POOR DOCUMENT

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Semi-Weekly Telegraph

ST. JOHN, N. B., JUNE 20, 1908.

AT OTTAWA

Government newspapers continue the attempt to mislead their readers as to the course of the leaders at Ottawa in regard to the Aylesworth bill. The opposition does not intend to permit the crooked features of this legislation to be adopted. There has been no retreat on the part of Mr. Borden and his followers with respect to the obnoxious clauses of this measure, nor will there be any. The government's newspapers have been driven to desperate tactics in seeking to divert attention from the position to which the administration has been reduced by the exposure of crookedness in the departments and of its deliberate attempt to secure control of the election machinery in the Western provinces. But the government organs cannot conceal the principal facts. Early in the debate Sir Wilfrid Laurier admitted that the Aylesworth bili was objectionable, and virtually promised so to amend it as to remove the objections. Had he followed his instinct in this matter and disregarded the clamor of the Sifton coterie, there would have been no delay in transacting public business in the House. But so long as the objectionable clauses remained in the election bill, the opposition was bound to fight. Of late Sir Wilfrid and Mr. Borden have been negotiating, and it is not improbable that the bill will be materially altered. Until it is the fight must go on. A well informed Ottawa correspondent thus summarizes the facts as to supply recently voted and as to the opposition's position with respect to the Aylesworth bill:

"The government late Friday night accepted opposition advice, and put through a supply bill to pay employees on the Intercolonial, in the customs and post office service, on the canals and in other public employment. Mr. Borden has repeatedly invited the ministers to take this vote with that for the militia and the mounted police. Mr. Fielding refused to do so until he can get all other votes which require discussion and have not been explained. So every man who had to wait for his pay should know that it is because of this refusal. Mr. Paterson rushed off to the Ontario election campaign and told the people that the opposition was refusing pay to public servants, when he had got his vote on the plea that if it were passed the cheques might be issued the next day. The cheques were not issued because the government held back the supply bill.

"But Friday night a supply bill for more than $31,000,000 was introduced and passed the three readings and committee in ten minutes, though any member could have stopped it by objecting to suspension of the rules. This gives effect to all the votes taken in supply, and contains an advance payment on account of one eighth of those items not voted in committee. The service is now provided for until July.

"Mr. Foster explained that the opposition stood by the position first taken in respect to the election bill, but that negotiations between the leaders on that question had made such progress that the Conservatives were ready to assist the finance minister in his present difficulties.

"No definite announcement can be made at this stage, but it is supposed that the government will either abandon altogether the obnoxious clauses of the election bill, or change them so that they will be free from objection as an interference with the voters' lists. It is expected that the clause destroying the secrecy of the ballot will disappear, that interference with British Columbia will be abandoned, and that in Manitoba the intervention will be reduced to a judicial rearrangement of names where Dominion and provincial sub-divisions are not the same."

MILNER AND TARIFF REFORM

Reciprocal trade among members of the British family, business and sentiment making together for Imperial cohesion, unity and strength—such has been the keynote of several effective addresses on tariff reform recently delivered by Lord Milner. These presentations of the case have commanded much attention, and British newspapers have given much space to them, accompanied in many cases by hearty editorial commendation. In one of these addresses Lord Milner said, in part:

"But now, in conclusion, to get away from these figures—instructive and indispensable as the figures are—to the great economic and political objects which we as tariff reformers have at heart. There are two ideals before us—separate and yet akin— and working into one another. I do not say, I never will say, that tariff reform alone is going to accomplish either. I have no superstitious belief in it. But I do say it is essential to both. One is the building up of the several great states of the Empire, including India, as separate units, to the highest state of industrial efficiency, of productive power of which they are individually capable; the other is the drawing together of these units separately built up into an economic and political union, which might be the greatest in the world, the most independent, the most self-supplying, and as a whole, the most unassailable. What is the attitude of the people of any of the great self-governing Dominions? With many local differences there is still one spirit common to them all. We want, they say, to be a real nation, with an all-round development, with varied industries, capable of standing on our feet, economically as well as in all other respects. We will not allow anyone, not even the Mother Country, not even the sister states to cramp or fetter our growth on our own lines. We believe we know what is best for ourselves. Moreover, we believe that the stronger and more independent we are the more we shall contribute to the strength of the family of States, the Greater Nation, to which we are loyal, to which we still desire to belong. What more natural than that we should try to help the other members of the family and expect them to help us in every way not inconsistent with the separate growths of each member. Everyone for himself first, but everyone next for the family. Let the family all round recognize a duty and an interest in promoting the prosperity of its members. Let us mutually give each other the first chance of supplying one another's wants. Let our external trade, as far as may be, benefit the other members of the family, and theirs, as far as may be, benefit us rather than outsiders. I must say it seems a reasonable view and a magnificent proposition. And we in this Old Country have also got to think of ourselves. We have got our own special industries, very great and powerful ones, but not beyond the reach of external attack. Against such attack, where they need it, we, too, shall be wise to defend them. We, too, must shape our economic policy with regard to our own requirements, our need of revenue, our need of more and more steady employment for our people, our need of an ample and secure supply of food and raw materials, of which the other parts of the Empire, with encouragement from us, will be more and more able to become the chief providers. And in so shaping it we shall be able to do more, much more, than we do at present—though we could do something tomorrow if we chose to carry out in the field of commercial intercourse this great idea of the family of British nations. We are told that this is commercialized patriotism. But who would pour contempt upon a father and son, or brother and brother, working together in matters of business, as commercialized family affection. Is it not perfectly right? Would not the opposite be unnatural? If a man could in a perfectly straight, legitimate, and open way put business into the hands of a relation should we think worse of him for doing it, or better of him for putting it into other hands? The whole question is: Are we relations? Is there anything real, solid, practical, more than mere flummery and after dinner rhetoric, in the conception of the family as applied to the British group of States? If so, then you cannot exclude its influence from any side of practical life, least of all from so important a side as that of commercial relations. There is no doubt that deep down at the roots of this controversy lies the antithesis between the wider national and the cosmopolitan view. I do not for a moment say that many of those who are opposed to us are not as good patriots in sentiment as good Imperialists, as we are. Many of them are not. But many of them are. You could not have a better patriot than Lord Cromer. But I do say that ours is the more logical, the more consistent position, that they are unfortunate in being wedded to a theory which cuts them off from one of the most powerful movements making for the realization of the ideals which they and we have in common."

ANONYMOUS DEFENDERS

A person who, for reasons that are obvious, but not admirable, does not sign his name, writes to the Globe to insinuate charges which no reputable citizen would father because they are untrue and absurd. One insinuation is that The Telegraph was paid more than a fair rate for public printing. That is utterly groundless. The work was job printing for which this company received a moderate price. The other insinuation is based upon a recent paragraph in the Sun, asserting in substance that the Telegraph bribed a telephone operator. That assertion is utterly false.

It was made, no doubt, in an effort to weaken The Telegraph's criticism of the wretched telephone service; but it must be clear enough that wilfully misrepresenting this newspaper cannot help the telephone company. The people who pay for telephone service know what sort of return they were receiving for their money when the criticism was made. Some improvement followed the criticism, but more is necessary. The company's methods will be criticized by this journal whenever the public interest demands plain speaking. As the insinuations referred to here are made by a person who prefers to hide his identity further discussion may be unnecessary.

Meantime we are unable to congratulate the telephone company upon the quality of its allies. The public is paying for a decent telephone service. It is going to get it, sooner or later, even if a few persons have to be made uncomfortable in applying the remedy. The company's directors are sensible men of good business reputation. They know that the service must undergo permanent improvement. They have already moved in the matter. If the company is to escape criticism—and more than criticism—it must deliver the goods.

TAFT

While there still is occasional suggestion of an eleventh hour stampede to Roosevelt, scarcely any one doubts that the Republicans will nominate Taft on the first ballot. Mr. Roosevelt rules the Chicago convention from Washington—by telephone. Nothing of importance is done without consulting him. The New York Herald describes his methods as resembling a steam roller, and the New York Evening Post uses the same comparison. Politically, the President is dictator. Thus the Post says after telling of the control of Roosevelt's agents at Chicago: "The grotesque anomaly is presented of duly credited agents of a great political party travelling hundreds of miles to assemble in an interior city and there to sit, at great personal expense and discomfort, waiting until they are told what to do by crisp telephone orders from a retiring President at Washington."

When one man gains so much power, what becomes of democratic government? Some Americans will reply that if Taft is nominated it will be because his party prefers him to all others who are available, and practically it is so. If he were thought incompetent or dangerous the fact that he is Roosevelt's political heir would not suffice to nominate him.

Taft will probably be president. He is genial and able, a sane man and an administrator of proven ability. But he is not Roosevelt. He will not preach. He will not pillory the "rich malefactors" as Roosevelt has done. He will not re-discover the Ten Commandments as Tom Reed said Roosevelt did. He will not display Roosevelt's more conspicuous weakness, but on the other hand he will not match Roosevelt's higher qualities unless some national crisis now below the horizon develops iron attributes which he has never shown his fellow citizens. The sharp spur of circumstance might reveal Taft as a great man, but the absence of stirring national events during his term will probably cause him to be remembered as a rather commonplace president. The many-sided Roosevelt could not be placid, content, or commonplace. He must tilt at the windmills were real enemies wanting; but he has left the windmills readily enough for sterner game when it has appeared. The same men who would shout for Taft in an hour of party heat might be cold were his voice appealing to them in an hour of national peril; but the same men would follow Roosevelt to war, for he has in him some strain of the prophet and the soldier and the popular imagination is touched by him.

The people will take Taft for president but would prefer Roosevelt. The "interests," embracing Wall Street, the trusts and the "stand patters," will accept Taft, not that they love him more but that they love Roosevelt less. Roosevelt has appealed to forces which the "interests" do not like to think of as engaged in thinking seriously about the present day problems of the United States. When Roosevelt goes to Africa to hunt lions and Taft rules in his stead, the "interests" will expect a period of tranquility—that is to say, freedom from a crusading president. They may have four years of peace or something like it, but scarcely more. The call for Roosevelt in 1912 is likely to be loud and strong. If so his friend Taft whom now he crowns, will gladly make way for him.

PROGRESS OF TARIFF REFORM

Some of the reasons why tariff reform is making rapid headway in Britain are set forth briefly by the Toronto News, which journal has been studying a news feature of the London Standard, headed "Our Disappearing Trade." The Standard, as the News says, prints some mournful statistics. "In Yorkshire," it continues, "the blanket industry has been killed by the competition of foreign makers. At Heckmondwilke the trade has vanished almost as completely as if a volcano had 'buried the mills and their workers under molten lava.' Almost the same story comes from Dewsbury. Four mills have closed in the past twelve months, and only one or two of the wealthiest manufacturing families survive. Nearby, at Thornhill Lees, stands the largest blanket factory in the world, but its machinery has been switched to tweed suitings. In forty years one hundred and fifty sets of blanket machines have gone out of business. Of these one hundred and twenty have fallen into disuse within twenty years.

"A hundred and fifty machines would produce 1,500,000 pairs of blankets in a year, and the wages in connection therewith would be $1,250,000. All this has been lost. Australia's tariff alone has cut off a market for 150,000 pairs. In this district every secret of the trade is known, the water and gas supplies are cheap and bountiful, and the standard of wages is probably the lowest known in Northern textile centres; and yet, with all these advantages, manufacturers cannot keep their trade, because their goods are shut out of foreign lands, and the products of every other manufacturing country, many of them bounty-fed, are sent into Great Britain to compete with British labor.

"The English woolen industry is in a bad way. No branch of the trade is exporting. A significant feature of the trade is the increase in the exportation of wool to the Continent in place of manufactured goods, the home manufactures in France, Russia, Germany, and other countries having enormously increased. So far as textile manufacturing is concerned, the only firms who enjoy real Free Trade are those who collect rags from all parts of the world, carbonise, and pull them, and convert them into shoddy and mungo to be used in place of new wool for the manufacture of piece goods.

"Two fine blanket mills just outside Dewsbury," the News says in conclusion, "were offered recently for sale at auction without reserve, but no bid of any description was received and the auctioneer remarked that tariff reform was the only hope for this industry. Radicalism has held the region in its sway for years, but even the Dewsbury free trader cannot live without food. He is beginning to see the fiscal question from the standpoint of self-interest. In the recent bye-election in this riding the Liberal majority for Mr. Runciman was pulled down to the extent of 2,300. The reduction is taken as an indication of the trend of public sentiment."

WHAT MIGHT BE

The visit of the United States fleet to San Francisco was the signal for a newspaper chorus of congratulation, but a jarring note was not wanting. The San Francisco Star waited until the screaming of the eagle subsided somewhat, and then printed this:

"The $180,000,000 invested in the war ships now in San Francisco harbor would irrigate 6,000,000 acres of arid land and provide homes for 120,000 families, giving to each family fifty acres of land. That amount of money would build a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and such a road owned by the people and run for the benefit of the people would squeeze every drop of water out of the railroads of the country.

"That amount of money would build and equip a national telegraph and telephone system, which, conducted for the people, would squeeze every drop of water out of the privately owned telegraph and telephone systems.

"That amount of money, properly spent, would go far toward relieving the people of the tremendous monopoly burden now resting on their backs.

"That amount of money would build from sixty to 100 great electric power plants for the people, and free them from a monopoly that is now skinning them.

"Instead of building more warships, isn't it time to call a halt? With tens of thousands of our citizens begging for an opportunity to earn a living, isn't it time to call a halt on this wicked waste of money and energy? If we are going more and more into the warship business, let us be honest and pull down our churches. If we are to glorify war, let us quit glorifying the Prince of Peace. Let us quit being hypocrites."

But the advocates of a still greater navy, chief among whom are President Roosevelt and the successor he is now nominating, Mr. Taft, would reply that peaceful enterprises, if they are to be prosecuted successfully, demand a navy big enough to guarantee the United States against attack by foreign nations. Among armed neighbors, they say, the United States must go armed. Their statement does not appear at all convincing, for there is no likelihood that any nation is going to make an unprovoked attack upon the United States. Be that as it may, the powerful politicians and their friends the powerful contractors, are in favor of a bigger navy. And they will have their way.

HO FOR THE ARCTIC

"Cap." Bernier the Bold is about to brave the rigors of the Arctic again, and, if the news were likely to thrill the Canadian public, recollection of the two-priced pemmican, the costly wines, liquors, cigars, tobacco, fur coats and feminine headgear, with which the intrepid explorer's vessel was stocked for a previous excursion, would abate rising public enthusiasm over another venture at the expense of the country. Bernier's ship is now being fitted out in Quebec. The avowed object of the cruise is "the interception of whalers, collection of duty, and annexation of any land he may encounter that is not already possessed."

Judging by the nature of the last voyage of the "Arctic," as disclosed by inquiry at Ottawa, the isolated inhabitants of the northern islands and headlands will be anticipating the reappearance of "Cap" Bernier and his merry men with heartfelt joy. The "Arctic" is to be provisioned for two years, so that the skipper will be able to rescue his Eskimo acquaintances from the drear monotony of their customary diet of blubber and reindeer meat. For if the expedition go as well-heeled as formerly there will be stowed below decks material for unlimited entertainment in the bleak north—flagons of stuff to keep out the cold and to make friends of the seal hunters, Merry Widow hats for Arctic belles, cigars and tobacco to beguile tedious hours under the midnight sun, a store of food to tickle the sailor man's palate beyond end and musical instruments and theatrical "properties" to permit of artistic diversion when the ship passes that point which the poet mentioned when he said:

"For there's never a law of God or man runs north of sixty-three."

It would, of course, be idle to ask what value the people of Canada will get for the money they expend on these excursions which Captain Bernier and his men make to the white north. If the skipper were to carry with him a score or more of the politicians whose names have figured in certain transactions at Ottawa of late, and leave them somewhere in the Arctic circle, the country would profit by the adventure.

THE SON-IN-LAW

There is noticeable throughout Canada today a marked tendency to examine the causes leading to the business successes of Mr. Macoun, son-in-law of Sir Frederick Borden, in connection with the sale of supplies to, and the securing of subsidies from, the government. The Toronto News, in discussing the matter, employs language which, if it be justifiable, should lead to Sir Frederick's resignation without loss of time. Sir Wilfrid and his colleagues can scarcely have overlooked the statements made and the inferences drawn by the News. That journal says:

"When defending himself in the House of Commons against the cold storage accusations Sir Frederick Borden said that the mere fact that Mr. Macoun was his son-in-law should not prevent him from making a living in ordinary business. No one will be disposed to quarrel with that statement. What Mr. Macoun got is not so interesting as how he got it. It is alleged that the Minister favored him unduly not only respecting the cold storage subsidy, but in other dealings which Mr. Macoun had with the department.

"If that is so, the offender is Sir Frederick Borden. If a Minister permits some favorite to make an excessive profit or to gain some unfair advantage over his competitors which will result in an excessive profit, that Minister is not doing his duty. He is permitting the money entrusted to him by Parliament to be wasted. If there are middlemen and grafters encamped round about the Parliament buildings in Ottawa awaiting a hundred-per-cent. opportunity, the blame must rest on the Administration. By maintaining the patronage system of purchase for large quantities of King's stores, the Ministers invite camp-followers and political vultures.

"It does seem strange that intelligent and capable public men should cherish this most colossal stupidity of politics. Patronage is supposed to consolidate the party. It does nothing of the kind. And the man who is tied to the patronage list will finally find himself divorced from the public confidence. Mr. Brodeur and Sir Frederick Borden have played the patronage game with assiduity. It is only natural that scandals should blot the record of their administration."

By implication at least the News sets forth a very serious view of Sir Frederick's position in the light of recent disclosures. If the News editorial goes unchallenged what opinion will be formed by the people of Canada? Or, does the News discuss matters concerning which most well-informed Canadians already entertain settled convictions? Sir Frederick's son-in-law is proving expensive to the country. Sir Frederick may find him expensive also. In which case he will have himself to blame.

SEA POWER

Britain pays "the price of admiralty," and the price is high; but the advantage is inestimable. The other nations strive to keep pace. They can only imitate, and they are always years behind the leader. A reviewer refers to the proposed 21,000-ton improved Dreadnought to illustrate the British supremacy in these matters. In building the Dreadnought, he says, Great Britain took a step in naval construction a long way in advance of the other great powers. All of these hastened to follow her example and began building ships of the Dreadnought class. It was a cross between the battleship and cruiser, combining the qualities of both, and its many advantages were immediately recognized. "Now, before the nations have completed or put to the trial test their imitations, Great Britain has started them by taking another and still further step in naval construction. She has laid the keel of an entirely new type of battleship, which, when completed, will be as much an improvement on the 'Dreadnought,' as that was on former cruisers. It will carry heavier armour and guns of greater range and power than those of any battleship afloat or building. Its engines will be run by gas instead of coal, thus doing away at one stroke with the most cumbersome element for the generation of steam, and wonderfully simplifying the whole system of navigating power. The consumption of coal is always a telltale at sea, and many have been the devices tried unsuccessfully for the purpose of preventing its betrayal of the presence of warships. The new battleships will have all the advantages of the old sailing ship in cleanliness, with the additional charm of invisibility, for it will have no tophamper of spreading sails. One such ship will have an immense superiority over all other battleships. Practically, it will be better than three or four of them in actual warfare, and, if successful, as the Admiralty is sure it will be, it must work a new revolution in naval armaments. To keep up with this new departure, the other nations will have to adopt the new type of battleship, their 'Dreadnoughts' being already obsolete in comparison, even before they are launched. Germany, if she is not to be distanced in the race, must revise her naval plans at more than treble the cost, for a ship of the new class will cost twenty-five million dollars. Surely this is a step towards the cessation in the policy of naval competition!"

NOTE AND COMMENT

The Bishop of London has made known the secret of how he was present at the birth of this idea of a national park at Quebec. "It was on a Sunday in last September," he said, "when Lord Grey and I were sitting on the walls of the citadel looking over one of the grandest views in the world—that over the St. Lawrence. On the Plains of Abraham was an old prison, and a disgraceful looking factory standing almost on the very spot where Wolfe fell. Lord Grey said to me: 'Bishop, I want to clear all this away and have a public park worthy of Canada.' I replied: 'If you start on this, I will give you your first subscription.' 'Done with you, Bishop,' was the reply, and I had the honor of being the first subscriber to the scheme."

* * *

The following good story, for the accuracy of which we do not vouch, reaches us, says the Pall Mall Gazette, concerning the recent Dundee election. Now that he is sitting on his "safe" seat, the new member for the Jute city will not grudge his political friends and opponents the harmless pleasure of hearing how he met the deputation from the Episcopal Church of Scotland, headed by the Primus. It was on one of his busiest days, and, after apologizing for a little delay in arriving, he plunged into the education question straight away. He told them that he could assure them, as he had said to their "friends" at Manchester, that they had his fullest sympathy, and no doubt something really for their benefit would be done by the Bill. He continued in the familiar Manchester strain, all the time under the impression that he was addressing some local Catholic bishop and his followers. The deputation saw the joke, and let him go on until he was nearly finished, when the "Bishop" said, "I think you are under a misapprehension. We are not Romanists." It is stated that Mr. Churchill blushed, and he expressed a hope that they would not give him away—at all events till after Saturday."

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Market Square, St. John, N. B.

UNION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Colonies Anxious to Join Forces

Constitutional Convention Will Soon Gather--Many Questions to Be Settled by Plan--Treatment of the Natives Most Important of These.

A Pretoria despatch says:—

For some time now, but more particularly since the granting of the Transvaal Constitution, the question of South African federation has been quite generally advocated. The movement has culminated in a meeting of delegates from the South African colonies this month in Pretoria. The conference agreed to the principle of South African Union, but were unable to arrange the many difficult details satisfactorily. The colonies interested at present are four: Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange River and Natal, with the probable addition of Natal at a later date.

The question has not yet been made one of party, as the advantages of the scheme are potent.

Almost every thinking man in South Africa is convinced that the present condition of disunion is unnatural in its origin and disastrous in its effects. A white population of about 1,100,000 inhabiting a country not divided by great natural barriers and remarkably uniform in its social and economic conditions manages its affairs in five mutually independent and often conflicting divisions. When the Orange River Colony received its constitution four of these divisions were provided with the complete paraphernalia of a responsible government with two houses of parliament, a supreme court, the usual official hierarchy and a public debt. These governments spent a great part of their time and much public money in trying to settle each for itself questions which never will or can be settled except by common action, or else in fighting each other over issues which owe their whole existence to the fact that there are four governments in the country instead of one.

Of the former class of questions the most important is the native question. The condition of native life and the problems arising out of their association with the European population are practically the same throughout British South Africa. It is difficult to convey to anyone who has not lived in South Africa an adequate idea of the vital importance of these problems to the European population or of the difficulties connected with them. And yet that European population is and has been dealing with these problems in five artificial and practically independent sections, one of which, possessing a fully equipped responsible government has a native population outnumbering the Europeans by something like nine to one. True, the logic of facts has driven the governments to endeavor to obtain a common policy by means of joint commissions and conferences, but with four independent parliaments subject to the ordinary exigencies of party government identical legislation and common executive action are impossible. To deal with such a question under such conditions is to insure disaster, and indeed that result already looms upon the horizon.

An instance of the second class of questions is the standing quarrel over railway rates. It would take too long to explain this question in detail. It is enough to say that the division of the traffic from the ports to the interior (especially the important traffic to the Witwatersrand) causes a sharp conflict of interests between Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. No one who knows how bitter this conflict is, and who remembers that the closing of the Vaal River Drifts in 1895 (which was one of the incidents in this competition) led the Cape Colony and the South African Republic to the brink of war, can feel sure that if these four colonies were independent states they would not resort to arms over this question. The present arrangement is confessedly a makeshift which satisfies no one and it cannot last. Nor is any other likely to be found between union on the one hand and on the other a war of rates which will mean a serious and dangerous feud between some or all of the British South African Colonies.

As previously stated, the Intercolonial Conference at Pretoria passed favorably upon the principle of federation. But the conference went even further than this. A resolution was introduced and passed providing for the meeting and completion of a national convention, which, meeting later in the year, will frame a suitable constitution. The size of the convention and the proportionate representation of the states were determined as follows: Cape Colony is limited to twelve delegates, the Transvaal to eight, and Natal and the Orange River Colony to five apiece. The voting in the convention is to be per capita, not by states. Provision is made for the entry of Rhodesia into any scheme of union at a later date on terms to be agreed upon. It should be added that the intention evidently is to concentrate all power of deciding the course to be followed afterwards in the hands of the governments, not the parliaments. Beyond the formal consent of the latter to the appointment of delegates, there is no suggestion that there will be any further opportunity for discussion till the draft constitution is submitted to them for acceptance or rejection. This obviously increases the responsibility of the governments in a matter which is in any case of supreme importance to the success of the convention—namely, the allocation of the delegates between the different elements in each state. On this point, so far, no declaration of policy has been made.

Without political unity South Africa can enjoy neither real self-government nor that stability—political, economic, industrial—which is her most crying need. As long as South Africa is divided into separate governments, her internal disagreements must inevitably lead to interference from outside. The interference of the home government, though not, as a rule, dictated by selfish motives, is not always inspired by knowledge or untainted by prejudice. The interference of foreign Powers, such as Portugal, is naturally dictated purely by their own interests. That was the situation before the war; that is the situation today.

But it must be remembered that internal disunion as well as external interference have contributed to the present economic crisis. The prosperity of the whole of South Africa is to a large extent bound up with the development of the Transvaal mining industry. That industry, in its turn, depends entirely upon the supply of unskilled labor. An effective South African labor policy is therefore the first interest of South Africa as a whole, and of every South African colony. Yet no such policy has ever existed; on the contrary, every colony has in the past looked upon all attempts to recruit for the Transvaal in its territories as a nuisance and an encroachment. The Transvaal, in consequence, has had to look for support to a foreign neighbor, who not unreasonably has, in return, insisted upon advantages for his railway and port which have crippled the railways and ports of the British colonies. This same lack of co-operation showed itself when the introduction of Chinese labor was contemplated. If the evidence which gradually forced responsible opinion in the Transvaal to recognize the necessity for labor imported from outside Africa had equally convinced the public opinion of a federated South Africa, the action which would have resulted would not have been interfered with from England.

None of the causes of past failures exists now. Federation is in no sense an imperial measure, but has been taken up by the colonial governments on their own initiative. The several states have all attained to full colonial rights. The Transvaal is newly annexed, but it speaks with its own voice, and not with the voice of Downing street. What is more, in three out of four states a "Dutch" government is in power, and these governments have an obvious inducement to work together now that the old dream of a united Africander nation is within reach. Lord Milner's theory that an Africander nation would be disloyal to the crown is now almost everywhere repudiated.

Annexation cannot alter geography, and as a separate colony the Transvaal is certain to become increasingly independent of the Cape. Only federation can induce the South African colonies to work together for a common economic advantage, and what has made federation possible is the sentiment of Africander unity, with which Sir E. Grey and Mr. Rhodes in his early days sympathized so strongly, and which Lord Milner did his best to destroy. The grant of self-government to the Transvaal, the equalization of its status with that of the older colonies, and the growing sense of a common South African nationality are what have brought South Africa at last within reach of the ideal of the greatest South African Englishmen and Dutchmen. The conflict of railway interest—"that cloud of future strife," as Lord Selborne recently called it—will vanish before South African federation and the wealth of the Transvaal will be used for the common good of British South Africa.

With federation, too, disappears the risk of tariff war between the South African colonies, which is only averted now by the unstable compromises of customs conventions. The labor problem will have a fairer chance of solution if all the colonies pursue one common policy; and union, by bringing strength, will place the white man above the fear of the black, which has been responsible for so much cruelty and injustice. It is hardly possible to overestimate the advantages which union will bring to South Africa.

SEEING THINGS AT NIGHT

Why Objects Assume a Fantastic and Alarming Appearance.

(British Medical Journal.)

Every one must at times have asked himself why familiar objects in a dim light tend to asume fantastic and often times alarming appearances. The explanation is to be found in the special conditions of night vision. The pupils are widely dilated and, as in the photographic lens with a large diaphragm, the apparatus of accommodation can only focus for one plane. As the faculty of estimating distances is in great measure lost in the obscurity we cannot focus with precision, and a blurred uncertain outline is thrown upon the retina.

Then, too, colors viewed in a fading light lose their distinguishing hue in a fixed sequence until a point is reached at which everything becomes of one uniform gray tint. It follows that the images which are transmitted to the visual centres are profoundly modified in color and outline, and as they enter the eye through the widely dilated pupil at an altogether unusual angle the movement of locomotion gives them a peculiar mobility.

Now, one relies on experience for the interpretation of sensorial impressions, and when these present themselves suddenly in an unusual form they create a feeling of insecurity which finds expression in mental perturbation and more or less violent motor impulsion. In fact the subject finds himself in the position of a horse which sees a rapidly advancing automobile for the first time and does not know what to make of it.

Imagination aiding, these blurred, mobile and uncertain images are susceptible of the most phantasmagoric interpretation, and in persons who are not accustomed to control sensorial impressions by the exercise of the intelligence the impressions are accepted as realities and acted upon accordingly. Gamekeepers and others who are accustomed to night work make allowance for phenomena of this class and correct the visual deficiency by the aid of other senses, such as hearing, which are not dependent on light.

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