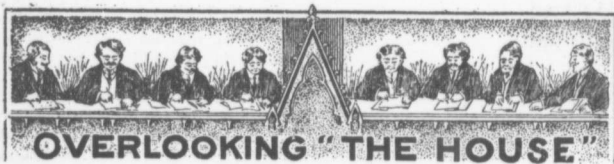


EVENTS

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THE first real flare up of the Session furnished much amusement to the public, for two reasons. The encounter between the Irish intensity of the Postmaster General and the caustic acerbity of Hon. Geo. E. Foster enlivened an otherwise dull sitting, and some feeble light was thrown on the great political conspiracy of 1896 in which Mr. Foster acted as leader.

The discussion arose, curiously enough, over a complaint by Mr. Martin as to the tie up in the ice in the Straits of Northumberland of the government steamers that try and maintain communication all the year round between Prince Edward Island and the mainland. Sir William Mulock regretted that the vis major made the circumstance inevitable. Mr. Foster, who has a constitutional inability to refrain from interjections, suggested as an adjuvant vis inertia. Then Sir William repudiated the idea that it was the government's want of energy which piled up

the drifting ice 'in front' of 'the steamers, and insinuated that under the Conservative regime matters were much worse. There were fewer steamers and more ice. "The hon. gentleman," said the Postmaster General, "must not forget some things. He is a man with a past". This, for some inexplicable reason, roused the ire of Mr. Foster who attacked Sir William's alleged inconsistency, in opposition and in Government. In opposition he had introduced a bill to reduce the salary of the Governor General, and another to prohibit members of the House of Commons from accepting office, and still another as to railway passes.

Then came the Postmaster General's Roland for Mr. Foster's Oliver. Mr. Foster had entered parliament as a prohibitionist and subsequently abjured his principles, as far as enacting a prohibitory law was concerned. Sir William's chief retort,

however, was to accuse Mr. Foster of bad conduct as one of the "Nest of Traitors" in 1896.

This brought on the really interesting if not important part of the discussion. For the first time since the famous conspiracy of January, 1896, two of the principals publicly referred to it. Mr. Haggart warmly defended Mr. Foster's action on that occasion. He said that the explanation of that concerted action of seven members of the cabinet had never been given. That is quite true, but what purported to be an explanation was made to the two Houses at the time, and it merely shows what sham explanations are made officially to parliament. He added the significant remark that it "likely will be shortly". It's about time seeing that the incident is nearly ten years old. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, he went on, had difficulty in carrying on government. He referred in this connection to the Manitoba school difficulty. As a matter of fact that was the sole difficulty.

In July 1895 when parliament was in session three Quebec ministers resigned in order to force the government to agree to hold another session and introduce legislation to supplement the terms of the Remedial Order which the cabinet had been foolish enough, on the advice of Sir Hibbert Tupper, to adopt. The rest of the government capitulated, the three ministers came back, and Mr. Foster read to the House the official statement, under which he and every other of the seven "Nest of Traitors", so called, were equally bound in good faith to pass a remedial bill at the session of 1896. That session was opened on January 2, 1896 by the Speech from the Throne which solemnly promised a remedial bill as part of the sessional programme. Parliament was then adjourned for four or five days. It subsequently transpired that the majority of the cabinet were suffering from stage fright. They had just agreed to put the promise into the mouth of His Excellency, and now they resolved, rather than carry out that pledge, to extinguish the political life of the Prime Minister under whom they were serving. The revolt—Mr. Foster objects to it being call-

ed a conspiracy—was brought to a head in the room of Mr. Foster one famous Saturday afternoon, and after six o'clock a messenger was sent to the room of the Prime Minister upstairs in the same building carrying seven envelopes each of which contained a notification that the ministers had resigned. Sir Mackenzie was as mad as a hatter and he called in his secretary and declared that he would accept those resignations forthwith and reform his cabinet. His replies were actually written and sent to the home of each resigning minister before Sir Mackenzie would consent to go home to dinner.

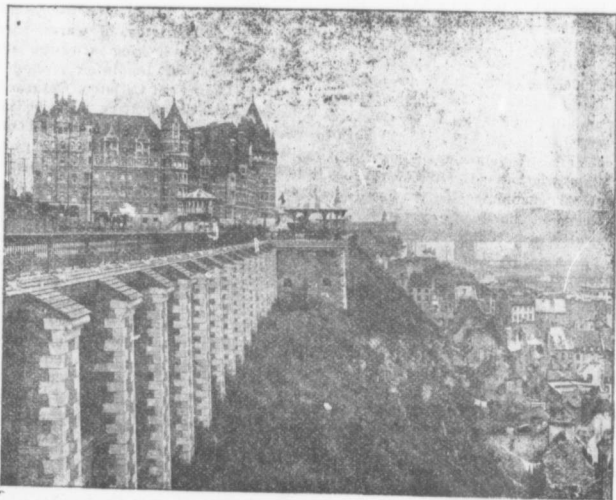
Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London was then actually on his way home from England. He had cabled to Sir Mackenzie that he was coming in connection with the Fast Atlantic service, and so, to give regularity to an official leaving his duties the premier fearfully cabled that he might come. Mr. Haggart said he could not say how Sir Charles came to come out at this critical juncture. His idea was that he came at the request of Sir Mackenzie Bowell. Well, we have indicated how that was technically true. It was clear that he was coming permission or no permission, and our facts were obtained from the premier's own lips at the time.

"It was well known," added Mr. Haggart, "that the Conservative party was dying for want of a leader at Ottawa and it was by the consent of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, as well as the rest of us, that Sir Charles Tupper was called on to form a government." These statements are very interesting, but does Mr. Haggart think it a proper thing to connect as one incident events that happened early in January and the "consent" of two weeks afterwards? A man may "consent" to give up his purse if the alternative is a bullet through his heart. The expression which immediately became famous was used by Sir Mackenzie Bowell a week before he "consented" to recommend Sir Charles Tupper. He had a seat on the floor of the House of Commons on one of the days when Mr. Foster was "explaining" to the House what Mr. Haggart told the House on Friday had

never been explained, and as soon as the Speaker vacated the Chair he exclaimed to some of the front bench Liberals — "I have been living in a nest of traitors". Last week in his speech Mr. Haggart showed that his animus against Sir Mackenzie Bowell is not quite dead, for he said:— "Like a sick girl hangs on to life Sir Mackenzie Bowell hung on to office. I am not sorry for anything I did. There was nothing else for us to do". Perhaps so, but these gentlemen do not seem to appreciate the fact that their chief mistakes were two, first as to the method adopted of carrying out the revolt, and by putting a pledge into the mouth of the Governor General which these seven ministers, rather than carry out, were prepared to sacrifice the political life of their chosen leader and jeopardize the prospects of their own party in the country. It was impossible for the premier to resign before the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was adopted by parliament. Lord Aberdeen informed Sir Mackenzie of this fact when he went to tender his resignation, and then

the premier attempted to reform his cabinet, with the result that a compromise was made by which the seven ministers came back upon Sir Mackenzie agreeing to resign at the end of the session, the seven agreeing on their part to "vote for the school bill which rather than have at New Years they were prepared to wreck the Conservative party. And that's what they did, Sir Mackenzie Bowell actually taking the stamp in the elections against Mr. Haggart.

In the discussion last week Mr. Foster stated that he did not come into parliament on a prohibitionist platform. Also that before the seven ministers left the government Sir Mackenzie Bowell "knew our views and intentions". Does Mr. Foster mean to say that the premier's amazement, anger and consternation on that famous Saturday evening when a departmental messenger brought up the seven resignations, was a piece of stage acting, with no audience? It's up to Sir Mackenzie Bowell to protect his reputation while there is time.



A view of Quebec

EVENTS

Published Weekly.

ARROTT J. MAGURN, Editor

VOL. 7. FEBRUARY 18, 1905. No. 7

AN effort is being made to exaggerate the dangers with the school question in connection with the autonomy bill to be introduced in parliament. We have had a school question before in this country, and the remembrance ought to make us a little chary of taking chances on the question. The Hamilton Spectator heads up with two columns wide an inflammatory dispatch from Ottawa which refers to "the French element", the right of the minority, and to separate schools. The Spectator and papers like it should remember that they once before spent their good large type trying to injure the Laurier administration over a separate school question and as a result they succeeded in inflicting an injury upon their own party, from which it has not yet recovered.

THE election to the House of Commons for the county of Westworth, Ont. has been annulled by a decision of Chief Justice Meredith in the proceedings taken to unseat Mr. E. D. Smith, the Conservative candidate, who was declared elected over the Liberal candidate Mr. W. O. Sealey, who received the majority of the votes cast which, however, could not be credited to him, owing to the technical error of a deputy returning officer. He ordered a new election to be held. It is open to either side to appeal to the full court against this decision, but up to the present time we are unaware that such action has been taken. A great injustice has been done Mr. Sealey who received the majority of votes and this fact is admitted by such Conservative papers as the Toronto News.

THE difficulty which confronts the new Provincial Treasurer in Ontario in regard to the surplus he used to declare in Opposition did not exist, is that if he now

publicly claims that there is no real surplus he will injure the credit of the province in the money markets of the world. A declaration of this kind would be challenged and any statements made in support of it would so depreciate the assets of the Province as to make Treasurer Matheson's next sale of debentures not so successful as he would like. This might work politically to the advantage of the Opposition which would at once have a first rate campaign cry that the Whitney government had broken the good credit of the Province abroad so long maintained by the Liberals.

THE absence of any Conservative member from Nova Scotia in the House of Commons creates a curious and unprecedented condition of affairs. The Opposition caucus appointed a whip for New Brunswick and another for "the maritime provinces". It is to be presumed that the idea is for Mr. Lefurgey to act, when necessary, for Nova Scotia. According to the rule and practice of representative government, Mr. R. L. Borden of Richmond in the County of Carleton in Ontario, would be disabled from looking after the affairs of any portion of Dominion territory except the County of Carleton, Ontario. As leader of the Conservative party he must, of course, look after the interests of the party as a whole but to give any particular attention to Nova Scotia would be out of the question. The duties of Parliamentary whip are generally supposed by the public to be confined to the looking up of members for party divisions in the House. This must not be taken to mean a reference to divisions among the party. The whip usually has a large correspondence to carry on on behalf of others, and a good many matters affecting party organization, campaign literature and campaign funds to attend to. There is no question that if Mr. Lefurgey is going to look after Nova Scotia he is a very competent whip.

IT is all very well for Mr. Whitney to form a cabinet in Ontario but he could only bestow portfolios on seven or eight

gentlemen and, naturally, there were seven or eight other gentlemen each of whom thought himself as capable and meritorious a member of the House as the man who was chosen from his district. These heartburnings are not to be avoided in the making of cabinets out of oppositions who have been in the cold shades for the best part of a generation. The same thing happened in Ottawa when Wilfrid Laurier formed his administration in 1896. Mr. Mills, Mr. Langelier, Mr. Lister, Mr. McMullen, and others, when left out of the cabinet, felt somewhat like the little boy who had been good for the week before Christmas counting on the longed-for reward from Santa Claus and getting nothing in his stocking on the morning of Christmas day. Disappointments in life are inevitable and they are not by any means confined to the small boy.

WHAT is known as the Hay-Bond treaty for the improvement of commercial relations between the United States and Newfoundland is under consideration at Washington. This treaty seems to die hard. By virtue of the opposition of Canada the Government of Great Britain declined to assent to the treaty as far back as 1891, but the persistency of Sir Robert Bond has never let go and now a despatch from Washington states that the matter is going through the United States Senate with certain amendments. This recalls the fact that the late James G. Blaine when Secretary of State negotiated with Mr. Bond for a treaty which was opposed by Canada. Lord Stanley, who was at the time Governor-General of Canada, received instructions from the Imperial Government to oppose the opposition of Canada. Sir John Thompson who was at the time minister of justice, was strongly opposed to the mother country agreeing to the treaty because it would have given to the New England fishermen a supply of bait for the deep sea fisheries that would have made them independent of Nova Scotia. It seems strange that an independent colony should be prevented by another colony from ne-

gotiating a treaty which is considered to be to its own advantage, but Canada was so insistent and so influential as to compel the British Government to refuse to sanction the treaty. A story was published in the Toronto Globe from its Ottawa correspondent to the effect that the hostility of the representative of the Imperial Government in Canada was broken down by the threat made by Sir John Thompson to the Governor General that, if he persisted in advising the Imperial Government not to veto the treaty, he would resign from the Government and make a public issue of the question. The British Government was accordingly persuaded to withhold its sanction from the treaty and now it is interesting to observe that the treaty is once again on the carpet and that the Laurier administration does not hold the same view as did the Macdonald-Thompson administration more than ten years ago.



SIR CHARLES WYNDHAM

The famous English actor who visited Ottawa last week.

The Quebec Crisis.

PREMIER PARENT of Quebec, although granted the postponement of the meeting of the legislature called for last week, must face the music at the end of this month or the beginning of March. Out of the House of 74 members, 56 have signed a declaration binding themselves to vote against the Parent administration. As matters stand, therefore, a new government with either Mr. Archambault or Mr. Gonin as leader will be formed. It will, like the present government, be a Liberal administration, as there are about 68 Liberals against half a dozen Conservatives.

The reason why the leader of a strong government should have to face a revolt in the ranks is altogether Mr. Parent's own fault. He has been so long in office, including the office of mayor of the city, and is so influential in many different companies, and reputed to be very rich, that others came to think that too many of the good things were going to Mr. Parent. The effect also of Mr. Parent's good fortune on him was to make him believe that he could do anything and that anything would go that he said ought to go.

The dynamite that fired the mine was the appointment to the cabinet of Mr. Monet, ex-M.P. He had acted badly towards Sir Wilfrid Laurier and refused to be a candidate again in the general elections for the House of Commons in Nov. last. As it turned out there was a man better fitted to carry the county for Sir Wilfrid and he was obtained. Mr. Monet said to Sir Wilfrid that he was out of politics, but within a week of the general election Mr. Monet was in the field for election to the Legislative Assembly of Quebec for the same county. He ran as a Nationalist and expressed his strong hostility towards the Parent administration. He said to Mr. Parent, "You have been described as a

thief and when you wash away that stain I will support you". Then Mr. Parent, without consulting his colleagues, invited Mr. Monet to a seat in his cabinet council. It is to be presumed that Mr. Monet was first convinced that Mr. Parent was not a thief.

Immediately there was an explosion accompanied by expressions of amazement and anger, that Mr. Monet, who even refused to speak for the Liberal candidate in Napierville last November, should be promoted over the heads of faithful Liberals, by a man to whom Mr. Monet had publicly expressed aversion. This is the reason why 56 Liberal members of the Quebec House determined to drive Mr. Parent from office.

Mr. Monk endeavored to make some political capital against Sir Wilfrid Laurier last week in the House of Commons. He asked what part the Dominion Government was taking in the crisis at Quebec, saying that one of its members was absent from Ottawa endeavoring to propitiate the varying interests and clashing prejudices of the factions at Quebec. Sir Wilfrid replied that the government was taking no part in the crisis at Quebec, but if Mr. Brodeur was interested personally as a citizen of the province he was at liberty as an individual to display that interest.

We suppose that Sir Wilfrid could not help Premier Parent or Mr. Archambault and Mr. Gonin coming to Ottawa to interview him on the subject of the crisis, Sir Wilfrid will deal with them in his capacity as leader of the party and as coming from the Province of Quebec, but the Dominion government, as a government, could of course take no part. It is a domestic squabble appertaining to Quebec Province alone.

The Manitoba Lists.

A WARRANT has been issued for the arrest of Mr. Leech, who is said to have acted as Liberal organizer in the last Dominion elections in Manitoba. He is charged with "tampering" with the lists by removing from the Provencher voters list the names of Conservative electors. "This sounds startling but the explanation is very simple. The law declares that the Provincial voters' list, if not more than one year old shall be used at the elections for the House of Commons. In Manitoba the law provided that the voters list for the Province should be revised on the eve of a Provincial election, which takes place once in four years. In anticipation of a Dominion general election last year, Attorney General Campbell, the Foxy Quiller of the local cabinet, introduced a special amendment providing for a special registration in May. In other words the intention was to nullify an Act of the House of Commons regarding the election of its own members, for the lists in Manitoba being more than one year old, the operation of the Dominion law would provide a special list compiled under the direction of the Dominion government. Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced to the House of Commons last session that there was the intention to ignore the Provincial lists which had, from improper motives, sprung into existence. For some reason this intention was abandoned, and the list prepared in May was the list actually used in the November election.

Now, that list was prepared for the election to the local House in 40 different constituencies and an attempt was made to apply it to the election of 10 members for 10 federal constituencies, the boundaries of which were entirely different. Of necessity 40 small constituencies divided up into 10 larger ones would involve the pro-

jection of 40 voters' lists into 10. Some person had to put the voters where they belonged, or else the election would have been a farce. The returning officers, with the best assistance they could obtain, transformed these 40 voters lists applicable only to the legislature into the 10 necessary to the Commons election.

In the case of Provencher for example the federal boundaries extend from Winnipeg clean down to the international boundary, a distance of over 50 miles, and eastward clear to the boundary of the province. Naturally these boundaries, on the western side at all events, would intersect two or three of the boundaries of the local constituencies. In order to make the matter definitely clear the federal constituency of Provencher contains a portion of the Provincial electoral division of Rhineland and another portion of the Rhineland local division is in the federal division of Lisgar. The returning officer, therefore, in order to allow of all the electors on the Rhineland voters list exercising their franchise had to pick out those names on the Rhineland list whose owners voted in Lisgar and those names which belonged to Provencher. This is all that was done so far as we know at present, and it is for doing this inevitable and proper thing that an attempt is made to arrest Mr. Leech. At least we presume that is his offence.

In any event the matter will be discussed in the House at Ottawa, and it will be found that this distribution of voters in 40 constituencies into voters lists for 10 was not only imperative, but that it was done by the Manitoba Government itself in previous elections. Moreover it was done in British Columbia at the last election. To describe it as "tampering" with the lists is gross absurdity.

The Zemsky Zabor.

THE men who marched to the Winter Palace, on the famous Sunday morning were doomed from the first if the Government cared to crush them. The strike was a foregone failure, if its hopes depended on its capacity of resistance to arms and famine. When General Trepoff assumed command in the capital, he assumed command over a beaten city. For the moment the spectre of a red terror had been buried. But the Government, if it had subdued this unarmed remonstrance without difficulty, was not likely to deal out indiscriminate revenge. The Government tried to divide its enemies by sending the men of letters to prison and professing to take the workmen under its protection. Hurried manifestoes appeared explaining that the Czar was about to make provision for the workingmen's needs, and he received a deputation at the Riding School.

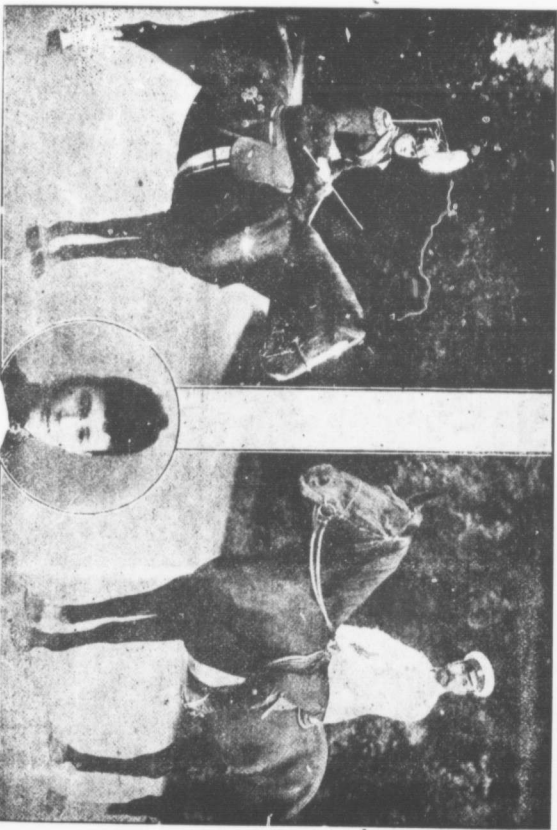
The deputation consisted of thirty-four workmen representing the employes of various factories and workshops in St. Petersburg, and it was accompanied by General Trepoff and the Minister of Finance. The Czar addressed them in a short speech in which he said they had permitted themselves to be led away and deceived by traitors and enemies of the Fatherland. He knew that the life of a workman was not an easy one, but to come as a rebel mob was a crime. He would take measures, in his solicitude for the working classes, which would assure that everything possible would be done to improve their lot and to secure the examination of their demands through legal channels. He was convinced of the workingmen's devotion to himself, and would pardon their transgression. After the address the workmen went to church, and later they were entertained

at dinner. The Czar and Czarina have given General Trepoff 50,000 roubles for the relief of the widows of the victims of the massacre.

Nothing is more significant of the strength of the reform movement than the anxiety of the manufacturers not to exasperate their relations with their workmen. The Moscow manufacturers spontaneously implored the Government not to use soldiers for the repression of the strike in that city. The St. Petersburg manufacturers met on Wednesday and adopted several resolutions. They decided that the general demands should be referred to the Minister of Finance for treatment as soon as possible by legislation. The particular demands at the several factories they refused to discuss until the men were at work, and they added that they would take no measures to denounce or punish the ringleaders, that they would not discriminate between the men who struck voluntarily and those who struck under compulsion, and that they would collect funds for the dead workmen's widows. The temper of the masters is probably not so much a matter of concerted policy with the bureaucracy as a genuine reflection of the sympathies and fears of St. Petersburg.

The strike itself has been followed by strikes in many parts of Russia including, according to one telegram, Siberia. It is stated that there is a railway strike at Krasnoyarsk, and that Irkutsk is under martial law. Both these places are important stations on the Siberian railway, and Irkutsk is one of the principal depots for concentrating stores before sending them on to Kuropatkin. If this message—a Reuter telegram sent from Irkutsk—is correct, the strategical gravity of the situ-

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The Tsaritsa, who is King Edward's niece, occupied, until the birth of a son last year, quite a secondary position.

The Dowager Tsaritsa
The Tsar's mother.

The Tsar, Nicholas II., whom the world holds responsible for the Sunday massacre.

ation is obvious. Warsaw is the scene of the most terrible anarchy. The strike there was organized by the Polish Social Party as a demonstration of sympathy with the workmen of Russia. It was so successful that all business was suspended. The troops were called out, and, after firing blank cartridge all day long, began shooting in earnest and at random in the evening. The collisions with the soldiers have been followed by the outbreaks of hooligans.

Dr. Dillon sent the news that the Czar, who had heard some plain truths from M. Witte about the events of Snuday week had yielded to the representations of M. Yermoloff, the Minister of Agriculture, and decided on a policy of conciliation and reform. According to this message the Czar had decided to entrust M. Witte, as President of the Committee of Ministers, with the task of extending and developing the principles of reform laid down in the case of Christmas Day. Our is to



M. DE WITTE

Who is likely to succeed Prince Sviatopolk Mirski in the Tsar's confidence

be restored by peaceful methods and the cooperation of the Russian nation is invited by the Government. The methods are to be left largely to the discretion of M. Witte, and they may include the assembling of the Zemsky Assembly. That assembly was last summoned by Peter the Great's father, just as the States General met in 1789 for the first time since 1614. But the Standard correspondent roundly contradicts the story, and it seems probable that though the Czar meditates reform on the general lines of the December policy, he has not yet gone the lengths of acceding to the demand for a Zemsky Assembly.

On Monday the 13th, however, there was published the following cablegram:—

St. Petersburg, February 12.—“I am not opposed to a Zemsky Zabor. On the contrary I believe it necessary.” In these words Emperor Nicholas personally declared himself in favor of a land congress and expressed the conviction that the time had come to prepare to give the people a voice in government. The emperor's words were spoken in the course of a conversation with Count Leo Dornvitch Tolstoy, son of the famous author. Count Tolstoy says.

“His Majesty summoned me after having received a memorial which I addressed to the throne, exposing the present situation in the country and humbly expressing the opinion that the interests of the monarch and the nation called for the removal of the wall raised up by the bureaucracy between them, the urgent need of devising means for enabling the sovereign to hear the voice of the people, and

recommending the convocation of a Zemsky Zabor. His majesty assured me that personally he was not opposed to its convocation, but on the contrary believed it necessary. The whole question now is greatly simplified and resolves itself into a discussion regarding the most opportune moment.

“The delay will be only such as will be strictly necessary for the introduction of an innovation of such magnitude. The great thing is that the emperor is in favor of the Zemsky Zabor.”

“Of the personae dramatis little is accurately known. Father Gapon is variously reported to be in hospital, in a monastery and in Sweden. Maxim Gorki is stated by everybody but the Standard correspondent to have been released already. The German Socialist paper Vorwaerts gave currency to a wild rumor that this distinguished writer was to be hanged, with the result that men of letters in all countries and of all opinions joined in an immediate protest. This outburst of admiration loses nothing of its value from the fact that the great novelist's life was probably never in danger. There have been several meetings to express sympathy with the Russian reform movement, and subscription funds have been opened. To subscribe to political agitation against the Russian Government is more likely to injure than to help the cause of reform. English Unionists and Irish Home Rulers would not be more attracted to the cause of Home Rule if foreign nations helped to subsidize it

The Situation in the Transvaal.

AT a private interview on 10th January between Lord Milner and a deputation representing the Responsible Government Party it is reported that the deputation contended that if representative government was forced on the country by the Imperial Government it would alienate the Dutch. Lord Milner, replying, said he understood it was the settled policy of the Imperial Government to introduce representative institutions to precede the grant of a full measure of self-government. The Progressive Association's deputation urged the embodiment in the constitution of the principle of one vote one value, and of machinery for the periodical redistribution of seats. The electoral qualification it was maintained, should be the municipal qualification, six months' residence being necessary for the Parliamentary vote. The names appearing on the burgher roll of the last Volksraad should be placed on the register. They also urged that the members of the Executive should be partly chosen from the elected representatives. Lord Milner expressed regret that there should be a division of opinion on this question. He added that he favored a democratic franchise, and advocated freedom of action regarding the executive, but was prepared to suggest that provision should be made in the Constitution for the inclusion of members of the legislature in the executive. The new legislature would have power to deal with all matters affecting the Colony's interest, the veto of the Crown being only intended to apply to measures infringing the rights of British subjects. On behalf of the Responsible Government Party, the chairman, Mr. E. P. Solomon, brother of the Attorney-General, has since proposed a scheme which he thinks should bring all

sections of the community together. The proposed Constitution for representative government should be annulled. The present Constitution should remain, and the Legislative Council should meet as arranged this year, but with a change of two members of the personnel of the executive. Full self-government should be promulgated in December, and a Commission should then sit to arrange the electoral divisions. The election should take place about May, 1906, and the new Parliament would meet only to vote supplies, and rise until the beginning of 1907. This however, was rejected by the Progressives, who refused to join in a deputation, and yet no compromise has been found possible.



THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR
Who is on a visit to England.

Count Tolstoy on the War.

A STINGING arraignment of the Russian autocracy and of the Czar himself and a fierce denunciation of all war, in the form of a series of letters, under the heading "Bethink Yourselves," written from Yasnaia Polyana by Count Leo Tolstoy, have been translated and published in the London Times. Count Tolstoy begins by stating his text, "This is your hour and the power of darkness (Luke xxii., 53), and then lays down his theme: "Again war. Again sufferings, necessary to nobody, utterly uncalled for; again fraud; again the universal stupefaction and brutalization of man."

One can understand, says Tolstoy how poor ignorant Russian and Japanese peasants "brought by the violence and deceit of centuries to recognize the greatest crime in the world—the murder of one's brethren—as a virtuous act, can commit these dreadful deeds without regarding themselves as being guilty in so doing." But how can so-called enlightened men preach war, support it, participate in it, and, worst of all, without suffering the dangers of war themselves, incite others to it, sending their unfortunate, defrauded brothers to fight?

"Not to mention the Hague Conference, which called forth universal praise, of all the books, pamphlets, newspapers, articles and speeches demonstrating the possibility of the solution of international misunderstandings by international arbitration, no enlightened man can help knowing that the universal competition in the armaments of states must inevitably lead them to endless war or general bankruptcy, or else to both the one and the other. They cannot but know that besides the senseless,

purposeless expenditure, of "milliards of rubles—i.e., of human labor—on the preparations for war, during the wars themselves millions of the most energetic and vigorous men perish "in that period of life which is best for productive labor."

Something is taking place, he continues "incomprehensible and impossible in its cruelty, falsehood and stupidity." Notwithstanding the fact that scientists, philosophers and religious teachers on both sides have declared war sinful and foolish, all Russians join in their efforts to destroy all Japanese, and all Japanese unite to kill all Russians.

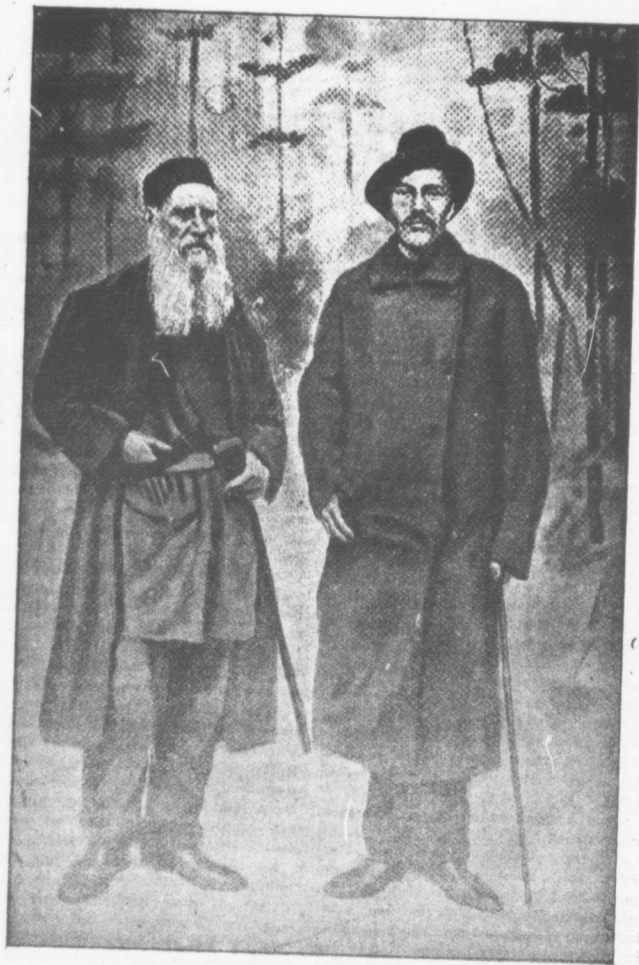
There follows a fierce arraignment of the Czar and the autocracy.

"This unfortunate entangled young man, recognized as the leader of one hundred and thirty millions of people, continually deceived and compelled to contradict himself, confidently thanks and blesses the troops whom he calls his own for murder in defence of lands which with yet less right he also calls his own. All present to each other hideous ikons in which not only no one among the educated believe, but which unlearned peasants are beginning to abandon—all bow down to the ground before these ikons, kiss them, and pronounce pompous and deceitful speeches in which no one really believes."

Not only the military are prepared to murder.

"Crowds of so called enlightened people, such as professors, social reformers, students, nobles, merchants, without being forced thereto by anything or anyone, express the most bitter and contemptuous feelings toward the Japanese, the English or the Americans, toward whom but yes

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TOLSTOY AND GORKKI

Two celebrated Russian novelists who are taking a prominent part in the present agitation.

terday they were either well disposed or indifferent; while, without the least compulsion, they express the most abject, servile feelings toward the Czar (to whom, to say the least, they were completely indifferent), assuring him of their unlimited love and readiness to sacrifice their lives in his interest. Wealthy people contribute insignificant portions of their immorally acquired riches for this cause of murder or the organization of help in connection with the work of murder; while the poor, from whom the government annually collects two milliards, deem it necessary to do likewise, giving their mites also. The government incites and encourages crowds of idlers, who walk about the street with the Czar's portrait, singing, shouting "Hurrah!" and who, under pretext of patriotism, are licensed in all kinds of excesses. All over Russia, from the palace to the remotest village, the pastors of churches, calling themselves Christians, appeal to that God who has enjoined love to one's enemies—to the God of Love himself—to help the work of the devil to further the slaughter of men. Stupified by prayers, sermons, exhortations, by processions, pictures and newspapers, the cannons flash, hundreds of thousands of men, uniformly dressed, carrying divers deadly weapons, leaving their parents, wives, children with hearts of agony, but with artificial sprightliness, go where they, risking their own lives, will commit the most dreadful act of killing men whom they do not know and who have done them no harm. . . . All this is not only regarded the manifestation of elevated feeling, but those who refrain from such manifestations, if they endeavor to disabuse men, are deemed traitors and betrayers, and are in danger of being abused."

"How can a modern, believing Christian, or even a skeptic voluntarily permeated by the Christian ideals of human brotherhood and love which have inspired the works of the philosophers, moralists and artists of our time—how can such take a gun, or stand by a cannon, and aim at a crowd of his fellow-men desiring to kill as many of them as possible?"

Tolstoy does not believe that such a per-

son can, without realizing the crime he is committing, and so, he says:

"All the unnatural, feverish, hot-headed insane excitement which has now seized the idle ranks of upper Russian society is merely the symptom of the recognition of the criminality of the work which is being done. All these insolent, mendacious speeches about devotion to and worship of the monarch, about readiness to sacrifice life (or one should say other people's lives, and not one's own); all these promises to defend with one's breast land which does not belong to one; all these senseless benedictions of each other with various banners and monstrous ikons; all these Te Deums; all these preparations of blankets and bandages; all these detachments of nurses; all these contributions to the fleet and to the Red Cross presented to the government, whose direct duty is (while it has the possibility of collecting from the people as much money as it requires), having declared war, to organize the necessary fleet and necessary means for attending the wounded; all these Slavonic, pompous, senseless and blasphemous prayers, the utterance of which in various towns is communicated in the papers as important news; all these processions, calls for the national hymn, cheers; all this dreadful, desperate, newspaper mendacity, which, being universal, does not fear exposure; all this stupefaction and brutalization which has now taken hold of Russian society, and which is being transmitted by degrees also to the masses—all this is only a symptom of the guilty consciousness of that dreadful act which is being accomplished."

If you ask a common soldier, an officer, a diplomat, a journalist, why he carries on war, or incites it, he will answer, says Tolstoy, with quibbles about fatherland and emperor and patriotism. The war, he will tell you, is necessary for the welfare and glory of Russia. Now, this is all wrong. Christians of today, says Tolstoy, are like a man who, having missed the right turning, the further he goes the more he becomes convinced that he is going the wrong way. Yet, the greater his doubts, the quicker and more desperately does he hurry on, consoling himself with

the thought that he will arrive somewhere."

"In such a position stands the Christian humanity of our time. It is perfectly evident that if we continue to live as we are now living, guided in our private lives, as well as in the life of separate states, by the sole desire of welfare for ourselves and for our state, and will, as we do now, think to insure this welfare by violence, then, inevitably increasing the means of violence of one against the other, and of state against state, we will, first, keep ruling ourselves more and more, transferring the major portion of our productiveness to armaments, and, second, by killing in mutual wars the best physically developed men, we must become more and more degenerate and morally depraved."

How can matters be mended? Not by a universal empire, or even a United States of Europe, says Tolstoy. Nor can compulsory international peace tribunals be organized. Disarmament will not come, because no one desires it or will begin it. The adoption of more dreadful means of destruction will not help, because all nations will use the new inventions. "We are dashing on toward the precipice, cannot stop, and we are approaching the edge."

What is to be done? The remedy is in the heeding of the scriptural injunction, "Bethink yourself!" Every man must ask himself, What does God command me to do?

"So must say to himself the soldier who is taught that he must kill men; and the statesman, who deemed it his duty to prepare for war; and the journalist who incited to war, and every man who puts to himself the question, Who is he, what is his destination in life? And the moment the head of the state will cease to direct war, the soldier to fight, the states-

man to prepare means for war, the journalist to incite thereto—then, without any new institutions, adaptations, balance of power, tribunals, there will of itself be destroyed that hopeless position in which men have placed themselves not only in relation to war, but also to all other calamities which they themselves inflict upon themselves."



A late photo of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain