

## Joseph Howe

MR. JUSTICE LONGLEY gave a most interesting lecture before the Men's League in the Ethical School-room of the Universalist church, the president of the League, Hon. Mr. Justice Russell, being in the chair, says the Halifax Chronicle.

Mr. Justice Russell, in introducing the speaker of the evening, referred to the ability of the lecturer, that he had written on the life of Nova Scotia's greatest man which was not to be surpassed and in the speeches and writings of the speaker of the evening we had the real Joseph Howe. The speaker and the subject deserved a large hearing it was a "fit audience though few."

Hon. Mr. Justice Longley was heartily received. He said he had devoted a large part of his life in bringing Joseph Howe to the attention of the people. He had lectured forty times in the Maritime, Upper and Lower Provinces of Canada and in the New England States of the American Union on Howe and had written his biography.

After having many years dealt with the life and message of this remarkable man, he had found that he had not discovered the real Joseph Howe after all. His greater and permanent character he had yet to unfold. He had been dealing with that part of his character which would not live long as compared with the greater Joseph Howe. It was not as the champion of a particular measure, however great in itself, that he would longest live. It was not that he was idolized by the people; not that he was the great orator; that he was versatile, graceful and stirring; or of the greatest of Canada's orators. All this would perish. He is not to be remembered longest because of any office held by him, because he secured responsible government or because he was a great speaker. On these very phases of his character he will be forgotten.

Joseph Howe occupies a unique and sole position among the men of British North America, that while he was the greatest statesman, since in the ordinary meaning of that word a half dozen or more were greater than he, he was great in that he was fulfilling his own more immediate work and at the same time was thinking out great problems far in advance of his times and far in advance of our times. His letters to Lord Grey are the greatest contributions to imperial discussion to be found in the English language. One cannot find in our whole British political literature anything that bears a semblance to it. Joseph Chamberlain found speeches of Howe and saw new light on British freedom.

Such men as Howe seldom reach the top in a democracy. In a popular domain those who rise to the top are those who learn how to conceal their thoughts, who easily and calmly adjust their speaking and their labors to the average sentiment. The public seem to want a safe man, a man with as few ideas as possible, one who says nothing and does nothing startling. Howe was a rash man, if you will. He was stating things which were most startling and most shocking to the average public sentiment. He frightened many. He was driven to the people for support and, unlike most such men he did not depend upon the people in vain. The man generally supported by the majority is the man who is not heroic. Howe was always heroic, always defying prejudices and advancing to new positions. It is marvellous that he held public office so long as he did. His own defence in the libel suit against, when all the lawyers advised him to apologize for a newspaper article, and he took the matter to the jury and spoke for himself in a six-hour address in the court room, and got acquitted and carried home on the shoulders of the people, is one incident showing his unique position again of being very radical, and also being idolized and successful.

Joseph Howe's fame does not rest on his achievements in politics. The ground on which his great reputation is to last is that he was a great thinker and splendid writer and speaker on the problems which he had thought out.

His service to responsible government was that not alone did he secure such a great measure of it to Nova Scotia, though this was itself a new problem and a great service for him to work out, but that at a time when the "Colonies" were beginning to grow, Canada, Australia and the other parts of Greater Britain, and the British races were developing constituencies all over the world, Joseph Howe, in a series of articles addressed to Lord John Russell, an immortal literature it is, laid down principles of self-government within the British Empire, which were to make each part free.

The introduction of our system of freedom owes it very much to Howe, that he in 1830 to 1836 was able to interpret and enforce these principles for this part of the British Empire. His political literature, which he gave, I say, is unsurpassed. It was something of an advantage that the Maritime provinces had such a man and obtained responsible government without bloodshed, whereas the other Canadas did not have such a man and did have bloodshed on their way to equal ideals. There were Howe's letters to Earl Grey, and they will be studied one hundred years from today. The speaker referred to his compilation of the speeches and letters of Howe. If we compare Howe with other men in Canada it is always to his advantage. Others did their work, and served their day. But what did they leave behind, what message to the world? There were twenty-five more prominent men in Canada in his day than Howe, but while these are being

forgotten, Howe's name is being more discussed, and will continue to be more and more discussed. Indeed, great thoughts slovenly expressed may die. Howe's thoughts given in a great manner will be remembered.

Howe is the greatest man of British North America, having no rival, being absolutely alone. There has not been a man in two hundred years past in the British Empire who has left behind him so great a body of political literature.

Howe was great, greater than all the other Canadian great men combined, in fact, the only great great man which British North America has produced in the political world. The volume of political literature left behind him will never die, but be better read and better known as years come and go.

Howe had additional qualities, of course. He was a charming literateur, and contributed poetical gems. If we compared some of his poems with those of other Canadians, we would often find them fuller of grace, fuller of fire and fuller of the true poetic spirit. Joseph Howe was a great thinker, a great leader, and a great man.

Hon. Mr. Justice Russell expressed himself as giving hearty assent to what had been said, and extended the thanks of the League to the speaker, who had to leave to keep another appointment.

Rev. Charles Huntington Pennoyer said that one of the good things of his short residence in Nova Scotia was his greater acquaintance with the personality of Joseph Howe. It having been his good fortune too, to have selected Lucius Huntington as his uncle, he was especially glad to know more of the greatness of Howe. Many and many a time Howe and Huntington, both radical and independent Liberals and anti-Confederators, found occasion to stand together, and the reports of speeches in the Canadian House of Commons will show that each was the greatest defender that the other had in that great legislative body. He believed more study should be given to Howe, not alone in Nova Scotia, but as well in Canada, throughout the British Empire, and may I not say as well in English speaking countries, and in fact, all over the world.

Mr. Edward Howe, of Musquodoboit, and a grandson of Joseph Howe, being a son of the eldest son, Edward, was present and gave personal reminiscences of the love of Joseph Howe for his own family, and of the family for him.

Hon. Mr. Justice Russell was asked the question as to his idea of the justice of stating Howe to be the greatest public man of all North America, which one of the speakers had done.

He replied that he would not hesitate to say that in his opinion there had been no greater man born on this continent than Howe. One of the fallacies that Mr. Howe himself had punctured was the idea that you must have a big field in order to grow a big turnip. He believed that Howe had the capacity of a constructive statesman in as large a measure as any of the great men who had been spoken of. As an orator he compared well with Daniel Webster, having equal intellectual power and greater magnetism, humor and poetic gift. On the occasion of the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth he had delivered an oration which held, in the estimation of William Cullen Bryant—himself a poet of no mean gifts—the first place among the many deliverances that the occasion called for in all parts of the English-speaking world. This was a great achievement. Then, considering his remarkable versatility, the brilliancy of his humor as illustrated in his "general reply," published in the volume of his speeches—in which he so cleverly satisfied all his opponents, knocked their heads together, and made them the laughing-stock of the country. Nothing could have been more brilliant. To give an idea of his gifts as a poet, Judge Russell cited the poem contributed by Howe to the great provincial exhibition as an event which was among the earliest recollections of his childhood, and where he remembered seeing an automatic figure sawing a stick of wood without making any sawdust. The poem was Howe's tribute to the memory of the forefathers of the hamlets, and Judge Russell, after finishing the recitation said that if this was not poetry he was no judge.

### THE ETHICS OF WAR

IN a very interesting review of the new book just issued by Capt. A. T. Mahan, U. S. N., the London Times says:

Captain Mahan, as we all know, has devoted his literary life to the exposition of the history and philosophy of naval war. In so doing he appears to have incurred the censure of some of those—they are many in these days—who hold that war is in itself a violation of the moral order of the world and little short of a negation of its moral government. In July last he wrote an article in the National Review on "The Hague Conference." It elicited the following anonymous letter, written, we regret to say, from this country:

"Sir,—I have just read your article on the subject of 'The Hague Conference' and deeply regret to find that you have used the great talent God gave you for the welfare of mankind to uphold and encourage instead war, which is literally Hell upon earth, and the curse of mankind, at this exceedingly critical period when your opinion might have proved

a feather weight in the scale in favor of International Arbitration. May God forgive you and lead you to an altered and better mind.—A Lover of My Fellow Creatures."

Here we have in its nakedest and most intolerant form the assumption that Captain Mahan sets himself to examine and refute in this little collection of recaptured essays—the assumption, as he puts it, "that all war is, so certainly and entirely wicked that a man cannot without sin present before the audience of his kind such considerations as those contained in the article" in question. No one would expect a writer of Captain Mahan's temper and calibre to bandy arguments with this anonymous fanatic, and, indeed, except for a few dignified words in his preface, he does not attempt to do so. But since there are many in these days who do hold more or less the same views on the subject of war and express them in less temperate language, it is certainly not amiss that a writer who justly wields so high an authority as Captain Mahan should give us, as he does in this volume, his own "Apologia" on the subject.

The volume is not, however, a systematic treatise on the ethics of war. It consists of detached essays written at different times for different occasions and purposes, and not all written by Captain Mahan himself. It opens with a very thoughtful essay on "The Power that makes for Peace," from the pen of Henry S. Pritchett, formerly president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in which the lesson is forcibly inculcated that the essence of the peace movement lies not so much in the formulating of artificial and almost impossible systems of international arbitration as in the creation of "an international conscience"—"we bring a world peace nearer when we so educate the individual man as to bring about a common understanding between men and between nations." It also contains a masterly paper by Mr. Julian Corbett on "The Capture of Private Property at Sea," which originally appeared last year in the Nineteenth Century. This, together with the essay which follows by Captain Mahan himself, dealing also with "The Question of Immunity for Belligerent Merchant Shipping," does not bear very closely on the main thesis of the volume as we have defined it above. The ethics of maritime capture is a very important and much debated question, as recent controversies have shown, and both Mr. Corbett and Captain Mahan have written very cogently in support of the proposition that maritime capture as a weapon of naval warfare is at once legitimate, humane, and indispensable. But the ethics of war as such is a very much larger question, and rests upon arguments of quite a different order.

With these Captain Mahan deals more or less discursively in the three remaining essays. One of them is a paper read before an American Church congress in 1900 on "War from a Christian Standpoint." The argument in this paper is well developed, but it is, in our judgment, too scholastic and exegetical for general appreciation. The true justification of war from a Christian standpoint rests, as it seems to us, not so much on a collation and interpretation of Scriptural texts as on the broad thesis, on which, to do him justice, Captain Mahan insists at the outset of his paper, that the Christian conscience cannot and ought not to tolerate the existence of evil, such as wholesale oppression, aggression, or other wrongdoing, where the nature and circumstances of the case are such as to impose on the national conscience an obligation to redress such evil even by the application of force. From this point of view righteous war is the manifestation of the national conscience in action, and to refrain from it may be a greater national sin than to engage in it. The argument is more or less identical with that of the late Canon Mozley in his well-known sermon on "War," and it is singular that Captain Mahan, who is not unfamiliar with the writings of English divines on this subject—for he cites the late Bishop Westcott, in one passage—should have overlooked the masterly analysis of war and its ethics by a writer whom Mr. Gladstone held to be not unworthy to rank with Bishop Butler in his ethical and spiritual insight. It is true that the Christian and ethical standpoints here coalesce into one, and for that reason we prefer the two remaining papers, in which Captain Mahan treats war in its purely ethical aspects, to that in which he treats it from a specially Christian standpoint. They make a larger and more universal appeal, and they make it with greater cogency and effect; for it is clear that, if war could not be justified at the bar of conscience as such, Christianity itself would be discredited if it were found to sanction war on grounds which conscience could not accept.

On the other hand, it may be argued that the analysis of war into the irreconcilable conflict of two national consciences, affords little justification for most of the wars which mankind have waged. If both consciences were equally upright and equally enlightened, it would hardly seem that they could come into conflict. The duty imposed on a nation to resist and destroy evil even by force presupposes the existence of evil. Hence, after all, war is only justified by a recognition of the depravity of human nature. If conscience were universal and supreme, the need for its vindication by force would never arise. If all men were good, there would be no need even of law; conscience would be lord of all. In like manner, if all nations were equally enlightened in their conscience and equally restrained by it, there would be no occasion for war. "C'est la force et le droit," said Joubert, "qui reglent toutes choses dans le monde; la force en attendant le droit." That we believe to be the true philosophy of the subject. It justifies war in the present condition of the world, and it at least encourages the hope that war may some day be superseded, or, if not superseded altogether, at least immensely diminished in its frequency between nations of equal civilization and equally enlightened conscience.

## On Journalism

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R. H. W. MASSINGHAM (editor of the Nation), in a paper on present-day journalism read to the Free Church council at Southport (reported by the Manchester Guardian), spoke first of the very great changes that have taken place in journalism. The first and most obvious of these supplied a key to all the rest—namely, the cheapening of the cost of the daily newspaper.

"When he first went to London only one evening newspaper could be bought for a halfpenny. With the exception of the Times, every other newspaper cost its readers a penny. Today the London daily newspaper press includes eight halfpenny journals. Moreover, all the penny morning journals are Conservative or Unionist. The Liberal party and Liberal or Radical principles have been represented, since the death of the Tribune, by halfpenny journals only, and by only one penny London newspaper in the evening press. The circulation of these newcomers is out of all proportion to that of their predecessors, and has been built up with far greater rapidity.

"In the new cheap journals the written and the illustrated paper have been combined. A week's issue of the halfpenny newspaper resembles a cinematograph show at a music hall. It aims at being a prolonged series of photographs, in print and in line, moved swiftly and disconcertingly before the eyes of the audience, and dazzling it with a quick succession of seemingly truthful impressions of life. Nearly all its features are imitative. The large, bold, printed headlines, the descriptive report, the sensational style, the direct, easy, rather flip-

pan treatment of nearly all subjects, are taken from the American journal. The short or serial story comes from the popular French newspaper. We have followed America again in making the newspaper a bi-sexual organ rather than a monopoly of man. Women's interests and pleasures, in place of being ignored, are sedulously treated.

The idea of the absorbing interest of politics is quite reversed. Parliament is often reported in a few lines; only specially dramatic or scandalous, or merely personal events in it, and one or two extracts or epigrams from political speeches, are culled and set out in brief paragraphs, so that the mind of the reader may not be unduly distressed in the effort to grasp their meaning. No special knowledge of subjects, save sport, is presupposed, and therefore continuous thought is not awakened.

"The main stronghold of the new press is its success in playing on the three great appetites of the average British public—the appetite for hearing about crime, the appetite for sport, and the appetite for gambling. The explanation of crime, the retaining of agents of the criminal services, and, worse still, the payment of heavy fees to sensational criminals or accused persons for purposes which interfere both with law and with morals, are really appalling features of one or two of those journals which, by a curious irony, are the chief mental food of our workpeople on their day of rest.

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