. The farmers are restless and want free trade in farm products and lower duties on manufacturing implements. There should be some means of satisfying these demands. The reciprocity negotiations may show a way to provide the farmer with better access to the United States market. If lower duties on wheat, barley, wool, butter, eggs and cheese can be secured by giving the United States some concessions which will not injure any established Canadian industry, the opportunity should be seized.

There has been some unreasonableness on both sides. When the Canadian manufacturer says that there should be no reciprocity negotiations whatever he is unreasonable. When the Grain Growers' Association of the West declare that owing to the customs duties, the manufacturer gets an additional billion dollars a year, they are telling an absolute falsehood. The highest estimate of the value of all Canadian manufacturing is \$900,000,000 a year. Twenty-five per cent. on this amount would be less than a quarter of a billion. This is the outside figure. Further, a comparison of the prices of manufactured goods here and in the United States will prove that many lines of Canadian goods are sold at a lower price in Canada than United States goods of a similar character in the United States.

The interests of the manufacturer and the farmer are identical, and they must be taught the lesson. The new National Policy must be framed to drive that lesson home. It must put down the unreasonable manufacturer as well as the unreasonable farmer. It must engender common sense in both classes. There will always be reasonable differences of opinion, but these must be reduced to a minimum.

(Continued Next Week).

AN ELECTION AND A NAVY

PERHAPS no bye-election ever held in Canada has caused a greater disturbance in Canadian public life than that held last week in Drummond and Arthabaska. Usually the results of a bye-election are told in a simple despatch and the public straightway forget that there was a contest. In this case it has been quite different. The papers have been devoting columns to letters, interviews and editorials on the effect which this contest will have upon the fortunes and policies of the different political parties and upon the country generally. The Nationalists, under the leadership of Mr. Henri Bourassa, and the Conservatives, under the leadership of Mr. Monk, supported the Independent Liberal candidate, as against the Government's candidate, taking the ground that the Government's naval policy is wrong. There was no Conservative candidate, and the Government's nominee was beaten. As the regular party nominee in that constituency has hitherto received a majority averaging about a thousand, and as the Independent-Liberal had a majority of over two hundred, the turnover is decisive.

Although the CANADIAN COURIER has always tried to avoid taking sides on political questions, it has, nevertheless, given a steady support to the proposal to build and maintain a Canadian navy. In spite of the verdict of Drummond and Arthabaska, and in spite of the gloating of a few partisans who are opposed to the Government's policy in this respect, we are still of the opinion that the Government's plan for a Canadian navy is the only possible solution of a difficult question. The Imperialists of Western Canada were strongly in favour of making a cash contribution to the British authorities. Their view was ultimately accepted by a large number of leading Conservatives in Eastern Canada. This was the one extreme. In the province of Quebec a considerable section of the French-Canadian population were averse to any form of naval expenditure, either direct or indirect. This was the other extreme. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government was face to face with the task of finding some middle course in which the whole of Canada might unite. They decided in favour of a purely Canadian navy, which had been suggested by the CANADIAN COURIER and other journals

taking a non-partisan view of the situation. This policy was adopted by Parliament, and was accepted by the leading British Parliamentarians as a satisfactory solution. It satisfied the necessity under which Canada lay of doing something towards participating in Imperial defence, and at the same time it preserved all her rights of self-government and national autonomy.

That the policy of a purely Canadian navy satisfied neither the extreme Dreadnoughters of Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, nor the anti-militarists in Ontario and Quebec has been quite evident during the whole of 1910. That these two extremes of opposition should unite in a common opposition was a turn of events which few people anticipated; yet that was what occurred in Drummond and Arthabaska.

It would be unfortunate for the national life of Canada if such an alliance were to become permanent. It seems impossible that it should happen. The Nationalists of Quebec, backed apparently by the strongest ecclesiastical authorities in that province, very steadily pursued a campaign of misrepresentation which was quite anti-British in character. It must surely be patent to every English-speaking Canadian that on this question it is necessary to overlook party lines. We quite agree with the *Montreal Standard* (Independent Conservative) when it says:

"The result of this curious election will be an objection lesson all over the Dominion of Canada. It will show that a policy which may be very popular in some portions of the country may be extremely unpopular elsewhere, and it will also show that the utmost charity of thought that must be extended to any statesman who, in ruling this country, endeavours to arrive at a compromise in policy acceptable to all.

"It illustrates the tremendous task before any man who would govern wisely and well the people of different races and creeds who dwell in this great heritage."

The *Victoria Colonist* (Conservative) expresses this view quite strongly:

"If we are forced to accept the results of the election as expressive of the sentiments of Quebec, a very serious situation has arisen, and it is just as well to look at it fairly and squarely. The majority of the self-governing dominions join in Imperial defence. If the majority of Quebec propose to place themselves in

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