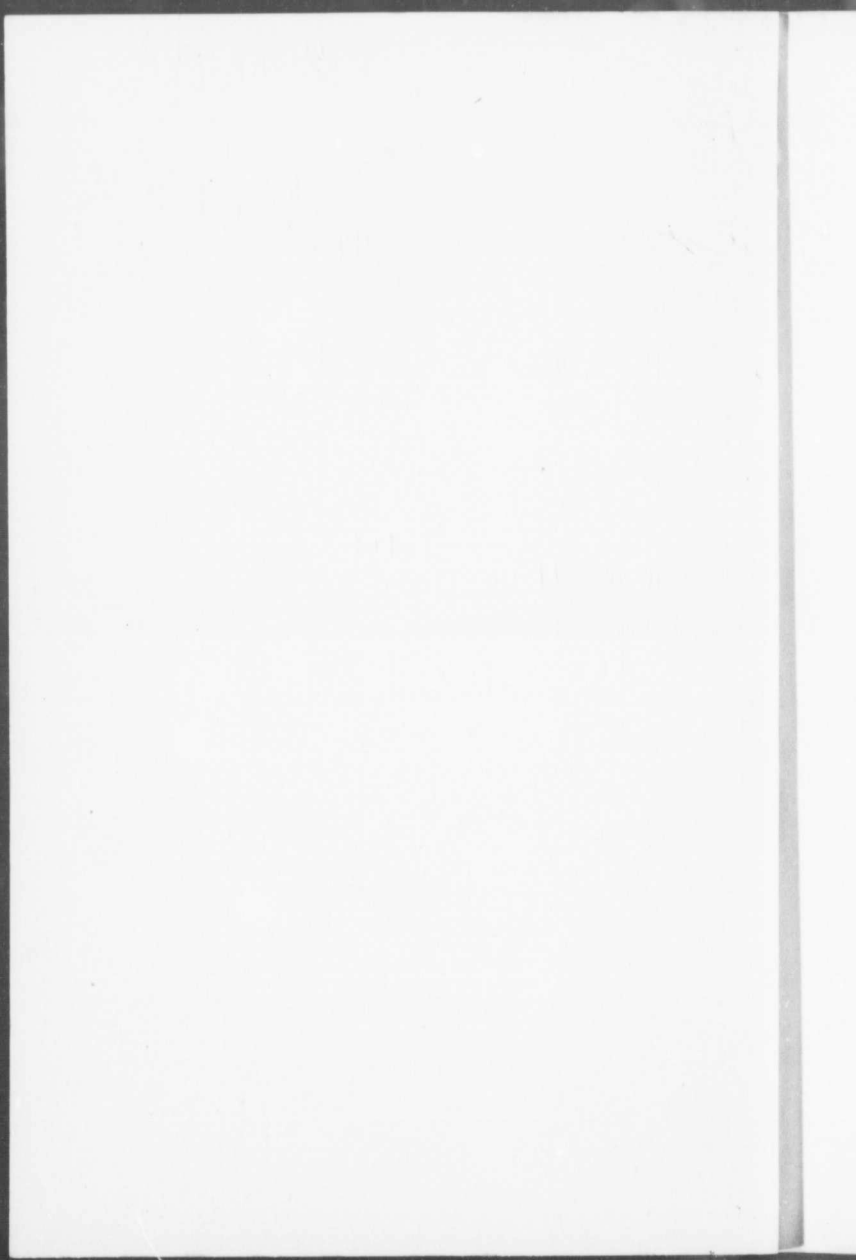


SOCIAL SERVICE CONGRESS

OTTAWA, 1914









H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA

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Social Service Congress

Ottawa - 1914

Report of Addresses
and Proceedings



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PREFACE

THE SOCIAL SERVICE CONGRESS (Ottawa, Canada, March 3-5, 1914), the proceedings of which this volume reports, was held under the auspices of the Social Service Council of Canada.

This Council was organized in December, 1907, under the name of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada.

It is a federation of churches and other Dominion-wide organizations for the purpose of formating those reforms and engaging in those forms of social service on which all the bodies federated agree.

The following bodies are at this date represented in the Council:

- The Church of England in Canada.
- The Methodist Church in Canada.
- The Presbyterian Church in Canada.
- The Baptist Church in Canada.
- The Congregational Church in Canada.
- The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.
- The Dominion Grange and Farmers' Association.
- The Salvation Army.
- The Canadian Purity Education Association.
- The Evangelical Association of North America.
- The Dominion Women's Christian Temperance Union.

THE OFFICERS ARE:

Hon. Pres.—Most Rev. S. P. Matheson, D.D., LL.D., Primate of Canada.

President—Rev. Albert Carman, D.D., LL.D., General Superintendent of the Methodist Church.

Joint Secretaries—Rev. J. G. Shearer, B.A., D.D., General Secretary Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. T. Albert Moore, D.D., General Secretary Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church.

Treasurer—Rev. Prof. Kierstead, D.D., McMaster University.

The proposal to hold a National Social Service Congress originated with the joint secretaries. To them was committed the

work of planning and carrying out the programme. The Council would record its gratitude to God for the unqualified success of the Congress and to the speakers and all others who contributed toward that success.

The Council has great pleasure in giving to the great and growing arms of social students and workers and the still larger sympathetic public this volume reporting the addresses, papers and discussions of the first Canadian National Social Service Congress, praying that it may be used as the means of promoting the awakening of the social conscience, and calling into activity the social sympathies, thus preparing the way for "the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer," and hastening the Kingdom of God in Canada, wherein there shall be no economic wrong, no social injustice, and no moral hurt.

Toronto, April 1st, 1914.

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The Social Service Council

Believes

That Righteousness can be realized in the complex conditions of modern life only through the application to all human affairs of the principles of the Kingdom of God.

The Social Service Council

Declares

For the application of Christian principles to the operations of industrial associations whether of labor or of capital.

For a more equitable distribution of wealth.

For the abolition of poverty.

For the protection of childhood.

For the safeguarding of the physical and moral health of women in industrial life.

For the adequate protection of working people in case of industrial accidents and occupational diseases.

For the Sunday rest for every worker.

For conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

For proper housing.

For the adequate care of dependent and defective persons.

For the reclamation of criminals.

For wholesale recreation.

For the protection of society against contagious diseases.

For international peace.

FOREWORD.

CHARLES W. GORDON, WINNIPEG, CANADA.

The Social Service Congress recently held at Ottawa may fairly be called an epoch-making event in the history of Canada. Summoned upon short notice and with no extraneous inducements offered, the Congress assembled its delegates from all parts of Canada, who came at their own expense and purely from their interest in the cause they represented. In numbers, in the spirit of determined enthusiasm, the Congress was unique, but more unique in this—that a very large proportion of those who constituted the Congress were men and women who might fairly be described as experts in their various departments of Social Service.

The Congress was a revelation to the City of Ottawa, to the Parliament of Canada, and, indeed, to the whole Dominion, and its impression upon the newspaper press was of more than usual significance.

Five years ago not only would such a Congress be considered by the Canadian people as impossible, but as unnecessary. Indeed the most remarkable feature of this most remarkable Congress was not its magnitude, the brilliancy of the addresses delivered, the sanity, the intelligence of its conferences, but the bare fact of its possibility.

The Congress means that a new day has dawned for Canada. The thoughtful men and women of the country, the ministers of the Gospel and Christian workers, members of Parliament and civic officials, presidents of great manufacturing concerns and labor leaders, all these are focusing their eyes upon the impressive fact that in this civilized and Christian country both civilization and Christianity are challenged by the economic, industrial and social conditions upon which the fabric of our state is erected. It is an immense game that thoughtful men and women have begun to observe, this solemn and startling fact. For there is in our nation so deep seated a sense of righteousness and of brotherhood that it needs only that the light fall clear and white upon the evil to have it finally removed. Men and women are becoming interested in man, not in things, and are discovering to their surprise that the interest too of Almighty God is centred not in things but in man, and this is the beginning of the coming of the Kingdom.

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<i>Address of Welcome</i>		SIR WILFRID LAURIER, K.C.,G.C.M.G.,P.C.
<i>Address of Welcome</i>	- - - -	CONTROLLER PARENT
<i>Reply to Address of Welcome</i>	-	RIGHT REV. J. C. FARTHING, D.D.,D.C.L.

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OPENING ADDRESS.

REV. DR. A. CARMAN, D.D., LL.D., GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT
METHODIST CHURCH.

It is peculiarly fitting that the Social Service Congress of Canada should hold its first general meeting in Ottawa, our Capital City. This city is the source and centre of many of the forces that bear upon the public life of the country. Our legislation is here, which must be brought to direct and control our civil and criminal law. This surely is no small matter for the peace of society, and the well-being of our people. The welfare of our workmen and the industrial life of our inhabitants have strong claims upon our Parliaments and courts. The immigration bearing in upon us, and the conditions of Canadian citizenship, are largely settled here. Ottawa forces have to do directly by themselves, and indirectly by other legislatures, with the restraint and removal of the evils of intemperance, the comfortable housing of our families, and the care of neglected and dependent children. The purity of our life and safety of our homes, all our important relationships, are largely regulated here. Then Ottawa society has its influence and standards; and many noble movements with healthful energy may arise at our capital city. Besides, Ottawa itself is a beautiful city, and its example for schools, public and benevolent institutions, and right recreation and amusement may shape towns and cities as they mature in this young and growing country. The very Houses of Parliament, amid this majestic scenery on these everlasting hills are, both as to situation and architecture, an inspiration and an education to the multitudes covering the northern half of this continent. Yes, we are right.

By no mere fortuitous concourses, or purposeless meeting of men, are we gathered here to-day. We have a purpose, a plan, a conviction, an intelligence, a solid groundwork of living principles, a lofty aim, and a broad, clear outlook of nationhood, of nation-building. Some things we hold as fully and forever settled: Of them, at this stage of the world's progress, we admit no question or doubt whatever. We believe that associated man, human society as it is constituted, as it operates among us, as it has operated, for better, for worse, during all the historic ages, is an institution of God. It is neither steel-bound, steel fastened platoons, immovable; nor is it the utterly unrelated units, unassociated

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entities, drifting hither and thither without plan or aim; but it is a living organism, united and worked by active forces, by the living heart of divine wisdom and love; by power of habit, custom, law, racial affinities, education, religion; the great sociological energies and agencies that build up the commonwealth into one, and into one, the human race.

We believe that this Society cannot exist as such, or secure in any good degree its desirable ends, without some kind of settled government; that is, not government by ignorance, or chance, or impulse, or caprice, or brute force, but government in some degree well intended, well designed, well established, well ordered, and well administered. Such government alone is progressive, such alone advances from generation to generation, and secures the high advantages of the social order.

Furthermore, we all believe that in the order of nature some things are good, and some bad; some right and some wrong; some highly beneficial to society, and some deeply injurious to it; and to its personal components as well.

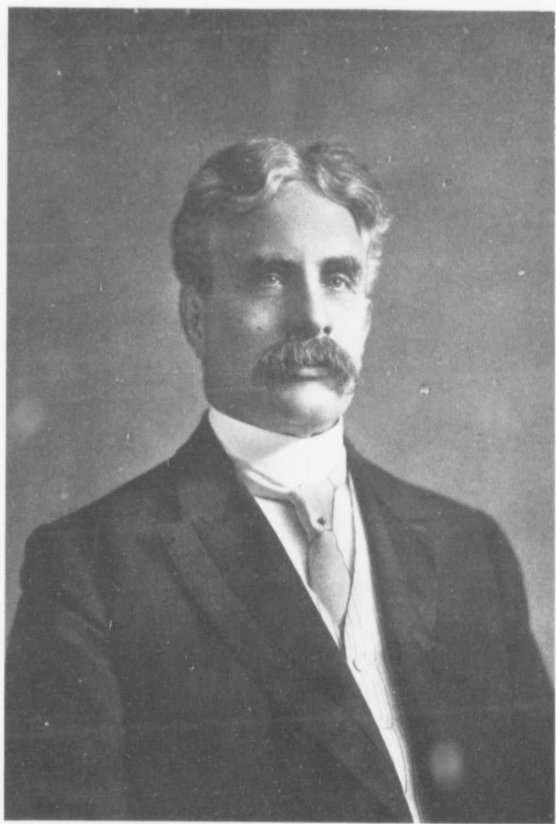
All this is easily said, and will likely be readily accepted. But how does it all bear upon the obligations of society and the responsibilities and duties of government, that great servant and instrument of society whereby it must protect the weak and often restrain the powerful? Was Mr. Gladstone wrong in his opinion and astray in his utterances, that it devolves upon the rulers to make it difficult for people to be bad, and easy for them to be good? Is not this the very object of this movement among us? Does not this explain the genius of this meeting?—the central, vital thought and purpose of this gathering? Shall we not co-operate heartily to this end? Shall not the governments of our land lend their mighty, all-efficient aid? For a long course of centuries our people have enjoyed what, in the pride of growing Empire, we delight to characterize as British Government. In the breadth of its liberty, the splendor of its powers, the grandeur of its opportunities, in its age-long and oft-demonstrated love of truth and justice, we are met here to-day to combat the evils that afflict our nation, and arrest or retard our progress, and to lift up and spread abroad the forces that make for righteousness, purity and goodness. Be it ours, by precept and example, to exalt the moral and social standards of the country, to ennoble the manhood and womanhood of the land, and where at all necessary or desirable, to reach the same ends by wise and beneficent law, and its efficient administration.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

RT. HON. R. L. BORDEN, K.C., P.C., PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.

It is not only a duty, but a privilege, to be here this morning to take part in this opening, and to say a few words at the commencement of this Congress. Apart from every other consideration, it is a very great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to have heard you speak and to have listened to the very earnest words which have fallen from your lips. They are words which carry with them the sound conviction of earnestness of purpose, and I am sure they sink deeply into the hearts of everybody here to-day who has the privilege of listening to them.

It is indeed a most worthy purpose for which you are gathered here to-day. We are asked to speak a few words of welcome, and I do that most earnestly and sincerely. We welcome you all and the purpose for which you are gathered. That work does not find its conclusion in the mere gathering together of this Congress, nor in the discussion of a number of subjects which I see outlined upon this programme. Work such as this which is set before you to-day, and the following days of this Congress, is work which must not be confined to meetings of the Congress itself, but work that must be carried on with all that earnestness and sincerity of which Dr. Carman has spoken in every walk and occupation of life.

We in Canada speak—and it is right that we should speak—of the great heritage which has come down to us from those who first undertook the work of developing this country. It is right that we should appreciate the material heritage to which we are heirs. It is right that we should understand that that heritage should be developed by us. But there is something more that has come down to us from by-gone days—a heritage perhaps greater than a material heritage—the hereditary example of tradition, the standards of public and private life which have come down from those pioneers who first made their homes in the northern half of this great western continent. Those of you who are here for the purpose which inspired this Congress are engaged in the most arduous work. When you undertake to make the people of Canada understand in this age of rapid development, in these days of national growth, the true conditions of things, you have a big work before you. In these days, when the cries of the purely

materialistic are so strongly heard, it would be strange indeed if we did not welcome here to-day in all earnestness and sincerity this or any other party of pioneers in so noble a work.

Now, it is not for me to dwell upon the various worthy purposes of this Congress, which is composed of representatives from all the provinces of the Dominion. I am not yet a very old man, and I cannot speak with the experience of some here to-day, but it has seemed to me during the last twenty-five or thirty years in Canada that the tie of the influence and control of the family life is not what it was when I was a boy. I don't know whether the matter has entered your minds so strongly as it has mine, but it seems to me that forty-five years ago, or even thirty years ago, there was in the family life of Canada a stronger and greater hold upon the children than that which is in force at the present day.

You have before you an excellent programme, with a great latitude of subjects, every one of which is not without its importance in a national reform of our people. You are to consider and discuss the Church and Industrial Life, Radical Tendencies Among Working People, Neglected and Dependent Children, The Problem of the City, Commercialized Vice, the White Slave Traffic.

You have referred to the work which is to be done, and you have alluded to the part which Parliament will take in bringing about better results. I am sure that the Government of Canada, whether to-day or in the future, is and shall be always ready to co-operate with you in your good work. So far as many of these matters are concerned, we must bear in mind one thing, that in the first place, in a movement such as this, there must be earnestness or the work will not be done. So far as Parliament is concerned, so far as legislative proposals are concerned, it is well to bear in mind that the law which is not enforced is worse than no law at all. I have seen in my province laws placed upon the statute books which were designed to effect a great good, but they remain unenforced, lying upon the statute books and treated with contemptuous disrespect. I say that such a law is worse than no law and should not be enacted until public opinion is ready to support it. Therefore, when you come to Parliament for a new law I would have you bear in mind in the first place that not only must the purpose be worthy, but it must be reasonable. I do not doubt that any proposals which come to us from you will contain that degree of reasonableness and backing which will bring about the desired result.

I do not propose to dwell upon any of these proposals for more than a moment. You have spoken of life in the city, and life

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in the country. That brings us to consider that Canada to-day is inviting to her shores a greater influx of people than was ever before brought within the boundaries of any other country of our population. We are undertaking in Canada to-day a task in that direction, relative to our population, greater than was ever undertaken in the great Republic south of us, and I believe that the scale upon which immigration flowed to the Republic was the greatest known to history. We bring these people from countries where the laws and standards are greatly different from our own. I do not say that in any spirit of superiority, because I do not doubt that the immigrants which come to our shores can teach Canadians something. I do say that in this task you are faced with a great work. We must present our ideals to the people who come to our shores, and in this way hope to instil into them the things which are good for them. You must not only consider the original stock of Canada, the French and the English, peoples who have worked together so well in harmony, as well as the great German race which is in my own province and in the Province of Ontario; not only must you have regard to the ideals and aspirations of these peoples, but you must take into consideration the ideals and aspirations of the other nationalities who come to our shores; so that the future will see one great united people in Canada, and so that Canada may take her place among the nations, not only in great material development, but in moral as well. Then will we take our place not only among the nations of this great empire, but among the nations of the world.

I desire to say, in conclusion, and I fear I have trespassed too much upon your time, that I am sure the Government and the people of Canada are in sympathy with the objects which you have at heart, and on behalf of them, so far as I have the right to speak, I wish you godspeed in your good work.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, K.C., G.C.M.G., P.C.

I am sorry that in the very first words which I must express to you to have to take exception to some words which have been spoken by my honorable friend the chairman. He has told you that the time will come when I will have to speak in the wilderness; he has made just one mistake, the time has come already. But whatever is left of my voice, I am always ready to employ it in a good cause such as this.

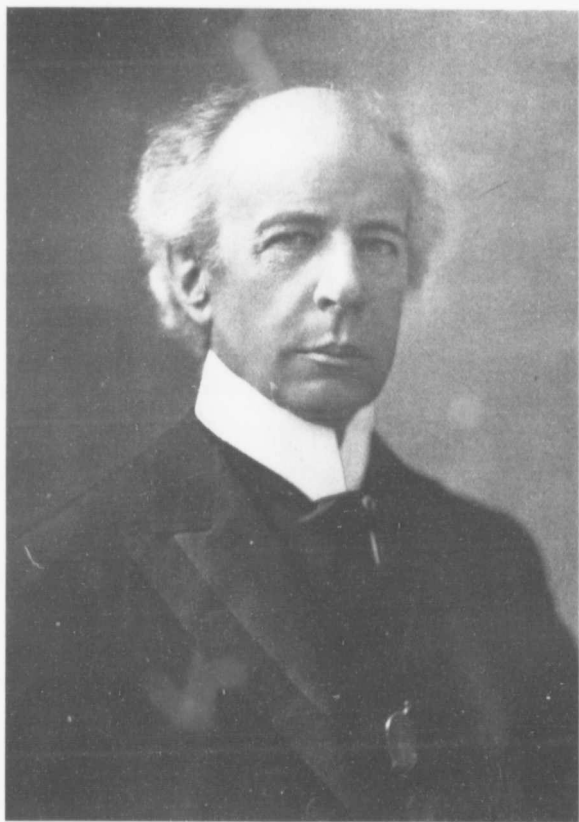
The Prime Minister of Canada has spoken in the name of the people which he here represents, and has extended to you, ladies and gentlemen, the cordial welcome of the people to this, their capital city, and I, coming after him, may simply ask to be permitted to join my voice to his and extend the warm feeling with which we welcome you and your work. It is not too much to say that the eyes of this country will be centered upon this hall and upon what is said and done here. The aims of your association are for the advancement of the country. It stands for many things; the application of Christian principles to industry, whether of labor or capital; for the abolition of poverty, the distribution of wealth; the safeguarding of the moral and physical welfare of women in industrial life, and for proper housing facilities. I need not go further, for I am perfectly satisfied that the chief purpose in your mind is to improve conditions, to improve the standing of the poor, the humble and the lowly. And surely no more worthy cause could enlist your sympathies!

It is a great stain upon our civilization that throughout all the ages and in all countries poverty has been the chronic condition of the masses. Poverty! poverty! all the time. In the olden days the condition of labor was slavery. Slavery in that form has gone, but we still have poverty. After two thousand years of Christianity, all that Christianity has been able to do is simply to extend to the poor and the lowly the hand of charity, and nothing more. Charity is the most noble of all the virtues, but charity is not sufficient. But your aim is not only to help by charity, but to elevate the standard of labor; to work for a larger and more equitable share of the wealth of the earth. Charity is noble in the giving, but it always implies humiliation. The poor, the lowly, and

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the humble, are coming into their own, not as a matter of grace, as has been the case in the past, but upon the basis of right.

This problem involves many problems. It grips the attention of some of the noblest minds of the age. So far, however, no adequate solution has been found to these problems, but because no solution has been found it does not follow that we should be deterred by the difficulty. And if, as the result of your labors, you are able to bring up some measure within the working of practical legislation, you have heard the First Minister say that your efforts will be received with all due consideration by him, and may I say the same for the other side of the House which I represent. It is a great deal to expect that in this Congress you will be able to reach any solution to this great problem, but even if you fail this time of the goal, you shall meet again. Still, if you bring us one step forward towards the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, your labors shall not have been in vain, and you shall have earned the gratitude of the people.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

CONTROLLER PARENT, OF OTTAWA.

I regret very much that the Mayor is not here to offer you a welcome, but he is ill. This is the capital of Canada, and you are at home here. Indeed, we have won the reputation, and rightly so, of being the convention city of Canada. I think we are entitled to it. It may be a little egotistical on my part, but I do believe that we have the most beautiful city in Canada to-day. I also believe that what is in store for the City of Ottawa—with what the Government intends to do in this city—we are going to make of the capital one of the most beautiful capitals in the world. I do not wish to speak at any great length, because you have heard very many great gentlemen to-day, but I think I can say that you have made a judicious choice in coming to Ottawa. I am sorry, though, that along with that excellent list of topics you have upon your programme you have not placed some subject which will have some bearing upon the water question.

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REPLY TO ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

RIGHT REV. J. C. FARTHING, D.D., D.C.L., BISHOP OF MONTREAL.

On behalf of this Congress, I would thank the Right Honorable the Prime Minister and Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Mayor of Ottawa for the kind welcome they have extended to us this morning, and assure them that we do most heartily appreciate their words and their sympathy.

We have been brought together to-day by the overwhelming sense of the necessity of our common life. There is wonderful potentiality here represented: all religious communions in Canada, together with the leaders of the two great political parties which are striving for the power to rule this Dominion, combined with the municipal authority. It is a powerful combination, which if sincere in the professions made by all, and inspired to enthusiastic action, could accomplish much for the welfare of the country.

The evils which we are fighting are not new. They are most of them as old as humanity itself. They may find a new method of expression at times, but the evils themselves are very old. The social evil is as old as the race. Sunday desecration is older than the days of Moses, for the ancient Babylonians found it necessary to pass Sabbath laws, which for their strictness made those of Moses seem mild. Industrial troubles would seem to be as old as the days at least of Lamech, when that father of artificers slew two men in his wrath—if I am right in my surmise. Child training perplexed Adam and Eve, and Cain's lamentable crime was the evidence of Eve's failure in her home discipline. Political corruption is as old as the history of human government. All forms of governments have been corrupt, autocratic, oligarchic and aristocratic; and perhaps the most corrupt of all democratic, for here there are more taking part and therefore more to share in the corruption. New aspects of old evils must be met by modern methods.

We in Canada are handicapped in the fight against these threatening evils. Every nationality has its common life and traditions; inherits ideals which are its own, after which the people strive. "The generating, the sustaining force of States is not material but spiritual." We are not one nation, we are a heterogeneous people. People of many nations are in the Dominion, and many national traditions and ideals are contending for recognition. To harmonize these, to assimilate them, so that there shall be one high ideal of honor and truth, is a hard thing to do. In the

effort to do it we are apt to lower the ideals, so that the best in each may be lost.

This is an age of specialization: we are forever dividing life into departments. Religion and morality are sharing the common fate. We have a "business life," "a family life," "a public life," and a "church life." Each has its own standards and its separate conscience. A man may be honest in one and think it no wrong to be dishonest in the other. We all condone public dishonesty too much, while we would not think of tolerating the same conduct in private life. We have to assert in no uncertain tone that there is "no opposition between the things of Caesar and the things of God." Life is one. It is not divisible. "While the Divine and human must ever be kept separate in thought, the more they are united and harmonized in action the better." We have to find a common ground for action. Life is a continuous whole. It cannot be divided into compartments. What the Christian does he must do as a Christian, and we must ever insist that our Christian faith shall be the rule of our whole life. We are either Christians in all or in none of the relations of life, and though one man may shine more in one than in the other, the same standard of life must govern his actions in everything.

The Church is the body of Christ, and the Church as such must be in the whole of life—in the family, in business, in social life, in politics, in the Legislature, and in the halls of Parliament. The Church must be there to insist that the standards of Christ's own life shall govern there, shall be supreme there in all things. She is not to be there through her hierarchy, her priesthood, or through her official ministry, but through her members. The duty and work of the official ministry is to teach and inspire all the members of the Church, so that they will uphold Christ and His high ideals of life wherever they are. The responsibility rests upon each member to witness for Christ in every relation of life in which he may be placed. He can never lower Christ's standard in one place without lowering his own life, and dishonoring his Master.

The life of Christ is the common standard upon which we can all unite. It gives great opportunity and brings the privilege of service to each and every member of the Church, however lowly and humble he may be, or however exalted. The statesman in his office is just as much Christ's minister to serve Him in his office as a member of His Church—His body—as the clergy who stand to minister in the Church. It has been a delight to hear the noble words of the Prime Minister to-day, showing that he realizes his

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responsibility, and that in his work he is actuated by the highest ideals. The leaders of the Church must never rest until they have stirred up the members of the Church to this conception of service.

Morality is not a question of denomination, of race or nationality; much less is it a matter of party politics. To read the events of recent days one would be inclined to think that many among us consider it to be so. Morality for the Christian is a question of Christ. Morality must never be allowed to become a matter of section or party strife. Men may differ in policies of trade and such like, and they will contend about these things; there is no particular harm if they contend honestly. Once a moral wrong is done, all else should be dropped and contending parties should unite as one man to wipe out the wrong done to the honor of all. Men should be all the more anxious to wipe out the wrong done by their own party, because that more intimately affects them, as they are associated together, and to remain silent would seem to approve the action. There should be no party division in a matter of morality.

"No man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself," is manifestly true. The social evil threatens us all. It is your family to-day, to-morrow it may be mine, if not in its moral degradation, in the disease resulting, which may ruin the innocent as well as the guilty. Business and political morality affect the whole nation.

Materialism is rampant in Canada. Perhaps it is natural in a new country busy in developing its resources, when it is inevitable that we should be dealing with the material things through sheer necessity. That is natural. Its dangers should make us all the more careful to guard ourselves. It seems to me that the great sin of our day is covetousness. "Late and soon, getting and spending we lay waste our powers." We forget and neglect the claims of life in our eagerness in accumulating the means of living. These material advantages will prove no blessing to us apart from intellectual, moral, and spiritual consideration. This greed causes great evils; it leads men to betray trusts which are most sacred, it dulls the perception of honor, honesty and truth; it destroys the finer and the spiritual qualities of life. Nothing destroys character more than the demon of covetousness. Morality and covetousness do not long travel together.

The whole fabric of our social system is based on morality. In the present day we have seen evils exposed which show that morality is being driven from business and public life. There are men in our business and public life who are thoroughly honorable and who could not be bought to do a dishonorable thing. At the

same time there is the other side, and a few more exposures such as we have recently had in Canada and the good name of the Dominion will be a thing of the past. It is a serious thing. Our commerce is depending on the morality of our men in business. Let the impression of our laxity go forth and the much-needed capital for our development will be driven from us; our progress will be retarded; and, not least, our national honor will be tarnished. It is ours to awaken, or if necessary to create, a national conscience. Educate the people in morality, and make all feel the personal sense of responsibility, and especially make our political leaders feel that responsibility. See to it that all corrupt men are forced out of public life, and that none of them shall be tolerated in any position of public trust. Take it for granted that the man who condones, excuses, or palliates wrong-doing is a partaker of the wrong, and cannot retain the confidence of honorable men. Let our public men know that we regard it as a shameful thing to uphold wrong-doing. This means sacrifice, of course it does, but sacrifice—as Bishop Westcott said—alone is fruitful. For the sake of our country we must be prepared to make sacrifices.

We cannot attain unless we have a clearer and more effective recognition of personal responsibility and of corporate dependence. We shall get this by bringing men to the recognition of the law of Christ, not by legislation. Legislation is the last and not the first thing in social reform. "The function of legislation is to register each successive advance in popular conception of the just conditions of life." (Westcott.) There is much to be done before we crystallize reform in legislation. We must have a deeper sense of personal responsibility, and this responsibility must be to the body corporate. In the individual life and the life corporate the one law of Christ must be the standard. Individually we are "in Christ," and in Him we are all united to each other, for as St. Paul said, "we are all one man in Christ Jesus." That is the root principle of our brotherhood, and is the inspiration of our social service.

There have been empires built upon force, and they have passed away; diplomacy with its intrigue, and oftentimes fraud, has been relied upon to further the interests of nations; but the power of love as a basis of a State has never yet been tried. Now is our hour of opportunity. We have the chance of doing a new and a great thing, to build up a nation on the high standard of the love of God. That is a strong foundation indeed, nothing can destroy or shake it. "The victory of love through sacrifice is assured, for there can be no final defeat to God's righteous love."

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The Weekly Rest Day - - - REV. W. M. ROCHESTER, B.A.

Canadian Indians and Their Relation to Canada
REV. CANON L. NORMAN TUCKER, D.C.L.

THE WEEKLY REST DAY AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING.

REV. W. M. ROCHESTER, B.A., GENERAL SECRETARY LORD'S DAY ALLIANCE OF CANADA.

In the discussion of this topic, the Weekly Rest Day is the institution to which our attention is directed. Noting, therefore, this fact, it will be conceded that to the consideration of this subject we may confidently look for the earnest attention of all classes. Here there is no opportunity for the assertion of racial, denominational, secular, religious, or any other class prejudice whatsoever.

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The proposition to be weighed is that the weekly rest day is an important institution—indeed that it is of inseparable and vital relation to national well-being. Concerning no other great doctrine of national prosperity is there such concord of judgment as upon this. The great teachers of old, whose impassioned utterances are given us in the Holy Scriptures, have always presented these as inseparable, and in the reinforcement of their earnest appeals for fidelity to this institution they have presented the facts of experience and thrown upon the question the light of history. Outside of the Scriptures, the same testimony prevails, and it is a testimony in which all ages and all classes unite. This is epitomized in the words of a man of great legal eminence in the United States, Mr. Justice Field. In speaking about the enactment of a Sunday law, he states that, "The Legislature has given sanction of law to a rule of conduct which the entire civilized world recognizes as essential to the physical and moral well-being of society. Upon no subject is there such a concurrence of opinion among philosophers, moralists, and statesmen of all nations as on the necessity of periodical cessation from labor. The prohibition of secular business on Sunday is advocated on the ground that by it the general welfare is advanced, labor protected, and the moral and physical well-being of society promoted." Another eminent jurist from that land puts to shame those who indulge in flippant reference to the Puritans, by stating: "The first settlers of this country were a body of select men. They were profoundly impressed by the conviction that a weekly Sabbath was essential to the highest welfare of the communities which they established,

and they therefore enacted laws to enforce the proper observance of the day. The Sabbath so observed, no one can doubt, contributed largely to the formation of that character which has stood us in so much stead in our own history, and which has been the admiration of the world." Of Scotland's Sabbath, an eminent business man said: "There can be no question that it has elevated the character, refined the spirit, and put backbone into the people, and generally made for progress on the best lines." Gladstone's words respecting this are memorable. He declared the weekly rest day to be "the greatest of all the institutions that bless the life of our land."

A primary consideration of the State is the health and physical efficiency of its people. This is essential to contentment, to happiness, and also to industrial prosperity. For this end alone the weekly Sabbath justifies its existence. The regular occurrence of this one day in seven seems designed for the maintenance and regular renewal of physical capacity. We make a distinction between the watch that one carries on his person and the clock that stands in the hallway of the home. The one we wind once a day, the other once a week. The explanation of this difference in treatment lies in the fact that the watch is made upon a one-day plan; the clock upon a seven-day. The facts of life seem to point to this, that man, like the clock, is made upon a seven-day plan, whose time shall be divided, so far as the week is concerned, into six days of work and one day of rest. The pedantic clerk in the furniture store extolled the merits of an upholstered article of furniture by saying that it had splendid "resiliency," meaning thereby, as he should have said, that it had good spring. This is precisely what the weekly rest day does for the son of toil. It puts spring into him. Just as many manufacturing concerns have made the discovery that a shorter day, within certain limitations, means a larger output, so a like profit has been experienced by industry in reducing the week from seven to six days; and the secret of it all lies in the efficiency of the worker. The first William Prince of Orange is described by Motley as having an elasticity preternatural. What his indomitable spirit possessed, the physique of the laborer acquires through the enjoyment of his rest day.

Another advantage accruing from this regularly recurring interval of rest is the toning of the mind. These two, body and mind, act and re-act upon each other. The ideal is the healthy mind in the healthy body. The advantage thus indicated is not merely that opportunity is given for mental culture. The mere interruption of labor, because the body is thus relieved from de-

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pression, has a distinctly elevating influence upon the mind and spirit. We speak of the menial class. There should, however, be no citizen who is menial in spirit. Think of it! Where the weekly rest day prevails, the humblest of the laboring class can say, on that day: "I am no longer an employee, a servant, much less a slave; I am a man!" Slavery made slaves, and ceaseless toil will make menials. It is stated that the opponents of emancipation in the days of slavery feared the rest day because of its opportunity to read and to think. The advocates of slavery therefore believed that no one who could read and think could long remain a slave, and that the emancipation of the mind foreboded to them speedy external emancipation, that of the body.

It is a striking fact that in merely having the body cleansed from the stains of weekly toil, and being garbed in holiday or Sunday apparel, or one's "Sabbath blacks"—whatever may be the terms of definition—exerts an uplifting influence upon the workingman. A clergyman, coming from his country service one Sunday, noticed two farm laborers lounging in their working clothes by the wayside. His comment was: "Suppose, even though they had not gone to church, that they had changed their apparel, they would have risen in their own esteem." For this reason the military officer regards inspection of the uniform, kit, and person of the common soldier as one of the best moral influences in the discipline of the army. For the most part, Canadians are not lacking in self-respect. Where Sunday labor, however, prevails, and the week presents no surcease of toil other than what the night may bring, there can be no question that for this reason alone there is a steady depreciation of spiritual tone, speaking in the broad sense, in the life of the laborer. A railway man said, "this life of uninterrupted toil is brutalizing." He spoke truly. We want in this land no aristocracy but that of worth. To teach the humbler classes, who are the strength of our life, to lift up their heads and to regard themselves as brothers to their fellow-men, will tend to develop worth. The weekly rest day will thus greatly contribute to the upbuilding of the true aristocracy.

The importance of this day of leisure is further accentuated when we consider the opportunity it affords for positive effort in the direction of culture. The assumption must be—so far as our thought goes, as it is the fact of life—that the main interests of man are spiritual, not physical, not material. The history of the Sabbath, as recognized by all classes and creeds, has indicated that in the Divine mind the object in bestowing the weekly rest day was pre-eminently the spiritual, this considered in the broadest

sense of the term. It was not given to man distinctly and exclusively for physical rest. The rest is essential, but it is not wholly an end in itself—rather a means to an end; and the reason for this lies, not in any arbitrary command, but in the very nature of man. He is an animal, and, like all animals, requires physical rest; but he is a man, and his weekly rest day must carry with it, in the occupations to which man gives himself, the distinctive differences between the man and the animal. In other words, the weekly rest day for the horse—and it has been proven that he needs it—is not the same as that required by a man, inasmuch as to the degree that the man is different from the animal, to that degree must we elevate the character of his rest day. The strength of the State depends upon physical, but chiefly upon intellectual and moral health. The great importance of the weekly rest day, therefore, lies in the contribution that it makes to the higher manhood, and in the opportunity that is provided by leisure on that day there is suggested the possibility of developing in the life of the people all that is highest and best.

Without raising any specific question of conduct that would involve controversy over the proper observance of the weekly rest day, it can safely be said that on some points of observance an absolute unanimity of all thinking people can be secured. The first of these would be, personal effort after a higher life. Culture must depend as well upon the effort of the individual in that direction as upon the activity of any agency such as the school or the church. It is a sad comment upon our life that so many do not know what to do with the weekly rest day. The story is told of a man coming from another land to Canada and reaching a Western city late Saturday night. He went to bed, awoke in the morning and was about to rise, when the thought suddenly dawned upon him that this was Sunday in Canada, and there was no place to go and nothing to do. Like the slothful man in the proverb, therefore, he turned over and wrapped himself once more in inglorious sleep. The little boy, in another story, had essayed to surmount a high board fence, but was able only to spring and gain hold with the ends of his fingers upon the top. Struggling thus, he called to his father to give him a "poost," which plea was met by the startling rejoinder, "Ikey, vat you got arms and legs for? Poost yourself." It may well be asked, what have we leisure for? Why have we books? What function has the mind, if not to the end that, taking advantage of our opportunities on the rest day and exercising our souls, we may "rise on stepping-stones of our dead selves to higher things"? Never in the history of the world was

there greater need for self-reliance and quiet, personal effort in the direction of better things in the spiritual life. What a great blessing it would be if we could get back the good old days of reading and meditation!

The value of the day to the State, it will be unanimously conceded, lies also in the opportunity that it gives to home life. This is the unit in social organizations, and it may be the most potent factor in the attainment of national prosperity. No institution suffers so much as does the home where the weekly rest day does not prevail. The laboring man may not see the members of his family together for weeks. Instances have come to notice in Canada where for years men have not known what it was to spend a whole day at home. The rest day gives to the home its great opportunity for the maintenance and development of affection, for mutual helpfulness and inspiration, and provides what can be delegated to no others—the opportunity for parents to train their children in all the virtues, to discipline them in character, and to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

Even where the rest day is enjoyed, so far as relief from business and labor is concerned, the inroads made upon home life by social functions, formal and informal, are much to be deplored. "Can you not do something," writes one who signs herself "A Worried Mother," "to get from the pulpit a general deliverance upon this question? What with teas, and invitations of other character, I cannot keep my boys and girls at home on Sunday." The State must recognize that any impairment of the integrity of the home is a blow at the well-being of the nation. The individual pays his tribute to the home by his use of the memorable song, and the State may well re-echo the sentiment expressed in the words thereof, "There is no place like Home."

In the Weekly Rest Day's relation to national well-being universal assent will also be given to the value of church life as this has usually marked the rest day. Even as a factor in social order, the State has placed the Church above the Law, and the Missionary above the Policeman. The Church as thus referred to is conceived, not as any denominational organization, but as that great body whose function we have all come to recognize as being to teach the obligations of religion and to inculcate morals. In our time particularly must respect be had to the activities of all individuals and organizations having moral and spiritual well-being in view by making provision in the programme of life for their activities. The Sabbath was not made for the Church, nor for any other organization; it was, however, made for man, and man needs

the message that the Church gives, if he would attain to his best; and because in our time we have pushed these matters out of the week the greater attention should be given them on Sunday. Does it mean something to the State that we have public worship? Surely. Webster said that the highest thought possible to man is the conception of his responsibility to God. Coleridge has said that "our weekly rest day is so much holy land rescued from the turbulent sea of business and of labor." It is therefore a period of time universally recognized as set apart for sacred purposes. The day in itself is not more sacred than any other day, but by being set apart for a sacred purpose it meets a great need of our life. A strong saying of a great man is that: "There can be no morals without religion, and no religion without a weekly rest day."

To sum up these considerations, we may say that the relation of the weekly rest day to national well-being must be considered, not as an inevitable relationship of cause and effect, but as a possible one, depending upon the volition of man and his right choice as to the observance of the day; and in this latter connection one great governing principle of conduct may well be kept in view. Just as a vessel is estimated, as to size, in terms of displacement capacity, so may we judge ourselves as to the use of the weekly rest day. It is not so much a question of intrinsic right and wrong as to conduct, but a question of the fitness of things, and, as suggested by the comparison, a question of displacement. A young lady, telling of a Sabbath spent in motoring, said that nearly two hundred miles had been made that day. Her comment upon this was: "Now, I see no harm in that." One could go further, and say that there might be some good in it. But judge it in this sense—what things were put out of her life that day? Surely the following, at least: home life, church life, public worship, activity in the service of humanity, reading and meditation. National well-being, therefore, will largely depend upon the things we put into the day and the high uses to which we make it subservient.

In all this it must be realized that the important consideration is not so much the institution as the man. As in the days of the Great Teacher, certain classes made the Sabbath an end, we must guard ourselves against that danger. It is not an end in itself—that means Sabbatarianism—it is a means to an end. A Russian priest, in catechising a little girl upon the subject of baptism, received this reply: "The most important thing in baptism is—the baby." This consideration will save us from Sabbatarianism, and it will save us also from the modern latitud-

inarianism which would transform our weekly rest day into a day of dissipation, or make what we have been accustomed to call a holy day a holiday. Keeping in mind that man's interests are to be served by this day, we shall surely endeavor to ascertain what these interests are, and what among these interests is supreme. It cannot be, therefore, even for our times, for nought that the Master said: "The Sabbath was made for man."

Considered further from the national standpoint, it must be conceded that the Government of the land has large responsibility in this matter, and that responsibility is primarily of the nature of a guarantee to every citizen. The first requisite in making the weekly rest day contribute to national well-being is to make sure that liberty to the day is enjoyed by every citizen. This is the function of law. This applies to whatever day in the week may be chosen as the rest day, to Saturday as well as to Sunday, only the law must reasonably confine its guarantee to one day, whatever day the choice of the nation shall determine. The function of law is not to make a Sabbath, in the sense in which we speak of that, as a holy day, but it is its function to make that day possible. The dykes of Holland did not make Holland; they did make Holland possible. The citizens of the land made what erstwhile had been the bed of the sea, but which had been rescued by the dyke, a land of fertile fields and happy homes. The Sunday statute, therefore, has as its function the making of a Sabbath possible. It provides the opportunity, but the man makes the day. Happily in Canada we are able to say that the national Government has discharged that responsibility by providing a Sunday law, which, in principle at least, represents the best of latest effort in the direction of rest day legislation, and in the enforcement of this statute many thousands of toilers throughout the land have obtained the enjoyment of their weekly rest.

The duty of enforcing such a statute is another sacred obligation. This devolves, of course, upon the administrative officers throughout the land. All such officers, in enforcing our Lord's Day Act, may have the consciousness that when thus engaged they are rendering a signal public service. When a burglar enters our house, and the vigilant officer spies him and places him immediately under arrest, that officer acts as the guardian of our property; similarly he safeguards our person when the hand of violence is about to be laid upon us. So may he realize that when, in the discharge of the duties of his office, he places the hand of restraint upon Sunday business and labor, he is protecting our liberty to the day of rest. Quite recently a metropolitan news-

paper stated that if the Lord's Day Act were enforced in certain particulars in that city upwards of 7,000 men, women, boys and girls, would secure Sunday liberty.

Considering the further responsibility of Government in this connection, one may state that, being exempted by the statute from penalty for any work done by authorization of any of its departments or under the direction thereof, so far from securing license thereby, the Government has imposed upon it a more serious responsibility, namely, of its own volition to set an example of fidelity to its own laws.

A further most important obligation is to commend the religious recognition of the weekly rest day, and this obligation rests not merely upon the Government, but upon all high officials and public men and public bodies of various character. The word commend is used advisedly, as in contrast with command. The command compels the industrial recognition of the day; the commendation invites the fitting employment of its hours in those high pursuits which have already been discussed. In the case of a city keeping open its public slides in the parks on Sunday, the plea of those opposed to this practice—which plea was accepted by the City Council and acted upon—was that, whilst the city may not command the religious observance of the day, it ought to commend it, and should be specially careful not to enter into unseemly competition with those agencies at work upon that day, and upon that day alone, for the best interests of the life of the community and of the nation; in other words, that it should not compete with the Church, the Sunday School and the home in their efforts in the work of spiritual elevation. This is a sound principle, and this is the principle that should govern us in determining whether certain public buildings and places of common resort during the week, under control of the Government or public bodies—such as museums, art galleries, etc., and which have their opportunity during the week—should be open or closed on the Lord's Day.

In conclusion, it can be said with absolute truth, that, as Canada enjoys a great pre-eminence with respect to the weekly rest day, to her is given a splendid opportunity to display fidelity thereto, and to illustrate to the world the possibilities of national well-being incidental to the right use of this day in the light of the best thought of our times with respect to this great institution.

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CANADIAN INDIANS AND THEIR RELATION
TO CANADA.

CANON L. NORMAN TUCKER, D.C.L.

I. I should like, at the outset, to submit a few fundamental positions, which, I am sure, no one will dispute.

1. The Indians are few, poor, and widely scattered. They are 110,000 in all, scattered in bands of a few scores or hundreds over the face of Canada, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia—40,000 in Eastern Canada, 45,000 in the North-West, and 25,000 in British Columbia. It is impossible for them to act in concert at any one point.

2. They are not citizens of the country, and, by reason of the laws by which they are governed, it is almost impossible for them to become citizens. They have therefore no votes, and we know that, in the present state of things, men who have no votes can have but little influence on the powers that be.

3. But they are the original inhabitants of the land, and as such they must have certain inherent rights, apart from the rights that belong to them as human beings.

4. They are the wards of the nation. As their guardians, it is our bounden and sacred duty to administer their affairs with all faithfulness and with a view to their highest good.

5. At one time all this fair and rich land, which has fallen to our lot, was theirs. We have destroyed their hunting grounds and deprived them of their natural means of livelihood. This rich inheritance, which once was theirs, gives us means in abundance with which to protect and help them.

6. And apart from all legal obligations, as an intelligent, civilized and Christian people, we should, *proprio motu*, deal justly and generously with these poor, helpless and dependent peoples.

II. Now the essence of the relation between the Canadian Indians and Canada lies in the fact that they are the original inhabitants of the land, and in the generosity with which Britain has treated all conquered and native races. That generosity has been one of the main pillars of the strength and stability of the Empire. By the treaty of Paris in 1763 the French in Canada were practically allowed the free use of their language, their religion and their customs or laws. As a result the French-Can-

dians have always been loyal to the British flag. The Indians, who were allies of the French, were peacefully settled at Lorette, Pierreville and Oka, in the Province of Quebec. The Indians who were allies of the English, were settled at Caughnawaga, Deseronto, Brantford, Sarnia and elsewhere in Ontario. The regions beyond came under the proclamation of King George III. in the same year as the treaty of Paris, 1763, which placed the Indian territory under the sovereignty, protection and dominion of the Crown for the use of said Indians, and which forbade all loving subjects from making any purchase or settlement whatsoever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without special leave or license for that purpose obtained. This is the legal basis of the relation between the Indians and the British Government. The Indians became wards of the Government, and the Government became the guardian of the Indians: and the Indians throughout the Dominion, like the French-Canadians, have been consistently loyal to the British flag.

When the Canadian Government came into being, it naturally inherited the policy and obligations of the British Government. Accordingly, when the North-West Territories were added to the Dominion, and the Indians were brought into relation with the Canadian Government, the question of the Indian title at once emerged; and Canada proceeded to negotiate treaties with the Indians, the basis of which was the extinguishment of the Indian title to the land, in consideration of certain annuities and educational advantages, and in consideration of certain land reservations which should belong inalienably to the Indians, which they should hold in common, not in severalty, and which the Government of Canada, as their guardian, should hold in trust for them. This has ever since been the basis of the relation of these Canadian Indians to Canada. And the result is to be seen in the numerous reserves dotted over the prairies, and in the complete system of schools—day, residential and industrial—by which the Indians are being educated.

Now these reserves and this system of schools have been in existence for between 30 and 40 years. During that time they have done a most valuable work. But the question arises: are they meant to be permanent? Has not the time come when a step forward should be taken and a radical change made in the whole question of the treatment of the Indians? It seems to me that the time has fully come when the following policy should be inaugurated. The office of Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs should not be completely overshadowed by that of Minister of

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Interior. The Superintendent, or some one representing him, and clothed with ample authority, should take up this Indian question and grapple with it until it is solved. And the one object he should hold in view is the complete enfranchisement of the Indian. He should seek to raise the Indian from the status of a ward of the nation to that of a citizen of the Dominion, and he should never rest until that consummation is attained. All the instruments for that purpose are now in his hands, the reserves, the schools, the Indian Fund, and the Indian Agents. As the Indians are able to bear it the reserves should be broken up and the Indian given individual possession of his own holding. The schools should be made contributory to this by giving him the special training that would fit him for his new life. Every Indian teacher and Indian agent should be a helper in this great work. The Indian Fund and, if need be, the resources of the nation, should be freely used to this end. The Indian should at once be started on this journey, duly supported in its course and protected from the encroachments of his aggressive neighbors and never abandoned till he has been securely established as a self-reliant, independent, citizen of the Dominion, with all the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

Incidental to this and indeed essential to it is the Indian land question of British Columbia. The Indians of British Columbia, especially those in the north, are among the most intelligent, self-reliant, and progressive, Indians of Canada. They have been educated by our schools and Christianized by our churches. We have taught them to think and act for themselves. We need not be surprised if they think and act like ourselves. Now they say: "We are the original inhabitants of this country; our fathers, from time immemorial, have hunted in its valleys and fished in its streams and their remains have been laid to rest in its soil; we desire that our children should have a fair share of its broad areas. Moreover, we plead the provisions of the Proclamation of King George III., which assures us of the Royal protection and which forbids all loving subjects from encroaching on our domain without the special permission of the Crown. We claim that no race of newcomers, even though it be white and strong and rich and civilized and Christian, has a right to dispossess us of our inheritance, without asking any question. We are willing, however, to submit these claims to the highest courts in the Empire and to pledge ourselves to abide by the result." To any fair-minded man this would seem to be a reasonable contention.

The Government of British Columbia, on the other hand,

makes the contention that the Indians have no rights and that in consequence there is no case to be submitted to the courts. And they proceed to sell the land to settlers and speculators, over the heads of the Indians. Is it to be wondered at if the Indians are dissatisfied and restive and if they seek redress from the Governments of Canada and of England, that are pledged and in honor bound to protect their rights?

As soon as British Columbia became part of the Dominion this question of the Indian title came to the front, and the Government of Canada, forty years ago, frankly admitted the claims of the Indians and went so far as to say that they would be justified in using all the means in their power to vindicate those claims. This admission of the Canadian Government will be found among the State documents of the period. And Lord Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, one of the most eminent statesmen of the Victorian era, on his memorable visit to the Pacific Coast, boldly stated that British Columbia was making a grave mistake in its dealing with the Indians, that it should negotiate with a view to the extinction of their claims and so acquire an undisputed title to the land of the province. This was not done, but a Joint Commissioner was appointed to set apart reserves for the Indians, which reserves were to be handed over to the Dominion Government, to be held by them in trust for the Indians. In all these negotiations and transactions the Indians were not properly consulted, their consent was not secured, the Indian title remained untouched, and now, after forty years, those reserves have not yet been handed over to the Dominion Government.

Then followed a long period of quiet, during which the Indians were not called on to assert their claims, save only in an intermittent manner. When, however, the tide of immigration began to pour in, a few years ago, and sales of land began to be made on a large scale, the question once more became acute. And the Prime Minister of Canada, on a recent visit to the Pacific coast, explicitly assured the Indians, at various points, that their claims would be submitted to the courts. And to a deputation from the "Friends of the Indian" and the "Social Service Council" he put the whole case in a nutshell: "The Indians," he said, "make certain claims; the Government of British Columbia denies those claims; courts exist for the very purpose of settling such conflicting views; and the Government of Canada will do its utmost to secure a judicial determination of the case." The same assurance was given the Indians by other Ministers of the Crown. Thus for forty years the Indians have not ceased to urge their

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claims and the Dominion Government has not failed to support them, either by admitting the validity of their claims or by striving to submit them to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

A change, however, seems to have come over the scene with the advent of the present Government. To a deputation that waited on him, the Minister of the Interior clearly stated that the rights of the Indians would be protected. A Commissioner was, accordingly, appointed to settle this vexed question with British Columbia, and after a short time the Commissioner returned with a document in his pocket, duly signed and sealed, which was meant to be a complete and final settlement of the whole Indian question. And, to the surprise of many and to the alarm of the Indians, that document deals only with the reserves and does not touch the question of Indian title. Such a treatment of the case cannot surely be called a complete and final settlement. For it ignores the main question at issue. It has never either consulted the Indians or secured their consent. It is a reversal of the policy of the Government of Canada extending over a period of forty years. It looks uncommonly like a betrayal of the Indians by their guardians, the Government of Canada. And it bids fair to leave an indelible stain on the honor of the Dominion. It is incredible that the people of Canada, if they knew the facts of the case, would sanction any such arrangement as that.

In this age and land of peace we are in danger of being completely immersed in material things. Competent observers have warned us that, in our mad pursuit of earthly treasures, we may, as a nation, lose our soul—for nations as well as individuals may lose their souls. And in this age and land of peace it has been said that, to save us from moral and spiritual ruin, we need a moral equivalent for war. Here is at least one call to our nation to turn away, in some measure, from the all-absorbing pursuit of earthly things and to embrace a service that will be inspiring and ennobling, to give time and thought and effort to the training for a higher destiny of the weak, helpless and dependent original inhabitants of our land. For to nations as well as to individuals are the words addressed, "inasmuch as ye did it, or did it not, to one of the least of these My disciples, ye did it, or did it not, unto Me."

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THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	HON. MARTIN BURRELL, M.P.
<i>Capturing the Labor Movement</i>	-	CHARLES STELZLE
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<i>Jesus Christ and Industry</i>	- -	REV. J. W. AIKENS
<i>The Church and Labor in British Columbia</i>		REV. PROF. G. C. PIDGEON
<i>The Value of the Social Survey</i>	-	REV. W. A. RIDDELL

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CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

HON. MARTIN BURRELL, M. P.

THE CHAIRMAN: On the occasion of the opening of this, the second session of the conference, I desire to say how cordially we all recognize the value and significance of a movement of this kind. This, I believe, is the first conference of this nature, covering the whole of the Dominion. We welcome the fact that so many organizations and so many representative men are banded together in the cause of righteousness and for the improvement of the social and economic condition of Canada. We heartily welcome work of this nature and recognize the great stimulus it gives to the consideration and solution of pressing social problems. I find that as chairman it is my responsible duty not only to call on the various speakers to address you but also to say a few words to you myself. I note that amongst your delegates there are not only men who, like myself, are immersed in politics, but busy men in other walks of life who are giving time and thought to the serious consideration of the questions coming before this conference. Many of these questions are of vital importance to the State itself. There are ideals in Christian philosophy, as there are ideals in politics, and it is well for us to keep those ideals in view, even if we never attain them. Without high aims there will be deterioration in our public life. Your ideals of social righteousness are amongst the highest and the best, and with the great moral forces you can command considerable advances ought to be made and will be made. It is most gratifying, even when we take into consideration the complications brought about by modern conditions that Canada is moving in the right direction. We recognize that the majority of our people wish our modern civilization to be built upon justice and righteousness. If this were not the case we should certainly relapse into barbarism. There is no fear of the latter, however, as long as the high ideals which you represent at this conference are kept well to the front. A very keen, able and wise man amongst the great people to the south of us, has said no one people possesses all the genius or all the virtues of the world. We can all cordially subscribe to the doctrine that, on the whole, society is based on the determination to do what is right. We are studying our modern conditions with a view of effecting improvements, and your work in this respect cannot be

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too highly commended. Modern life is complex. You cannot have a better theme than the one we will consider, namely, "The Church in Relation to Industrial Life." I am sure you will consider it from various points of view, and we shall all profit by what will be said upon it. It has been said that in the past the tendency of organized Christianity, as represented by the Churches, was to keep too much aloof from industrial life and its problems. Now we are coming closer together to the advantage both of the Church and those engaged in industrial life. We are all glad to help forward a movement organized to improve the moral, social and economic life in Canada. We can do much in co-operation with each other, and this great conference is a proof that co-operation is being used to good purpose. We may not find it possible to bring about all the reforms we advocate in a hurry, but we can press steadily forward, keep to our ideals and we shall make great advances. We can accomplish something by legislative efforts, and if you are in earnest, you will find that the members of Parliament will be quite ready to help you. At the same time we must remember that everything cannot be done in this way, and that we must depend to some extent upon ourselves and upon our own work. I am not going to dwell further on this point, because, as I understand, you are going to be addressed by experts who have learned much through their experiences in the country to the south, and also those who have done good social work within our own Dominion. I am sure that what we shall hear will stimulate us all in the cause of social righteousness, and that this conference will have fruitful results. Let me close now with not merely wishing you some inspiration from all you will hear on this work, but with the hope that practical results will follow from your attendance and work at this conference.

CAPTURING THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

CHARLES STELZLE.

Twenty-five years ago a famous French statesman said that the social problem is a fad upon which serious-minded statesmen should waste no time. To-day no serious-minded man will question the fact that the social problem is the most important that confronts us.

This awakening has come none too soon, for already the horizon is dark with clouds of social unrest, which may either distill into blessed showers or break upon us in a storm of fury. There are thousands of people who are being deluded by the vain hope that if they can abolish the labor union, they will have solved the labor question. These men forget that the labor union is not the labor question. If every labor union in existence were to be wiped out to-day, the labor question would still be present, and I sometimes think, in a more aggravated form than we have it to-day.

There are forces organized and unorganized which are comprised in the labor movement. It includes the 25,000,000 socialists of the world, 9,000,000 of whom have cast their ballots for socialist candidates. It embraces the 9,000,000 trade unionists from every land. It includes the movement among the Russian peasantry, 20,000 of whom in recent years have suffered martyrs' deaths because of their belief in the ideal which somebody had given them. It includes the movements among the working people in England, in Italy, in Austria, in Australia, to say nothing about the social unrest that exists in our own country. It includes the movement among the working people in Germany, 40 per cent. of whose entire population are working and voting for the success of the social democracy in that country. In view of this, it doesn't require a very wise man to see that this is the era of the common man. Slowly, but surely, the masses of the people are coming to their own. For long years, they fought for the religious democracy—and they won. Then for 400 years they shed their blood upon many a battlefield in the struggle for the political democracy—and they conquered. To-day they are fighting for the industrial democracy and no human power can stop their onward march. This, then, is the labor movement and we dare not be side-tracked in our discussion of it by a

specious argument against the labor union. Important as the labor union may be, it is a mere incident in the industrial evolution through which we are passing. There is so much religion in the labor movement, and so much social spirit in the Church, that some day it will become a question as to whether the Church will capture the labor movement or whether the labor movement will capture the Church. We hear a good deal in these days, about the Church saving the masses, but some day the masses will help save the Church. Without a moral or spiritual vision, the people are bound to perish, but without the rugged strength that comes with and through the common people, the Church is going to fail.

The great mass of working people almost universally honor Jesus Christ as their Friend and Leader, and most of them believe in His divinity. The average workingman is naturally religious, although that religion may not always be expressed in the accepted orthodox manner. The labor question is fundamentally a moral and religious problem. In the end, there will not be simply one answer to the social question, but many—but they will agree in this—all of them will be religious. History has prophesied it. The best labor leaders have come to recognize it. The social reform measures that workingmen are hearing most about to-day indicate it. Socialism, communism, and anarhism stripped of their practical programs are moral and religious problems, and before any one of them can be successfully introduced, there must first of all be a radical change in the naturally selfish hearts of men. Josh Billings once said, "Before you have an honest horse race, you must have an honest human race." Workingmen are to-day responding to the appeal of the Church as they have rarely done during any time in the history of the labor movement in this country. The tendency of the American workingman to-day is toward the Church rather than away from it, and this statement is based not merely upon a local experience, but upon an experience which is as wide as America, and comes as the result of a study of practically every industrial centre in the United States.

For these reasons the Church is already supreme in the matter of capturing the labor movement. Unfortunately, however, the vision of the Church has been too narrow. When the Church has thought of the great mass of the people outside of its doors, and when it has planned some method whereby it might reach them, it has usually planned simply for an evangelistic campaign. I believe in evangelism, but I would say very emphatically that no amount of evangelistic work engaged in

for the purpose of reaching the masses, can ever take the place of some other things that the Church must do, if it would capture the labor movement. What must the workingman find in the Church, and what must the Church do in order to permanently retain its hold upon the workingmen?

First, the workingman must find in the Church an absolute sincerity. Betrayed so often by those who have posed as his friends, and made to believe that all business is a trick, of which he is the victim, it is not surprising that the average workingman has come to be suspicious of every movement which pretends to be in his interest. Sometimes the very men who have betrayed him in political life, and in economic life, have been prominent in the work of the Church. We forget sometimes, that the Church is simply a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Let us talk less about building up the Church and more about building up the people. Jesus did not heal the sick in order that they might come to hear Him preach. He healed them because He had compassion on them, and because they needed healing. The workingman must find in the Church a greater democracy. There is nothing that he resents quite so quickly as the spirit of patronage or paternalism. The spirit of democracy is found in the organizations with which he is now identified—the trades unions, the lodge—and even in the saloon, where a single five cent piece places a man on an equality with every other man in the place, without any apology. He must find the same spirit in the Church, if he is to be permanently attracted to it.

The Church must preach a clearer social message. When our young men go to the average theological seminary to study for the ministry, they study about the social life of the Israelites, the Jebusites, the Hivites and the Perizzites, and when they become our ministers and preach about these very interesting people who lived so long ago, we listen to them with considerable pleasure—but when a minister studies into the social life of the Chicagoites, the Pittsburgites, or the Brooklynites, and preaches about it in precisely the same way that he would preach about the social life of the Amalekites, for instance, some one will remind him that he might better preach "the simple gospel." But the gospel is as broad as humanity and as deep as human experience. Any gospel which falls short of this ideal is an insult to Him who gave it to us, and a slander upon our Christianity.

There are thousands of men, women and children who would not listen to the gospel message as most of us understand it—even though it were preached by an angel sent from heaven.

With them, to smile has become a lost art. The look of care has come into their faces so frequently and for so long a period at a time, that it now seems almost indelibly impressed upon them. They go through life like lean, warped animals. The lack of a living wage, the long hours of labor, the back-breaking toil, the inability to pay for medicine and for doctor's services, their children dying off like flies, put out on the streets because they cannot pay their rent, a hopeless old age—these are some of the things which weigh down the hearts and lives of multitudes in our great cities. Talk about preaching hell-fire to such! What they want to know is how to get out of the hell which they know most about. It is in meeting the needs of such that the Church in coming days will be most severely tested.

The workingman must find in the Church more of the prophetic spirit. Too long have we been boasting of our glorious traditions—traditions with which we have had nothing to do, because they were created by our great-grandfathers. The workingman rightfully wants to know what the Church is doing in the twentieth century. The danger is, that the Church will so long hold herself aloof from the movement being inaugurated by the common people, that the day will arrive when the justification for their existence will become so self-evident that there will no longer be any need for leadership on the part of the Church.

Some day God will raise up a prophet who shall again win to himself the common people—those who once heard Jesus Christ gladly. That day shall reveal whether the Church will capture the labor movement, or whether the labor movement will capture the Church. Much will depend whether that prophet comes out of the organized Church or whether, as it happened 2,000 years ago, he shall come from the ranks of the common people, a lowly, despised, rejected Nazarene.

THE EXTENSION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE.

CONTROLLER JAMES SIMPSON, OF TORONTO.

When I was a boy I learned some beautiful sentiments and I have stuck to them ever since. I am one of those who welcome progressive ideas from whatever quarters they may come, and regret to note that some people reject progressive ideas because they come from the States. Now we welcome our friends from the United States because in Canada we want all the help we can get in working out our social and economic problems. If we are to study carefully and closely the industrial conditions of either country we cannot ignore the effect of one of them upon the other: If we are to have ideal social and industrial conditions it must be by some combination between the two, and the best people in both countries are willing to co-operate and join forces in promoting social work. As has been already mentioned, in any average audience of working men you will hear a great deal of criticism of the church and the fear is sometimes expressed that because the church does not do all that critics desire the church may lose its usefulness and service in this country. It is really one of the hopeful signs of the times that working people in this country are taking such a personal interest in social problems and presenting to the church the greatest opportunity it has ever had of capturing their interest and aiding them in the cause. There never was a time in the organized history of the church in this country when the workers were so ready to discuss these problems and the conference has come at the right time to secure their attention. We are beginning to get closely in touch with social and economic problems and there is much that is common between the workers and the church in the efforts to work out some of these problems. They cannot be kept separate from the labor movement, the interchange of ideas between the labor unions and such organizations as are represented here to-day cannot but prove advantageous to both sides. With both of them progress is in the air.

In some respects that progress is indeed remarkable, socialism is having some effect upon our social conditions and will have a much wider effect as the years go on. Even the work of the University of Toronto is giving evidence of this fact. We are doing much to close up the chasm between the great indus-

trial organizations and the church and we all welcome this conference as a means of aiding this portion of the work. The church is showing a growing tendency to welcome knowledge of the labor programme. This fact will bring both men and women in closer sympathy with the church and we trust will also bring members of the church into closer sympathy with labor organizations. When we think of the economic conditions of the present day, of the anxieties they bring both to men and women, the uncertainty of employment, and the low wages, one ceases to wonder that the industrial workers cannot live a full spiritual life. In any ideal state of society there would be shorter hours of labor, giving the workers more time for self-improvement; there would be certainty of employment and good wages. These things would remove a load of carking care and enable workers to live more in accord with the higher things of life. Poverty and anxiety are not good for the developments of our higher nature. We must, if we would bring about social justice, change modern conditions. This fact must be emphasized and at a gathering of this kind too much importance cannot be attached to it. We want to see the highest ideals of the church brought into sympathy with the labor organizations. The church can, if the members so will, do much for the solution of labor problems. They can assist to change a system which is founded upon private selfishness and greed, to one in which public interest will be the chief concern. We want all the help we can possibly obtain in this work and there is no organization that can do greater service in this field than the churches of the land.

While we seek to do much for the workers, we do not forget the children. Everyone must sympathize with the idea of giving children a happier childhood and better chances in life than many of them have hitherto had. We want also that provision be made for those whose physical powers are exhausted after thirty or forty years of toil. We want to see old age pensions, unemployment insurance and other social reforms in which Canada is sadly lacking, as compared with other countries. We might go on indefinitely, elevating the great army of workers under better industrial conditions.

There is a great school of thought, whose adherents say, we cannot possibly reach such a state of civilization as we ought to do unless we alter fundamentally our present social conditions. I am strongly in sympathy with these people and I am glad to have seen indications in this conference that your sympathies are approaching the same direction. What we urgently need is

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such an industrial situation that we can build upon it, not for the benefit of the privileged few, but the great and unprivileged many. These problems are coming to the front very rapidly owing to the organization of modern civilization. We are told that as long as human nature is what it is, it is inevitable that private selfishness will prevail. We have, however, seen so many changes that we know nothing is inevitable, and we do not despair, particularly when we note the great progress made in recent years. What used not so long ago to be a subject not talked about is now in everybody's mouth. We want this young nation with all its potentialities started on the right path and kept headed in the right direction. When we think of the beauties of Nova Scotia and the variety of New Brunswick and the great agricultural and other possibilities of Quebec, of the industrial development, as well as the agricultural resources of Ontario, of the great agricultural development of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, of the mineral, forest, and fishery resources in British Columbia, we can only stand appalled at the prospects we have of development, and take courage to assure ourselves that all these shall not be monopolized by the greed of the employing classes, but used for the benefit of the great army of workers. If the latter policy is adopted all will gain, even the employers themselves, and the country as a whole will become a better place for all those who find homes in the Dominion.

With the extension of social justice will grow human happiness. We don't want to follow the mistakes of the old world. Canada is big enough, important enough, and courageous enough, to hew out a path for herself. It is, therefore, encouraging to see that the members of this conference are taking a vital interest in some of the problems which are at the same time occupying the attention of the labor organizations and to which the members of the political organizations will have to give increased attention. Co-operation between the church and labor means much to both and I trust that one of the greatest results of this conference will be to increase those powers of co-operation. By this means the whole country will be benefited and the gathering of this conference in Ottawa made memorable.

JESUS CHRIST AND INDUSTRY.

REV. J. W. AIKENS, PASTOR METROPOLITAN METHODIST
CHURCH, TORONTO.

Some people say that religion has nothing to do with business, and they appear to live up to their statement. As a matter of fact, however, the principles of successful business are religious in their nature. Christ said that His kingdom was "like unto a merchant-man," and he looked upon his life work as the prosecution of His "Father's business." Some others have declared that in the solution of social problems it is useless to expect anything from the world of religion. It is quite true that the Church has not fulfilled all her obligations in this respect. Nevertheless, if it were not for the light that shines from Jesus Christ upon the maladjustments in human society, we would have no social problem, for it is the light that makes the problem. It has been said that a proper valuation of the individual and a reverence for personality would solve every social problem in the world to-day. This is largely true, for if we could see the worth of a child, we would never allow slums to exist nor tolerate child labor as it is carried on in many of the mills and factories in our land. A proper estimate of the worth of the individual would also lead to a more equitable distribution of the natural resources of the earth. But when we say this, we should not forget that it was Jesus Christ who discovered the individual. It was He who told us of one who left ninety and nine that were in comfortable circumstances in order to go after one not so fortunate. In the day when the individual was butchered "to make a Roman holiday," He stood up and said that any one of the victims was worth more than all the world, and sealed His testimony by "tasting death for every man." It is the new vision created by this light that makes the social unrest, and in its continued shining we shall come to the perfect day.

Again, we have been told that the consideration of social subjects puts central things in the background, and we are urged to let these things alone and "preach the gospel." The centre of the Christian religion is the Cross of Christ, but the Cross means vastly more than a refuge for sinners. It represents the spiritual principles that must ultimately govern the world. The last vision

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that we have of the suffering Saviour is not a Lamb on the Cross, but the Lamb on the Throne in the midst of the City of God established on the earth. So we are not putting central things in the background in the consideration of social problems; rather are we bringing central things into the foreground and making an issue of them. We are striving to put the "Lamb on the Throne." It should be remembered that while on earth Christ claimed only to have made a beginning in establishing the reign of God among the children of men. Luke tells us of "the things which Jesus began to do and teach." Christ announced certain principles and set free the spirit of brotherhood. These, like leaven in the meal, are working out from the centre to the circumference, and will continue to work until every phase of human society is dominated by the spirit and purpose of Christ.

First, Christ taught us to "Seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." This is the objective, not only for the preacher, but also for the business man. The presence of a wrong objective is the cause of almost every great curse in the earth to-day. Greed for gold is a wrong objective that has given rise to the liquor traffic. It is love of money that is at the foundation of corrupt politics, and we have had illustration in these last few days that it is not only the voters who are prepared to sell themselves for money, but also the corrupt politicians. If we could eliminate from the question of war and peace the men who desire to make money out of the business of war, we would go a long way toward the solution of the problem. The poet speaks of men who are prepared to "wade through slaughter to a throne." In our day, we see men who are prepared to wade through slaughter to a money bag. The man who runs his business simply for making money is out of harmony with the spirit and purpose of Jesus Christ. Prof. Peabody says: "Christ does not ask of any industrial proposition whether it will pay, or be difficult to administer, but what sort of people will it be likely to produce." Jesus does not treat man as an economic factor, but as a moral entity, and the objective of the Kingdom of God must be substituted for that of greed for gold.

Again, Jesus taught that the highest principles could be manifested in connection with industrial life. When He wished to illustrate the principles of His kingdom, He did not refer us to the angels in heaven, but called our attention to the shepherd seeking the lost sheep, the fishermen about their work, the laborers in the vineyard, and the housekeeper searching for the lost coin. As a matter of fact, all the hardier virtues of patience,

perseverance, and self sacrifice, are cultivated amid the monotony of every day life. This teaches the true dignity of labor. The question of whether the work is religious or irreligious depends upon the spirit and motive behind it. It is possible to dig a ditch in such a way that God would say: "Well done, good and faithful servant!" It is also possible for a man to preach a sermon in such a way that Christ would say: "I never knew you!" It was in regard to the work of Jesus at the carpenter's bench that the heavens broke the silence and God said: "I am well pleased." It is very evident, therefore, that God intends to use industrial life to bring in His Kingdom on the earth. Over in England, Mr. Cadbury gathers his servants together in the morning and he himself leads them in worship. He provides that every man in his employ may have a home of his own, and a garden and flowers. He has established play-grounds for the children, and libraries for the development of their intellects. The health of his employees is looked after carefully. He does not allow a bar-room in the city which he controls, and he runs his whole business in full view of the coming kingdom of Christ on the earth. His first object is to manufacture citizens of that kingdom, and Cadbury's Cocoa is but a by-product of the works. This may not be the final condition of things, but if every employer permeated his industry with a similar spirit and purpose, there would be much less strife between labor and capital.

Again, Jesus announced a new qualification for leadership, when He said: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise authority and their great ones exercise lordship, but it shall not be so among you; but the greatest among you shall be servant of all." When Jesus announced this qualification for leaders, He included those in the industrial world. Dr. Denny has told us that the minister who uses the sacred materials of the gospel and the presence of a congregation to make a name for himself, has committed blasphemy; but is it not also true, that the man who uses a body of workers for the sole purpose of making money out of them, to be used largely for himself, is also a blasphemer? A company of working men is an opportunity for service—a chance for a man to be a brother instead of a boss. Moreover, if the Lord has blessed a man with the qualities that make for leadership, He expects him to use them as long as he can in the service of humanity. In this connection, Prof. Rauschenbush says: "The community of true men is a community of labor, and when a man gets outside of the common work of mankind, he gets outside of the Kingdom of God." Evidently Jesus Christ has very little sympathy with

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the man whose chief objective is to make a pile of money and settle down.

Christ came "to gather into one the children of God scattered abroad." He believes in the principle of co-operation and of unity as truly as any member of the labor unions, but the principle of co-operation must be extended farther than the bounds of any one class. Sometimes we find a body of working men condoning the acts of one of their class, when justice demands that he should be condemned. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has set a worthy example in this connection. If a member of their Brotherhood gets intoxicated, they first of all warn him, and if he persists in unfitting himself for service, they report the matter to the authorities and themselves ask for his dismissal. One great enemy of the principle of co-operation is the spirit of undue competition which obtains in the business world to-day. The very constitution of things sets one man in opposition to the other, and instead of cultivating the spirit of brotherhood and unity, the competitive system breeds suspicion and sometimes hatred. One of the managers of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the West explained to me his method of promoting unity among his employees. Once every month he meets with the heads of the various departments. At their first meeting, every man was anxious only for his particular department, but after they had talked over the whole situation, the men saw the work as a whole, and from that day forward they began to do team work. It will be in the larger vision of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God that labor and capital will also learn to do team work.

In conclusion, I would say that the world of industry needs just what the Church has to give. One reason why certain schemes have not made more progress is because man has been looked upon solely from the economic standpoint. As before stated, man is more than an economic factor, and the emphasis that the Church places on his moral and spiritual faculties must enter into the solution of the problem. It is also true that the Church needs what the world of industry has to give. There is a great deal of waste effort and overlapping in the work of the church in this country. Business men who have seen the value of co-operation during six days of the week, could teach us many lessons along the line of union of churches and combination of effort. The problems confronting us are so many that the Church and the industrial world must unite in order to solve them.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

REV. PROF. G. C. PIDGEON, VANCOUVER, B.C.

The Labor element is one of the most powerful in British Columbia. As yet our farming lands are largely undeveloped. The agricultural class, therefore, which is the dominant factor in the other provinces, is relatively insignificant with us. Our industries, viz., mining, fishing, lumbering, and manufacturing, require large accumulations of capital for their development. Capital in turn demands large bodies of men to carry its enterprises through. The growth of our cities in itself is bringing together large bodies of skilled workmen. Labor in all these directions is thoroughly organized, ably led, alive to its interests and possibilities, and is proportionately a larger factor in our life than in any other province.

Its need from the religious viewpoint, and its activity from the social viewpoint, constitute a challenge to the Church. I wish, therefore, to show how much the Church and Labor have in common, and how largely they are contending for the same principles. If this be the case, hearty co-operation should take the place of mutual suspicion.

I. ISSUES FOR WHICH LABOR IS CONTENDING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

We can notice only a few.

(1) *The Abolition of Child Labor and the Protection of Women Workers.* For these issues, so vital to the future of the race, Labor has stood strongly from the beginning. John Mitchell says: "If trade unionism has rendered no other service to humanity, it has justified its existence by its efforts in behalf of working women and children. It is to the credit of trade unionism that it has to some extent alleviated the condition of women in the factories." Their efforts on behalf of the children have been no less beneficial. Judged by the standard of humanity, no more important service can be rendered to our generation.

(2) *Labor Stands for the Principle of Collective Bargaining.* Harry F. Ward, in his book, "The Social Creed of the Churches," puts the situation thus: "It is absurd for the public to hold longer to the idea that the employer should deal with the single individual, instead of with a committee representing all of the workers. The sixteen-year-old girl, or the newly arrived immigrant, or

the ignorant unskilled sweat-shop employee, is utterly helpless when standing before the shrewd, trained, business man. The principle of collective bargaining must be recognized if any improvement at all is to be made." The following principles are involved in this contention:

The working man must be in a position to make a fair bargain when he puts his labor on the market. Human nature being what it is, such a bargain can only be made between parties who meet on equal terms. Manifestly this is impossible between employer and employed, unless the men act together. John Mitchell states the case thus: "Since the working man has no money in reserve, and must sell his labor immediately; since he has no knowledge of the market and no skill in bargaining; because he has only his own labor to sell while the employer engages hundreds or thousands of men and can easily do without the services of any particular individual; the working man, if bargaining on his own account for himself alone, is at a very great disadvantage. In the individual contract between a powerful employer and a single workman, the laborer will secure the worst of it; such a contract means that the condition of the poorest and lowest man in the industry will be that which the average man must accept.

. . . There can be no permanent prosperity to the wage-earner, no real and lasting progress, no consecutive improvement in conditions until the principle is fully and firmly established, that in industrial life—especially in enterprises on a large scale—the settlement of wages, hours of labor, and all conditions of work must be made between employers and working men collectively and not between employers and working men individually." Surely this is reasonable! The principle is accepted by the greatest corporations in the land, for example, the railways. The burden of proof is now on the company that refuses it.

Security in one's position is also involved in this contention. If a man works faithfully and efficiently in any situation he ought to be established in it. He cannot do his best work otherwise. Some employers maintain that they have the right to dismiss their employees at will and without reason given. This claim cannot be conceded for a moment. It would mean that if any official took a dislike to a subordinate, or wanted to put a favorite in his place, he could dismiss him arbitrarily and be required to account for his action to no one. It would also mean that years of faithful service give a man no claim on the business into which he has put his life. In Scotland, a landlord can refuse to renew a lease on its expiry. A family may have worked a farm for generations, built

it up, and put their whole influence for good into the community in which it lies, and yet have no fixity of tenure. When the lease is out, the landlord may of his own will refuse to renew it and thereby turn that family adrift, with all the personal loss and sundering of ties and injury to the community that it involves. The people of Scotland believe that when this occurs a serious injustice is done, and they can be counted on to legislate such arbitrary privileges out of existence. Similarly, when a man has put his labor and his very life into the development of a mine or building up of a business, the Canadian public refuses to believe that he has no claim on it, and that the firm in charge has the moral right to discharge him at will without reason given. They may be legally entitled to do so, but our people can be depended on to see that such arbitrary privileges are cancelled. That they are being abused is clear. There is neither freedom nor justice for the rank and file of the men where this is allowed. The claims of Labor in this respect are, therefore, absolutely right.

If Labor is to secure these rights, the unions must be strong enough to deal with the companies on terms approaching equality. Under existing conditions this means that they must be international. There is no more insincere outcry than the one so often heard against American labor unions. Capital is international; why not Labor? When the manager of an American company, operating in Canada, refuses to meet the representative of the men on the ground that he is an American, his position is hypocritical enough to be grotesque. What these companies really object to is a strong union of any kind; and the sooner the public awakes to that fact, the better for all concerned.

(3) *Labor Stands for the Protection of the Worker.* First, they insist on proper conditions under which to work. This means that they have a right to some say about the conditions of labor. In dangerous occupations they require rightly that the risk to life and limb be reduced to a minimum. Everywhere they demand that their surroundings be healthful. The time is past when employers could answer to such protests: "If you don't like this, leave it. Others are ready to fill your place." The country, when informed, will not allow its citizens to face needless dangers. And the country is rapidly becoming informed.

Next, when accident overtakes the workman, compensation is demanded. The law allows compensation where the blame is clearly on the company's side. But even that is often obtainable by the victim or his family only after a long and costly legal battle. To a widow or children left defenceless and destitute, this

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is a serious matter. Often they settle for a fraction of what is theirs by right, to avoid going to law. Here there are possibilities of grave injustice where it is hardest to bear, and it is the duty of the community to guard against it. Ex-President Taft has said: "I am hopeful indeed that before many years have passed, we shall be able to adopt a system by which there shall be settled promptly on rules specified with the same degree of certainty that they are in an insurance policy how much a man shall receive for an injury, proportionate to the wages that he gets, and proportionately to the disabling character of the injury." The plea of "contributory negligence" on the workman's part is often raised, and used to defeat the ends of justice. Ex-President Roosevelt has said on this point: "There is no sound reason for the distinction between accidents caused by negligence and those which are unavoidable. Payment for injuries ought to be automatic instead of a matter for a law suit. Workmen ought to receive a certain definite and limited compensation for all accidents in industry, irrespective of negligence. It is neither just, expedient, nor humane, it is revolting to judgment and sentiment alike, that the financial burden of accidents should be thrust upon the sufferers who are least able to bear it." Yet our laws require this, as the workmen of British Columbia know to their cost. Labor contends that such compensation as the law allows should be paid without going to court, and that the laws should be amended without delay to provide greater security for our toilers and their families.

(4) *The Labor Men of To-day Protest Against the Whole Social System.* Many of them are Socialists; a few are Anarchists. Those who do not go so far are convinced that substantial injustice is being done to the people as a whole by the alienation of the public domain, and by conferring special privileges on the few. Public resources and public utilities are being put into private hands for the sake of efficiency. Rightly or wrongly, the majority hold that the public is better served by private than by public management. But the people who receive these favors do not regard them as trusts. What is given as a special privilege these people consider an absolute right. They have no sense of stewardship. They do not acknowledge that their rights are limited by the rights of others, e.g., of their employees, or of the public. They act as if they were entitled to use these vast resources or opportunities with no other idea than their own profit. A tide of discontent is rising on all sides against this temper, and against the policy that gives it scope. Whatever the social system of the future, this cannot continue—all social thinkers agree on this point. Opportunity

must be equalized as far as possible before justice can be done.

These are a few of the issues for which Labor is contending. It is evident that they are standing for humanity in our civilization, for a higher standard of life, and for a broader justice. It is impossible for the Church to deny her sympathy to these aspirations.

II. PRINCIPLES WHICH THE CHURCH MAINTAINS.

We can touch these only in so far as they affect the labor situation.

(1) *The Weekly Rest Day.* This is a physical necessity. It is also a social and spiritual necessity. For the physical need, one day of the week is as good as another. But for the social and spiritual need, all must rest on the same day. The largest number possible in our complex civilization should have this privilege. It should be embodied even more fully in our laws, and enforced, because, as Horace Greeley said, "Under our civilization, liberty of rest for each is secured only by a law of rest for all."

(2) *The Church Seeks to Protect the Toiler Against Those Who Would Prey on Him.* A large class has arisen in our country which has commercialized vice. When men wish to do wrong for their own amusement, these people provide the facilities for their pleasure and make as much money out of it as possible. Now in many parts of Canada large bodies of men are herded together in large camps, doing the pioneer work of the country, and facing its hardships. They are far removed for long periods from the benefits of civilization. Their work is arduous. Such conditions are found in our lumber camps, construction camps, and sometimes also in mining camps and fishing centres. These men come to town periodically, and with many this is an occasion for a wild outbreak. Frequently the earnings of months are squandered in one mad carouse. In all our towns and cities there are predatory classes who prey on such men, and appeal to the worst in them to get their money. Further, there are communities which are willing to support institutions of the worst character for the sake of the money that they wring from these men and circulate in business. Men of standing support places that ruin the country's producers for the sake of stimulating trade. They are parasites of the lowest type. Against this the Church has set her face like a flint, and will never rest until the communities of this land put down evil and uphold righteousness with all the power at their command.

(3) *The Church Works for the Improvement of the Conditions Under Which Men Live.* The emphasis which she lays on

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the material setting of human life is different from that of other bodies. We do not believe in the regenerating power of environment. If economic advantages meant moral excellences, the resorts of the rich would be the most virtuous of places. Experience hardly bears this out. Improving the surroundings does not necessarily mean the transformation of character. Further, many saintly lives are lived in the worst of circumstances, where every influence is against virtue. We glory in these triumphs of faith. But when people point proudly to these victories of the spirit, the retort is sharp and inevitable: "If you had any of the spirit of Christ, you would not ask your brother to submit to such a test. If he manifests his faith by overcoming the evil in his environment, why don't you manifest your love by changing the environment?" The Christianity that requires one to be true to his principles in the face of evil which he cannot avoid also expects the other who has power to obliterate the evil, and give his brother in Christ the opportunity he deserves. We must apply our Christian convictions to the whole of life, and secure to every man the privileges we enjoy. Hence the Church of to-day seeks for social improvement on every hand. She is the avowed enemy of the slum. By her social surveys, and other forms of investigation into modern affairs, she seeks to diagnose the diseases from which we are suffering, and to prescribe a remedy. Housing reform, a living wage, the protection of the home, care of the poor, safeguarding women and children, provision for defectives and reclamation of criminals, are all part of the Church's policy, and the awakening of the social conscience in her membership is one of the outstanding features of modern life.

(4) *The Church Seeks the Establishment of Righteousness in the Land.* Justice between man and man is one of her first concerns. For this purpose she strives for the improvement of our laws, and for the enforcement of the laws we have already. The core of the prophetic message is the demand for social justice. Christ teaches that this is one of the fundamental requirements of the law of God. The Church cannot be true to her charter without putting this among the first items in her programme for the world.

The Church secures a larger measure of justice in two ways. First, by removing the abuses in our present system, and inspiring men with a higher sense of obligation. For instance, encouraging welfare work for employees, protesting against insufficient wages or bad conditions of labor, securing the enactment of proper laws by which the weak may be protected, imbu- ing the dif-

ferent classes with the spirit of Christian love—in these and other ways she may improve the lot of men and secure a wider application of her principles.

The next method of securing justice is by changing the social system. The Church's besetting sin is to overlook the wrong in the system itself while seeking to improve conditions under it. Now kindness in a slave owner did much for the slave. But no amount of personal attention and provision could remove the essential injustice of slave-holding. The owner had deprived the slave of his inherent right to himself and to the control of his destiny, and in return gave him comfort. As soon as the Church was able she blotted out the evil institution. Similarly, if there is any essential injustice in the social system, it must be removed. No amount of welfare work under the system can compensate for the wrong inherent in it. The wrong must be righted. Good fruit can never be gathered from a corrupt tree. And the Church must take her full share and responsibility in guiding men to a better state of things.

These principles, for which the Church stands, affect Labor at every point. In the same way, the issues raised by Labor are of the first concern to the Church. If both are true to their principles, they will be found side by side in their struggle for a better order and a nobler life.

Note in conclusion. This Labor movement is the awakening of a class. The Renaissance was in no truer sense the awakening of the mind of Mediaeval Europe than this means the arousing of Labor from the slumber of centuries. Men by the multitude have started into a consciousness of their dignity as men and of the rights that inhere in manhood. To see what these rights are has been to find them denied. They must struggle until these rights are secured; there is no other alternative.

The Church has a message to Labor. The lesson of their obligation to serve the highest interests of others must be taught. She has much to learn from Labor. Look at the lesson of brotherhood which they are teaching the world. At a time when business is war, thousands of working men lay down their tools because they believe two of their brethren have been wronged. We may differ with them about the issue: there can be no difference about the spirit in which the issue was met.

The Church has much to do for Labor. Capital must be stirred to a new sense of stewardship. The nation as a whole must be taught the principles involved, and moved to remedy whatever wrong exists. The Church must face the situation. If she allows

wrong to be done to any class she will herself be the greatest sufferer, for it will show that she has forgotten her commission to defend the right, and her very foundations will be weakened. The Church has a great opportunity and a great responsibility. In the face of it, indifference is impossible. She must undertake the task of applying her eternal principles to this new crisis, and with God's help she will succeed.

THE VALUE OF THE SOCIAL SURVEY.

REV. WALTER A. RIDDELL, M.A., B.D.

The Social Survey has been endorsed by the leaders in social righteousness, and its value demonstrated in the most progressive cities. The Survey idea is now widespread in Canada and the United States. At the present time there are at least two hundred cities and counties with their organizations either conducting surveys, preparing for them, or enquiring definitely about them.

A number of Surveys of a preliminary nature have been made in Canada. The joint Boards of the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church have directed, through their investigators, eight Surveys in cities and one in a rural district, during the last twelve months. Arrangements have been made for four more to be undertaken and completed by mid-summer. Altogether they will embrace cities in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Nova Scotia, and large rural communities in Manitoba and Ontario. All of you have become familiar with the Survey idea; many of you know its scope and method. I have been at a loss to find a definition of a Social Survey, so I have to make a tentative one. What are the distinctive elements in a Social Survey? A Social Survey is a method of investigation of a given area, whereby a comprehensive view is obtained of facts and needs in their relation to human lives, and these facts and needs are then made public with corrective and constructive recommendations.

In the first place, then, a Social Survey has to do with a given area. This differentiates it from an investigation as such which may have little reference to a definite area. The commission on the high cost of living may centre its attention on any place that gives promise of throwing light on this vexed question. It is not so with the Social Survey. The area may be a city or town or village or township or county, but it has definite limits, and deals with facts and needs within those limits.

In the second place, the Survey takes for granted a knowledge of standard values. What is a good educational system? What should it cost, and what results should be expected? Like the physician who brings to his diagnosis accumulated knowledge of

what is a healthy bod and who should be able to recognize diseased tissue and to test blood pressure, so the housing reformer should know what is a good dwelling house, and should be able to judge of adequate ventilation and proper sanitation. It is a great asset to the investigator to have at his command a knowledge of standards worked out elsewhere, and which he can use as a basis for the investigation at hand.

In the third place, the Survey makes much of the inter-relation of facts and needs. It is interested in the fact that newsboys, bootblacks and pinboys in bowling alleys work at night, often as late as eleven o'clock. It is, however, further concerned with the effect of these late and long hours on the need of a well-trained citizenship. It asks the question, Are these occupations frequent causes of backwardness and truancy in our public schools? Are these blind-alley employments merely feeders for crowding the casual labor ranks and increasing the unemployed and criminal classes? Or let us take an example drawn from a rural survey. If the facts or data obtained show that an overwhelming percentage of boys and girls who pass through our rural schools and enter the high schools are lost to rural life, when at the same time 33 per cent. of the farm houses are abandoned in a district, capable of supporting comfortably twice the present population, may we not ask how far is the rural school responsible for rural depletion? In a certain high school in Western Ontario over 28 per cent. of the pupils are from the farm, and only 1 1/3 per cent. have any intention of going back to enrich rural life. These are but illustrations of the facts and needs that the Survey seeks to correlate.

In the fourth place case work is another distinguishing feature of the Survey method, and differentiates it from mere social prospecting. By case work is meant a careful study of a large number of separate units, whether these units be individuals, families, homes, family budgets, payrolls or houses. Usually for lack of time it is found necessary to deal with samples rather than with the whole population. A housing investigation could hardly include all the houses of a city and for our purpose might be of little value. So certain classes of houses are chosen and dealt with. In the Huron Rural Survey the case work has included a study of about one hundred and fifty rural schools, all the churches in the county, and from eight to ten representative farmers in each township, or between one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty in all.

In the fifth place the findings are made known to the pupils.

Publicity might be called the keynote of the Survey. For this purpose it takes from the journalist the idea of graphic portrayal. It aims to put its findings in the most striking form, so as to appeal to the popular mind. Maps and diagrams and charts, photographs and enlargements and drawings, all are used to exploit the advantage which the eye holds over the ear as a means of communication. The Welfare Exhibit aids this method of presentation greatly. For not only can the charts and maps be seen to advantage, but they can be explained and thrown on the screen and discussed. Widespread discussions should be the aim of publicity. For underlying graphic portrayal is the factor of truth, and it will stand being talked over, and, as Paul Kellogg, who directed the Pittsburg Survey, says: "The philosophy of the Survey is to set forth before the community all the facts that bear upon a problem and to rely upon the common understanding, the common forethought and the common purpose of all the people as a first great source to be drawn upon in working out that problem. Thus conceived, the Survey becomes a distinctive and powerful implement of democracy."

The five elements just presented differentiate and give individual content to the Social Survey. These elements, however, may be used with varying degrees of completeness. So we have different kinds of Surveys.

(1) There is the quick sizing up of communities, like that which was done by Mrs. Crane in Kentucky. Mrs. Crane, supported by the Board of Health and the Women's Clubs of the State, visited all the smaller cities and made a quick diagnosis of conditions. Such surveys may have considerable value for communities where conditions are glaringly bad. However, for the average Canadian community the Preliminary Survey, as conducted under the joint Boards of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, combines reasonable speed with a measure of thoroughness. What I have called the Limited Survey will give, perhaps, the best result in Canada for some time to come.

The Limited Survey includes the Preliminary Survey, which shows how the land lies, but adds to it intensive investigations in limited fields. For instance, in London our skirmishing indicated that factory women and girls were poorly paid. On this "lead" we made a careful study of the payrolls of typical factories. This investigation was extended to all the employees, men and boys as well, so that when it was finished we had a fairly complete wage statement of factory wage earners in London. The same may be said of our study of the liquor problem. The first bar-room census

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showed up some hotels as worthy of further investigation. These were studied intensively, showing their proper status to be saloons of the worst type and not hotels. The Limited Survey has the advantage of affording intensive investigation based upon a general knowledge of the social conditions. Thus a city may have a permanent Survey Commission carrying on intensive investigation in special fields long after the original survey has been completed. The consecutive plan is being followed in Pittsburg and Rochester with good results. At least it gives promise of being the most satisfactory for all our Canadian cities except perhaps two or three of the largest.

For the large city some unit less than the general social problem is likely to produce better results. It is less spread out, and can be, therefore, more exact and in the end will lead farther.

Many of you are familiar with the method of making a sociological study of a city block, such as has been done in New York by S. C. B. Jones and others. Then there is the method of taking a given neighborhood and studying it intensively. The Survey in Buffalo Polish section illustrates this method.

These two methods deal with small areas. In contrast to this there is the plan of studying a certain social problem in relation to the whole community. It would be most profitable for our larger cities to make a study of their recreations as Kansas has done. A city should know what its amusements are, and what it is paying for them, and if more could not be received at less cost, and so on. Any of these plans have advantages for the large city, as they present a task not beyond the reach of moderate effort and outlay.

More communities are interested in the Social Survey to-day in Canada than ever before. Many cities and counties are already planning for a study of their local conditions. They are asking information from both Canadian and American sources, as to how they may go about the Survey of their own community.

Here are a few suggestions. First get as representative a committee of the citizenship as possible. Draw from those having the best interests of the community at heart: The Ministerial Association, Civic Reform Leagues, The Board of Trade, Men's Brotherhoods, The Trades and Labor Council, the various women's associations for social and civic betterment, The Associated Charities, and any other organizations that would be considered helpful. These federated associations should undertake to provide funds to

meet the necessary expenses, and to enlist forty or fifty volunteer workers who can assist in the various investigations.

A director should then be secured, who will come in to map out the Survey and organize the workers. He may secure also, if he thinks necessary, outside assistance when available, from governmental and private sources. Such help should be made use of whenever possible. The expert knowledge and direction which can often be secured from a Provincial Department of Health is invaluable for a Sanitary Survey and usually can be secured at small expense.

In the recent London Survey Dr. Myers, of the Presbyterian Committee on Religious Education, and myself, representing the Methodist Department of Temperance and Moral Reform and the Presbyterian Board of Social Service and Evangelism, undertook to direct the survey at the request of the Men's Federation. The Federation is composed of members of the Protestant churches, and was organized definitely for social work in their own city. When we arrived committees had already been formed on Juvenile Court Work, Recreation, Education, Church and Evangelism, Industrial Problems, Social Purity, Charities, and Legislation and Civic Improvement.

We did not think it wise, from the situation as it presented itself, to make any changes in the committees. It was necessary to ask some of them to become responsible for investigations that did not logically come directly under their field as outlined in the Constitution. The Federation had just recently been organized, and at the beginning of its work, felt it needed a survey of the city, upon which to base a thorough-going programme. The co-operation of the members was given throughout the whole survey and over fifty men at various times assisted. All the findings were presented to the various committees and reviewed and approved by their executive. The London survey report was then published and a Welfare Exhibit held. The exhibit lasted two days, and an opportunity was given to the chairmen of the different committees and other local leaders to speak to the various findings of the survey and the recommendations based thereon.

In the rural community the sparse population makes the application of the survey idea somewhat different from that in the city, with its congested area. The underlying elements are the same. You are still working with a definite area, standard values, facts and needs, case work and graphic portrayal. The method varies, as in the city, although again the limited survey is likely to give the best results; i.e., a general study of the township or

county as a whole, concurrent with intensive investigations into the efficiency of the rural school, the growth and decline of the county church, the wage income of farmers, co-operative marketing and other rural problems.

The task, however, of organizing the local forces in rural communities is usually more difficult, and because of this many rural surveys were begun and completed with little, if any, local support. Experience has shown this to be a mistake and that the larger the local co-operation, the better will be the results obtained. The Ohio Rural Life Survey marked a direct advance when it organized the Colleges, Agricultural Experiment Stations, the County Branch of the Y. M. C. A., the State Sunday Association and the leading denominations for a study of rural conditions in the State of Ohio. It failed largely, however, to enlist assistance from the resident leaders of the counties surveyed.

In the recent Huron Survey an attempt was made to remedy this weakness by calling upon the local clergymen and school teachers to become responsible for at least some part of the actual enumeration. The response has been most gratifying. Local interest has been stimulated and, better still, those taking part have been given an insight into their own community problems, through personal investigation, that they could not have received in any other way. The method and point of view they acquire must help them to become more constructive leaders for improving rural conditions and for enriching country life.

In this Social Service Congress, we have come together to consider the great problems affecting our social life, both in country and city. We all realize that knowledge of the actual social conditions must be the starting point of all our efforts. We must be workmen that need not to be ashamed. Our premises must be sound if our conclusion is to carry conviction. They must have their foundation in the social conditions of to-day. The prophets of all ages have been men who cried aloud against the sins of their own day, sins not only of the individual but of the community.

In discovering and in presenting to the popular mind the collective sins of the community and in bringing the responsibility for these home to the common conscience, the Social Survey has made perhaps its largest contribution. At the same time, in its wider field, it is an instrument of great educational value, in overcoming conservatism and indifference, and thus clearing the way for social progress.



RADICAL TENDENCIES AMONG
WORKMEN

THE LABOR PROBLEM

Radical Tendencies Among Workmen
The Labor Problem

CHARLES STELZLE
THE HON. T. W. CROTHERS

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RADICAL TENDENCIES AMONG WORKMEN.

CHARLES STELZLE, CONSULTING SOCIOLOGIST, NEW YORK.

After you have said the last word about the labor question you come back to this proposition: it is not so much a question of production as a question of distribution. I wonder if I dare tell this story—I read it the last time in the Ladies' Home Journal, but I am going to risk it on you. A couple of Jews went to a restaurant in New York and ordered fish, and pretty soon the waiter brought the fish and placed it before one of them, who carved it, and after cutting it in two pieces passed to his friend across the table that part of the fish which consisted principally of the tail, some bones, and a bit of skin. His friend looked at him a moment and said: "Now, Ikey, do you think that is all right?" Ikey said: "Well, what's the matter?" His friend said: "Ikey, if I divided that fish do you know what I would do? I would give you the big end and keep the little end." Ikey said: "Well, you have got the little end, ain't you? What you kicking about?" I think sometimes we have handed out to the other fellow something after that fashion when we got a chance, and then wondered why he was not satisfied with the deal we gave him.

Now, I want to tell you another story about a couple of Jews. They were called Ikey Eistein and Ben Bernstein. One day they met on the lower East Side, and Ikey said to his friend Ben, "Ben, why do they have letters after a man's name, like LL.D., Ph.D., and so on?" Ben replied: "Well, that shows that he has got brains." Some time later they met again and Ikey produced his personal card, which read like this: "Ikey Eistein, FF, FF, F." Ben looked at it awhile and said: "FF, FF, F, what sort of business is that?" "Oh," said Ikey, "that shows that I have got brains." Ben said: "Brains? What you mean—brains? What is FF, FF, F, for brains?" Ikey said: "That means two Fires, two Failures and one Fortune." Now I would like to say that before you can get down to the proposition of a square deal you will have to use your brain-power.

There is no panacea for the solution of the labor problem. I am perfectly frank to say that when a man comes forward with a panacea I am ready to offer a resolution to adjourn the meeting. The labor question will never be settled until the last day's work is done. No matter what we may determine ought to be done, the

next generation will not be satisfied with our solution, for we are progressing in our ideals. Just as we not content with the solution offered by the men of the past generation, no matter how sincere, so those who follow us will not be satisfied with our solution; and I am mighty glad of it.

This question of the radical tendency among working men is giving us very great concern in every part of the world. One aspect of it is manifested in the use of violence. You may recall that some time ago in the United States, in Indianapolis, thirty-eight men were convicted of dynamiting and sentenced to various periods in the Federal Penitentiary. Then you heard, I am sure, about the McNamara brothers in Los Angeles, self-confessed dynamiters. And then back of that was the situation in Massachusetts, and that great period when Adler and Giavanetti were liberated after having been confined in a prison for nearly a year. That was immediately preceded by the strike in Lawrence, and then there were the dynamiting cases in Colorado, with which I think you are familiar, at least to some extent. When the last trouble was on I went to Colorado for a month to study the situation, and I spent an entire afternoon in the office of Big Bill Hayward, of whom you may have heard, the leader of the miners; and Hayward, that one-eyed, battle-scarred veteran of labor, simply poured out his hatred as he talked about the conditions in that State. And there are people who can enumerate long lists of crimes alleged to have been committed by individuals in Canada in the name of organized labor, as well as in the United States. Let me say at once that the use of force or of violence cannot be tolerated under any circumstances—and yet I want to add quickly that organized labor as such, both in Canada and the United States, does not stand for violence. For a long time after this McNamara situation had been aired in the public press I was asked a great many times, "Why did not Samuel Gompers and his associates come out clearly and plainly and say that they were not in favor of lawlessness?" They did. I have in my hand here an official document issued by the American Federation of Labor upon that very subject, and I want to read just a short paragraph from it:

"Violence, brutality, destruction of life or property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor, and no interest is more severely injured by the employment of such methods than that of the workers organized in the labor movement. Therefore, quite apart from the spirit of humanitarianism and justice which promotes the government of organized labor movement, policy and hope for success forbid the resort to violence. Organized labor has

no desire to condone the crimes of the McNamaras. It joins in the satisfaction that the majesty of the law and justice have been maintained, and the culprits commensurately punished for their crime. The men of organized labor, in company with all our people, are grieved beyond expression in words at the loss of life and the destruction of property not only in the case under discussion but in any other case which may have occurred. We are hurt and humiliated to think that any man connected with the labor movement should have been guilty of these things. This great crime will, however, have its salutary effect. It will demonstrate now more than ever our common humanity as well as the futility of resort to violence in the effort to right wrongs or to attain rights."

And there is more of the same sort of thing. I felt that it might be well to speak of that in this connection, because of the misunderstanding among even intelligent people when they think of trade unionism. And yet, by what process of reasoning could thirty-eight normal working men persuade themselves that the use of dynamite was legitimate? Because I want to say that these thirty-eight men were not moral degenerates. You may perhaps remember that when the president of the Structural Iron Workers and the group of men associated with him at this particular job were brought to the court and searched, in their pockets were found prayer books and rosaries, and some of those men to my knowledge were attendants upon Protestant churches.

You know, there is a very human thing about this labor question that most of us lose sight of. When I was a machinist in New York city we went out on strike. We were out for six weeks, and we lost the strike, and when I came back to the planing room in which I used to work I found a great big Swede, a six-footer, running my machine. Now, I was a leader in the Presbyterian Church and I was superintendent in the Sunday School, I was a director in the Y. M. C. A., and I was president of the Christian Endeavor Society; but I want to say to you that it took all the grace that God could give me to keep me from knocking that fellow's block off. When I told that story some time ago to a group of Canadian preachers, a Methodist preacher said: "Well, that's the time you nearly fell from grace." And I said: "No, sir, you are wrong; the only thing that saved that fellow was the fact that I was predestined not to knock his block off." That is the only thing that saved me that time. Well, do you know that after all there is a sort of impersonal feeling in such a situation, just as one finds in war. It is not that the individual working man hates the individual working man across the line so much; it is not that, but it

is his hatred of the whole thing, and he will do things sometimes under the stress of such a situation that he would not think of doing under ordinary circumstances.

Now in this particular case—I need not take time to elaborate it—here was the situation: The United States Steel Corporation had come out plainly against organized labor. Its settled policy is, and has been for many years, the extermination of trade unionism in its industries and in the industries which are identified with that corporation. It happened that the American Bridge Company and the National Wreckage Association were tied up with the United States Steel Corporation, and they were steadily crowding those men into a corner, and they saw very plainly the hopelessness of the entire situation; and then, foolishly—but some people think very humanly—they began to strike back. Of course they were wrong; they would say so to-day, no doubt, every last man of them; they were wrong; they had no right to use violence of any sort. Well now, I think I can understand why some working men would persuade themselves that it might be a good job to blow up a bridge, just to teach the other fellow a lesson and put the fear of God into his heart. Now, I repeat, that has been done not because those men are moral degenerates, not because they are worse, as a rule, than are most other men, but simply because it seemed to be the human thing to do. I have often been asked if Mr. Gompers and his associates during this period did not know about those plans. Well, shortly after the Committee of the Executive Council went out to look into the situation I talked with one of the members of that committee, whom I know very well, as well as I know almost any man, and I said: "John, is it true? Did you fellows know that this thing was going on?" He said: "Well, Charlie, we may have had our opinions, some of us, but we had absolutely no proof, not a vestige of proof could we produce." And, of course, they could not come out and say those men were guilty before they had been tried, and thus prejudice their case, when they themselves had no proof. Now I would like to ask you this: Did you ever hear of the officials of an employers' association reprimanding unscrupulous members of their organization because they had committed an act of lawlessness? Oh, not throwing bombs; there are politer ways of getting jobs done than throwing bombs. But when did you hear of an employers' association that publicly ostracized a member because he violated the law? That may have been done, but I have yet to hear of a case. We expect a much higher standard of ethics in the trades union movement than we expect from the Manufacturers' Association—

and we are not so far removed from the investment of sanity and grace of the United States Manufacturers' Association to give point to what I am saying. And yet not a man in that association, conscious as he must have been of the lawlessness, practically that, of which they were guilty according to the verdict of the committee, dare come out and say that they were guilty of practical lawlessness. I repeat we expect a higher standard of ethics among working men than we do from those who are supposed to be in the higher class or the higher grade. Let us be square, let us at least be fair in our criticism.

Furthermore, we are talking about the laws of life in this connection; isn't it about time that we asked about the men—managers of corporations and owners of industrial enterprises—whose selfishness in industrial life is making widows and orphans, because father and husband are killed in the mines, in the mills, and in the factories. For their lives might have been spared had those men been willing to expend a comparatively small amount of money to safeguard them against physical injury. These are the reactionaries in industrial life—these employers—who are responsible for much of the radicalism among the working men. But that is merely incidental to the thing I have been talking about. The things that we have been discussing are crude and elementary.

There is another phase of radicalism which to my mind is more significant, has more point to it, and is of far more importance. In the United States in 1888 the Socialists polled 2,000 votes; in the year 1910 they polled nearly a million votes—increasing nearly one hundred per cent. during the four preceding years. I have attended the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and of course many of your Canadian organizations are identified with this group; I have attended every American convention with one exception and have heard every speech made by every speaker. I can recollect that when I attended the first convention, as I counted the men and the votes and noted the signs of various sorts I found that one-seventh of the delegates were Socialists. The last year one-third of the delegates were Socialists. The Machinists' Association, with which I am identified—for I was a machinist for eight years in New York City—is in the control of the Socialists. The Mine Workers' Union, one of the most powerful unions in the world, is in the control of the Socialists, and other big organizations are controlled by the Socialists. And yet all the time organized labor as such has had a comparatively small growth.

What about Socialism? In the City of Stuttgart, Germany,

some time ago there was held a great International Socialist Congress; there were 886 delegates, coming from twenty-five different countries, and on the first Sunday afternoon of that great convention there came from surrounding towns long processions of working men, until there were gathered together in that public place 100,000 delegates, who were addressed from six red-draped platforms by as many different Socialist orators, each of them speaking a different language; and the policemen sent out by the municipality to quell a possible riot were engaged in helping those who fainted by the wayside on account of the heat of the day, and a friend of mine who was there said to me afterwards that it seemed to him like another day of Pentecost. I was talking in a Presbyterian college in the Middle West some time ago to 300 or 400 students, and when I had finished my address they began to ask questions, and the most pointed questions addressed to me were asked by a young woman in the rear of the crowd, and after the meeting she told me something about herself. She told me she was a Jewess and a Socialist; that she had come from the sweatshops of Chicago to this Presbyterian college to get a four years' training—she was then in her third year—and she said that when she got through she was going back to her sweatshop people in Chicago to tell them that in Socialism and in Socialism alone, was there salvation. And when you tell working men that they must beware of Socialism, because it is an awful thing, you must be prepared to tell them why it is an awful thing, because they are quite ready to give a reason for a hope that is in them.

I said to Victor Berger, the Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, last year: "Berger, how it is that you Socialists in Milwaukee were so successful?" He replied: "Well, we put nine-tenths of our funds into literature"—and there is a pointer for you, by the way. He added: "More important than that, we have 300 men in Milwaukee, Socialists, who are pledged to get up every Sunday morning at 5 o'clock, fifty-two Sundays in the year, for the purpose of distributing Socialist literature, putting it into the Sunday morning newspapers found upon the front porches. If the paper is printed in Polish they will put in a Polish leaflet, and if there is no newspaper there they will put it under the front door." I asked myself this question: I wonder if I could secure in New York City, among the 1,000 Protestant churches in Greater New York, 300 men who would pledge themselves to get up every Sunday morning at 5 o'clock for the purpose of doing anything under the sun in the name of the church because they felt that the message of Christianity was a far more vital message than that

contained in Socialism! I will bet you I could not get that many. I have tried to put over some pretty difficult jobs in my time, but I wouldn't undertake that job under any circumstances. I don't believe it can be done. Socialism has become a religion to large numbers of men who have embraced it.

But this industrial conflict has recently developed a new aspect, full of significance. On one hand we have the National Manufacturers' Association, with its allied organizations, which will not deal in any relationship with organized labor. On the other hand, we have the Industrial Workers of the World, who will not deal with the employers on any account, because they say they have absolutely nothing in common. Meanwhile both radical organizations—for these employers are just as radical as are the Industrial Workers of the World—are playing into the hands of the Socialists, and the Socialists are simply standing to one side seeing the joyful fight go on and getting the benefit of the whole business. But what about these Industrial Workers of the World? When we think of them in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, or when we think of them in the United States, we think of Bill Hayward, a great big, and to my mind brutal, man. But let me say quickly that Hayward is not a typical leader of the Industrial Workers of the World. I think of Giavanetti. Who is Giavanetti? Well, his father was an Italian lawyer in the old country; so was his brother. When young Regiro came to this country he was a fine Christian young fellow; he went to Union Theological Seminary to study for the ministry, and after he finished his work there he became a Presbyterian missionary among the Italians in New York, and then in Brooklyn, and afterward he went to Pittsburg, and something that he saw in Pittsburg among his fellow-countrymen made him a Socialist. In Pittsburg it is an absolute impossibility for a man to be both a minister and a Socialist at the same time, and so he became merely a Socialist, and he quit preaching—that is, he quit preaching Christianity—and they sent him to Lawrence, Mass., to lead the textile workers' strike in that city, and you probably know the story. A woman was killed two miles from where he was. He was charged with the crime of murder because of something that he said two weeks before, and he was put into jail and kept there for eight or nine months and then tried by a jury and unanimously released—of course, unanimous release proving him innocent—but during those eight months in close confinement, with a sentinel treading up and down before his prison door, Giavanetti's soul was changed. I talked with one of his friends before he went to Lawrence, an Italian, a man who

knew him in the old country, and he said: "Why, to me Giavanetti is a dreamer; he would not hurt a fly, he is an idealist." Giavanetti came out of that prison after nine months' captivity, and during the time he was there he wrote some poetry—some of you have read it—poetry that stirs a man's soul, and poetry which was wrung from his soul. He came out. I talked with him the other day—a fine young fellow, thoroughly conscientious, ready to sacrifice his life, if need be, for the sake of his fellow-men; but I found Giavanetti transformed—a hater of God, a hater of the Church, a hater of everything that stood in the way of the progress of his people, not simply his Italian fellow-countrymen, but the great mass of our common humanity. I shall not attempt to account for that transformation. From the psychological standpoint you can reason that out for yourself; I have given you the main facts.

But let me say this: As I see the labor question, it seems to me that all tendencies seem to indicate that there will be a final clash between capital and labor before there can be anything like a finality or any sort of adjustment, unless both sides get a lot more sense; but this last battle will not be between the manufacturers and the trade unionists nor between the manufacturers and the Industrial Workers of the World; it will be between the Manufacturers' Associations and the Socialists. I am not a prophet and I am not a Socialist—it does not appeal to me economically, socially nor politically—but I will venture this assertion, that when that final line-up takes place the Socialists are going to win. All the signs, not only in this country but in every country in the world, tend towards that situation. And yet here are manufacturers and employers of labor simply going it blind, fooling themselves with the notion that these things will not affect them, however it may affect the other fellow in this country or in other lands across the sea. If those men could but read the signs of the times they would understand that that sort of reactionary attitude is not going to get them anywhere, and that actually these working men have as much right to organize and to deal collectively as have the employers in every particular. That seems so simple, doesn't it, that you would think every man would be willing to accept it?

Of course there are all sorts of things that may be said on the other side; I realize that and need not repeat them—the unreasonableness of some walking delegates and business agents; I know all about it; but I want to tell you that they have by no means a monopoly of unreasonableness in the industrial world; there are

some other chaps that are guilty; I am perfectly sure I am right when I say that the great mass of labor leaders of the best type have a larger vision and are positively fairer than are the great mass of employers. The average employer is so concerned about turning over profits that he forgets there is a great big vital human problem just outside his office door.

Now, in a few words, what is the cause of this radical tendency among working men? "Oh, oh," you say quickly, "it is the walking delegate; it is the agitator." Don't you fool yourself. That agitator has not created social unrest; social unrest has created him. He is simply a product of an institution; and yet all the time the average employer is against the agitator, so called, or the business agent, as though he were to blame for this thing. He is not. He has come out of a condition just as naturally as can be. He is a product of a spirit of social unrest. But what creates the spirit of social unrest. Well, in the first place your public schools create social unrest; your educational system creates social unrest, and the finer it is, and the better, the more social unrest it creates; and that is a good job. The public libraries in your cities, with their fine books, create social unrest. Your art galleries, with their beautiful pictures, create social unrest. Your open forum discussions, with the wider knowledge of social problems honestly and sincerely entered into, create social unrest. The churches create social unrest. There are no labor troubles in darkest Africa, in the heart of Africa, although they are beginning to get a glimpse of it even there; but if the missionaries we are sending there are onto their jobs, and I think they are, there will soon be strikes and lockouts in the heart of that dark continent. God hasten the day, for those missionaries will find a mass of people unsatisfied with low physical, mental and moral ideals, and they will point out these low conditions to the natives and then show them the possibilities of a life in Jesus Christ; and as they catch their vision of Jesus and all that He may mean to them there will come among them a healthy spirit of social unrest that will not be satisfied until it breaks the bands which have bound them through many a century.

And that has been the history of the Church through many generations; however dark the age may have been, the Church has always been the whitest light in history, and the Church, I repeat, has also been the greatest trouble-maker in history, for without social unrest there can be no real progress. The question is right here: The Church having created social unrest, shall the Church now step to one side and allow the unscrupulous agitator, as you

call him, to come in and usurp the place which rightfully belongs to the Church? Or will the Church with courage finish the task which it so long ago began? That is the problem to which you must address yourselves these days in our Congress meetings. Have you the statesmanship, and more than that, have you the courage? For I want to tell you this: If you try it on, some of you are going to lose your jobs. Don't you forget it, you are going to lose your job; but I tell you there are worse things than that that can happen to a man. We have gotten to a time in the history of the Church, all over this continent as well as in Europe, when the Church should speak; and God pity the Church of this time—the time of her greatest opportunity, as I shall try to point out to-night—if the Church fails the mass of the people who have come to believe in her.

We talk about capital and labor as though they were synonymous. I want to point out this difference: Capital represents money; labor represents men; capital represents vested interests and demands dividends; labor represents flesh and blood and demands a living. Labor has always been more important than capital and entitled to greater consideration; and that is a statement issued not by a labor agitator but by Abraham Lincoln, whom I honor. Now, either the interest of employers or employees are identical or else they are not identical. If they are, then the working men should be persuaded of it; if they are not identical, then the sooner we find it out the better, for this knowledge will clear the atmosphere of some very vague and hazy thinking. The trouble of it is that the average employer of labor is expecting that in some mysterious way the working man is going to find it out for himself. Furthermore, he is expecting the working man to solve the knottiest problems in economic life. The working man is bravely, though sometimes blindly, trying to bring about the right sort of a situation; but this is a question which demands the finest blood and the finest brains that God ever gave any man.

And now, in closing, the greatest menace to our institutions to-day is not the labor agitator. The greatest menace is not the capitalist, the trust magnate. The greatest menace to society to-day is the smug, self-satisfied middle-class, the stand-patters, the people who are in fairly comfortable circumstances, the people who do not wish to be disturbed, the people who are getting a fairly good salary, the people who are crying "Peace, peace," when there is no peace—the class to which most of us belong, the smug, self-satisfied, who have not the courage to face this problem honestly. So to-night I am going to ask each one of us in our

positions, whatever they may be, to face all the facts, through your Social Survey, in which I most thoroughly believe, and through your personal investigations; and after you have got the facts, have the courage to do the job, wherever it may lead to.

THE LABOR PROBLEM.

HON. T. W. CROTHERS, MINISTER OF LABOR.

I am sure we have all listened with very great pleasure to the clear and interesting address. Labor problems have been presented to us in some respects in a manner which we have never heard before. We have received from the speaker much food for thought. Perhaps we have not all agreed with him as he went along, but after turning over in our minds the ideas that he has expressed to us, we may come to think as he does. There is no doubt that the labor problem is one of the most important problems that is appealing to Canadian people for solution. Such appeal is being made in respect of very many problems of the very widest import, national, imperial, international. What are to be our relations, political and commercial and for defence, with the United Kingdom, with our great self-governing sister nations, with the outer world? These are problems the solution of which is calling for statesmanship of the very highest order. But the solution of the labor problem is perhaps of more importance than any of the others. I shall not venture at this particular time to express my view. I should like, if I had half an hour, to do so. I will only say before sitting down, that I wish the members of this great Congress GodsPEED in every respect. You are discussing questions of the most vital importance to this country, to this continent. I am sure the deliberations of this Congress will help on to a proper and satisfactory solution of these great problems. I thank you.

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THE CHURCH AND THE NEW PROBLEMS

The Call of the New Day to the Old Church

CHARLES STELZLE

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THE CALL OF THE NEW DAY TO THE OLD CHURCH.

CHARLES STELZLE, CONSULTING SOCIOLOGIST, NEW YORK.

If I were selecting a text for my talk to-night I think I should appropriate the words found in 1st Corinthians, 2:2, "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified." I said this afternoon that it was just about twenty years ago that I met my fate as to whether I should become a socialist or a minister, and when I decided to study for the ministry I found that I did not get much encouragement. Indeed, nobody encouraged me except one woman, and she said, "Perhaps after you have gone to the university for four years and to theological seminary for three years you may be acceptable in a little country church where they are not very particular." Well, with that encouragement I started out. I honestly tried to break into three different theological seminaries; but they would not have me; they said that I did not know enough. Of course, I knew that; that is why I wanted to go there—but they couldn't see it that way—and somehow I have had it in for those theological seminaries ever since because they made me miss a whole lot. But I became a preacher anyway; I became a preacher because I believed in the church, and I still believe in the church; I never believed in the church more than I do to-night. I have not the same faith in some of the institutions of the church, but I never had greater faith in the church as an institution. I say I believe in the church; that is why I am here to-night.

I want to talk to you to-night about the call of the new day to the old church. Wherein lies the difference between the old times and the new? And what is the call of the new day to the old church? May I give you some figures dealing with conditions of church membership in the United States in the last 110 years? In the year 1800 there were seven persons out of every 100 who were members of the Protestant church. In the year 1850, fifteen out of every 100 were members of the Protestant church. In the year 1870, 17; in the year 1880, 20; in the year 1890, 22; in the year 1900, 24. But now, mark you, in the year 1910, there were also 24. For 100 years, from 1800 to 1900, we had been steadily climbing from 7 per 100 to 24 per 100; but for ten years we have been on a sort of plateau, and the question is as to whether we

shall now go on still farther, or whether we have reached the pinnacle of the mountain and are now about to descend on the other side. For ten years it has been a tie.

The question is, what will the next decade produce? Sometimes when we talk about the apparent loss of the church in some particulars in the United States some of us try to comfort ourselves with the statement that it is because so many immigrants have come in; and I suppose you are saying that here too, to some extent; but I want to say that so far as we are concerned, in spite of the coming-in of millions of immigrants, there are to-day no more foreign-born people in the United States in proportion to the total population than there were in 1860. The constant percentage for 16 years has been 14. I suppose everybody here, every woman, surely, can remember the days when you prayed that God would open the door to the foreigner, that you might take the gospel to him. God has answered that prayer; he has opened the door; but the door swings both ways. Not only may we take our gospel to him in his own land, but he is coming to us bringing his problems with him—coming to us, if there is any potency in prayer, because we asked God to send him.

And now we have a chance. If the churches move from districts in which the foreigners live, then we are confessing frankly that this gospel, which we say is the power of God unto salvation unto everyone, is effective for the foreigner only when it is exported through foreign missionary societies, and that it is not effective in these so-called Christian countries where this gospel is supposed to be at its very best. Now, are you ready to make that confession? I am not, for one. I still believe that this gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone, no matter who he may be, no matter where he may be.

About twenty years ago, on the great East Side of New York, Dwight L. Moody was challenged by the minister in the old Presbyterian Church to come and hold some meetings in that part of the town. There are to-day in that district, within a square mile, about 500,000 people—the most densely populated part of the world. Twenty years ago, when Moody was challenged by this minister it was not nearly so bad a neighborhood as we might say for that kind of work. It is a much better neighborhood now, as a matter of fact, from our angle. But Dwight L. Moody went down there 20 years ago for one month, and preached as only Dwight L. Moody could preach, and Sankey sang as only Sankey could sing 20 years ago; but never once during that entire month did Dwight L. Moody fill that church, which does not seat

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as many people as this hall seats. The first night that he preached there—I remember the night well—he came onto the platform, which was lined up with a row of preachers, and Moody looked out upon the audience and there were just about 260 people in the crowd, and he said to the chairman, who afterwards told me the story, “Where are the people?” And this chairman said, rather officiously, “Well, I guess they are out on the streets.” Moody replied, “Well, why don’t you preachers go out and get them?” And of course they had to leave the platform and try to get them; and out they went, and my friend went with an associate to a corner saloon and saw a couple of men playing cards at a table, and my friend said to one man, “Don’t you want to come up to the church to hear Dwight L. Moody preach?” And this man said, “Moody? Dwight L. Moody? Who in h—— is Dwight L. Moody? Never heard of Dwight L. Moody?”—and he went on with the game. When I told that the other day in Boston at a congress of Unitarians, a congress very similar to this, they smiled and nodded their heads. I said, “I know what you are thinking about; you are thinking that the old gospel is played out, and that it requires liberal theology now; but if that were true, then all the Unitarian churches in the country would be crowded with working men, but they are not.” It is not a question of theology at all.

We are concerned to-day about the problem of the city. In the past ten years in the United States the population increased twenty-one per cent., but during the same period the cities of 25,000 increased fifty-five per cent. One-tenth of the population of the United States lives in the three cities of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago. More than one-half the population of New York State—to be exact, fifty-two per cent.—lives in New York City. One-fourth of the population of the United States lives upon 1/400th of the total land area, that is, in cities of 200,000 and over. But this is not peculiar to the United States. Your Canadian cities, in spite of your great uncultivated areas, are growing at a tremendous rate; you know the figures as well as I do. The cities in Europe are growing as fast as the cities in the United States. The cities in Asia are growing almost as fast as most of the cities of the United States. For this is a world phenomenon; the same forces that are developing the cities on the American continent are developing the cities in Europe and in Asia. Every attempt to solve the problem of the city’s poor by getting them to move on to the farm is bound to result in failure, for every such attempt is flying in the face of inexorable law. Now I have

not time to analyze that situation, but you can work it out for yourselves. Those people moving from the city towards the farm, if they were to go at all, would meet a host of husky young farmers moving from the farm to the city because they failed to make good there.

The point that I want to make is this—that in the last analysis the city must solve its own problem. You can never get the country or the farm to settle the problems of the city for you. You may here and there set up a small colony, or here and there get a man of an unusual type to go, but as for the great mass of people, they are going to stay in the cities; and you may as well recognize that, and you have got to help solve their problems if anybody is going to solve them. The same thing is true of the country. To-day there are in the State of Kansas one thousand abandoned churches; there are in the State of Ohio one hundred abandoned churches; and in practically every great agricultural state in the United States the churches are losing ground—due not only to the loss in population, but due to loss of interest in religious matters in the rural districts.

We are interested, of course, in the liquor problem; you are going to discuss that to-morrow. I wonder if you know that the per capita consumption of intoxicating liquor in the United States has increased from four gallons in 1850 to twenty-three gallons in 1912, in spite of the activities of the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the temperance societies in the Church and elsewhere, and of the activities of the Church itself. I was asked one time to write a text-book on "The City" for a religious society, and in one of the chapters I was to deal with the saloon. They were to pay me \$500 for that MS.; that was an awful lot of money to put up to me all at one time; so I tackled that job just as conscientiously as I knew how, and I wrote the best kind of a book that I knew how to write in those days, and it was submitted to a committee of twelve, and after they read it four of them said that was really the best thing of the kind ever written—and I agreed with them. Four of the members of the committee read the MS. and said it was positively the worst book of the kind ever written; they said it was not fit to put into the hands of young people; and the other four members of the committee did not quite know what to say—you can't blame them much. But after while the committee waited upon me and said: "Here, we think that is a pretty good book, but the trouble of it is you make the saloon altogether too attractive." I said: "Why, I suppose you want me to write a book that told why

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the saloon was attractive to city working men, and I tried my level best to write that kind of a book, and evidently I have succeeded." They said: "Well, you will have to cut out some of those paragraphs or we can't take your MS." I said: "Very well; what I have written, I have written; you can keep your \$500 and I will keep my MS." And that was the way it turned out.

What was the matter with that committee? What is the matter with some of the rest of us? We are all the time trying to shut up things. We close the saloon; we close the theatre—I needn't enumerate some of the other things or I might get into trouble, and I have not time to talk it out with you to-night. We close up things; our attitude is negative; it is very rarely positive; don't you think it is about time we talked about opening up some things? That committee said I made the saloon attractive. I am not in the saloon business; I never drank a glass of beer in my life; I have done a lot of worse things than that, but I never did that; but I do know why the saloon is attractive. The trouble of it is we have not the nerve to face all the facts, to recognize the fact that after all the saloon is a great social institution. It is a social problem, the saloon, just as the country problem is a social problem; just as the city we have been talking about is a social problem.

We talk also about divorcees. In the last forty years the population of the United States increased one hundred per cent., but the number of divorcees granted increased seven hundred and fifty per cent. We grant one divorce for every twelve marriages; in some States one divorcee to every four marriages; in Switzerland there is one divorcee to every twenty-two marriages; in France one to every thirty; in Germany one to every forty-four; and in England one to every four hundred. Hold on; if you get gay about that I will pitch into you; I would like some of these suffragettes to talk on that question for a minute, but we won't start that going. Let us take the bare figures anyway; you won't get any comfort out of that. The fact remains that for every divorcee granted there is at least a separation among other people who cannot afford to go to the courts to get a divorce; so that the number is even larger than it appears. We are breaking up more homes in our country on this account than are being broken up in any civilized country on the globe.

But stop a minute. I was in Ohio awhile ago and I found there an industrial city, a comparatively small town, and there were four hundred young people living in little dinky hall bedrooms because they could not afford to set up housekeeping. Their wages were so low that they could not furnish a home and

maintain it, and they told me that the result of that operation was that the characters both of the men and the women were being broken down; and you can understand why, without my telling you, when they were living that abnormal sort of life. There is a great economic question, a social problem, in connection with that divorce proposition; and when you get back to the most of these questions they are social and economic in their nature. I talk this evening about the labor problem, about the development of Socialism, about trades unionism, and about the radical tendencies among working men, so I shall not elaborate upon that point.

But may I say just this further thing: In New York City during last summer there were conducted under the auspices of the one thousand Protestant churches a series of open-air meetings, and during one week, the banner week of the season, the superintendent sent me a list of the open-air meetings they were to conduct during that week, and he thought it was great; but I happened to have on my desk a copy of the Socialist paper published in New York that week, and it contained a list of the open-air meetings which they were to conduct during the same period, and I ran a big blue pencil mark around those columns and sent it back to the superintendent. For every open-air meeting to be conducted under the auspices of those combined one thousand churches the Socialists were to conduct sixteen. Sixteen to our one, and we thought we were doing a tremendous business. And yet you talk about laughing out Socialism, and bluffing out Socialism, and all that sort of thing. Let me tell you confidentially that the only way you can eradicate Socialism is to wipe out the conditions that have given rise to Socialism. And if you try to do it in any other way you are going to fail. I am not a Socialist, but I think I have sense enough to see why the Socialists are growing in every part of the world.

Now, what should be the attitude of the Church towards these movements and others of which I might speak? In the first place, I believe the Church cannot advocate any particular social system, whether it be Socialism or Communism or Philosophical Anarchy or any other "ism." It is the business of the Church to preach the principles of Jesus Christ, to preach this cross of Jesus Christ concerning which I read, but to apply the principles of Jesus Christ fearlessly to the economic and social conditions that we find in these days. And yet the Church must be broad enough to include all those whose lives are dominated by the spirit of Jesus, and who are seeking to bring in the Kingdom of God, no matter what their economic feelings may be.

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For example, here is your minister preaching these fundamental principles of Jesus Christ. There is a man off here who says: "Now, if I am to apply those principles to my life I must become a Socialist." What are you going to do with that man? Well, I think I would do this: I would say: "All right, brother, if Jesus Christ dominates your life, if you are willing to accept these fundamental principles laid down by Jesus, if you are seeking to bring in the Kingdom of God you may become a member of my Church, and I am mighty glad to have you."

But here is a man who says: "I cannot accept Socialism; if I am to accept these fundamental principles of Jesus Christ I must become a Communist." And I say to him: "By the same token, if Jesus Christ dominates your life, if you are seeking to bring in the Kingdom of God, then you may become a member of my Church, even though you are a Communist." That seems broad, doesn't it?

Here is a man off here, though, who says: "I cannot accept Socialism, I cannot accept Communism, but if I am to accept these principles of Jesus Christ you are talking about, I must become an Anarchist"—and I see some of you smile; I know what you are thinking; but I want to say to you that bomb-throwing is not an essential part of Anarchy. Men don't throw bombs because they are Anarchists; they throw bombs because of pure cussedness, that's all—whether they are Anarchists or whatever else they may call themselves. Bomb-throwing is not an essential part of Anarchy; I speak, of course, of philosophical Anarchy. That Anarchist says that that law in which the Socialist believes is the source of all evil; therefore he would eradicate the law. He says: "I am not living under the dispensation of the law, I am living under the dispensation of grace, if you please"; and he is applying to his economic and social and political field identically the same principles that you are applying to the religious field. He does not live under the law; he lives under grace. He says: "The law is simply a schoolmaster to lead us to a certain point, and then we get out from under the law and live in this glorious liberty." That is what he says; I am not saying that, for I am neither a Socialist nor a Communist nor an Anarchist; but I have a lot of sympathy for that Anarchist and I say to him: "If Jesus Christ dominates your life, brother; if you can accept the fundamental principles of Jesus Christ; if you want to bring in the Kingdom of God"—and you know Tolstoi was an Anarchist and he was a non-resistant, he took literally the word of Jesus Christ, "If a man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the left"—

you don't do that, and I don't, but Tolstoi did that; he was an Anarchist, and I say I would take him into my Church.

If you would say that "hear, hear" loud enough for the working men to hear it there would be something doing for the working men and others who have accepted Socialism and Communism and Philosophical Anarchy. Suppose they were to come to your prayer meeting, and suppose you were discussing the fourth chapter of the Acts or the second chapter, which is pretty orthodox and good and sound, and he begins to apply it to present economic conditions, and he will do that perhaps two or three times, and first you will tolerate him, but after while you will smile and you will tap your head and you will say: "That man is daffy; he is a little cracked in the upper story," or something of that sort. And the same thing will be true, surely, of that Anarchist, and in some cases of the Socialist, although they are making fairly good headway in some places. But why not take them in? If we dare do it there would be large numbers of men who are outside of the Church to-day, who are thoroughly Christian, who would be inside the Church. I want to say that in the face of these growing evils there is a self-complacency among some Christian people which to my mind is positively appalling. You may paint the picture as black as you please and they will come back at you and say: "Well, no matter what you may say we are on the winning side, the Church of God is sure to win." Well now, I believe the Church of God is sure to win, but what do you mean by the Church of God? Do you mean the Presbyterian Church, or perhaps the Methodist Church, or the Baptist Church, or the Congregational Church, or the Episcopal Church, or the Catholic Church? Well, then again, that I am not quite so sure about. There came a time in the history of the Church of England when they seemed to get away from the people, and God raised up a man out of the Church of England, John Wesley, who organized what afterwards became known as the Wesleyan or Methodist Church, as a rebuke against the Church of England; and there later came a time in the history of the Methodist Church when it seemed to get away from the people, and God raised another man out of the Methodist Church, William Booth, who organized what became afterwards known as the Salvation Army; and to-day, in spite of the fact that the Salvation Army ignores all of our forms and many other things that we regard as essential, who will dare to say that the Salvation Army is not of God? And God may yet again raise up another

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man or another movement as a protest against an inefficient Church in the twentieth century.

You know there is a lot of Christianity outside the Church. We think that we have a monopoly of it in the Church. You know it required a distinct revelation from Heaven to convince even large-hearted Peter that God was no respecter of persons, but "he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." Now, think about that for awhile if you please, and unless you are a higher critic you will find it right here in the Bible. It required an ecumenical conference, told about in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, to persuade these early Christians that the Gentiles need not be bound by the forms and ceremonies which the Jews in the Church at that time, Christian Jews, practised. Later, a Wycliffe, Knox, Savonarola, Calvin, Wesley, and a long list of other men were compelled to withstand those whose conception of the significance and comprehensiveness of a Kingdom of God was an exceedingly narrow one. The biggest job those men had was not with the people outside the Church, but with the people inside the Church. They had to fight the good men of the day who had no vision, who had no outlet. I say, therefore, let us face all the facts.

Our new situation in the Church's history has demanded a new emphasis. It is the same old Gospel, but an added emphasis. At one time, when the great Roman Catholic Church was dominant, there rose a situation which called for a Martin Luther, and Martin Luther, great man that he was, nailed up his thesis and said: "Here I take my stand though all the devils of Hell should come out against me," or words to that effect, and Martin Luther became the prophet of the day as he preached the doctrine of justification by faith. Then came another period in the Church's history, and John Calvin arose. People had forgotten another great truth, and John Calvin became the prophet of the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. But then both Presbyterians became so extreme that it required the raising up of John Wesley, and John Wesley, to balance things, emphasized the great doctrine of the free will of man, and John Wesley became the prophet of his day. Then, later, came Charles G. Finney, who simply thundered out the law of God until men fell upon their faces and cried out to God in agony for mercy, and to-day in some of the churches and some of the cities evangelists and ministers are trying to duplicate the days of Charles G. Finney, but they will never succeed, because the conditions are different from what they were in those days. Then came Dwight L. Moody. Did you ever hear Dwight

L. Moody preach? I have heard him scores of times, but I never heard that great man of God preach without seeing the tears stream down his cheeks as he pleaded the love of God, and men arose with tears in their eyes, but with smiles upon their faces, to accept with great joy that forgotten emphasis of which Dwight L. Moody had become the preacher. And I believe the day has come for a new emphasis, namely, the social emphasis of the Gospel. Oh, you say you have heard that; you have read about it; what does it mean anyway?

During the Men and Religion Movement in the United States we held one day a conference in Chicago composed of the leading laymen of the country, many of them anyway, and they talked about the merits of the various messages of the men and religion movement; and one man arose—a prominent man, a layman whose name I think most of you know—and he said: "Now, I believe in the evangelistic message, and I believe in the Bible message, and in the message on boys' work and on missions, but I haven't any use for this message on Social Service; the fact of the matter is we already have too much of sociables in our churches." And that is all that that poor benighted heathen—for that is what he was, even though he was a Presbyterian—that is all that poor benighted heathen could see in the social message. I went to a New York tenement some time ago, and in a little bit of a room I saw a four-year-old child seated upon a pile of white coats which her mother had got from a department store, and that little four-year-old girl was dying—hasty consumption, her mother called it—but there she sat, pulling the bastings out of those white coats; and when I came back to the house a little later she had died and her mother said that she toppled over as she sat on the coats, and was carried to the bed the week she passed away. That sort of thing cannot be remedied through ice cream festivals and oyster suppers. That kind goes out only through blood and sweat and sacrifice and suffering.

We have been talking about individual salvation, and that is a mighty good thing to talk about, but I think the time has come for us to talk about social salvation. I think the time has come for the setting up of a great new crusade in the name of the Church of Jesus Christ, a crusade which will have as its slogan these words: "He that saveth his life shall lose it." Somebody came one day to Canon Wilberforce and said: "Wilberforce, how is it about your soul?" And Wilberforce replied: "To tell the truth I have been so concerned about these poor slaves that I have forgotten I had a soul"—and Wilberforce was nearer the King-

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dom of God than many a zealot who is concerned only about the saving of his own soul. Some day we are going to be so unselfish that we will forget even to save our own souls from hell. "He that saveth his life shall lose it"—this is the basis of the preaching of Jesus Christ; this is the fundamental philosophy of the religion of Jesus. Some of us have been thinking only and always of what we could get out of our religion; Jesus Christ thought only and always of what He could put into His religion. "I am come not to be ministered unto, but to minister; I am come to give my life a ransom for many"; "I am determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." And we have gone off and imagined that that text meant a little, narrow, stingy, individual salvation. You have not gotten the first glimpse of the significance of the teachings of Jesus Christ if that is your notion. "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." "Inasmuch as he has done it unto the least of these My brethren"—that little four-year-old girl—"ye have done it unto Me."

You have prayed the Lord's prayer, oh, how many times, thousands upon thousands of times, but I wonder if you know what it means? Let me repeat just a part of it. "Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven; give me this day my daily bread"—you don't find that, do you? It is "Give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses; lead us not into temptation; deliver us from evil." You cannot pray that prayer alone; Jesus Christ never intended you to pray it alone. You cannot pray that prayer unless you pray it for somebody else. No man can be religious alone. There must be a God and a neighbor. "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." Do you want to know how to be saved? The only way you can be saved is to save somebody else. "He that saveth his life shall lose it"; don't get away from it; Jesus spoke those words. "I am determined to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and Him crucified." What does that mean? It means sacrifice. "As the Father has sent Me, even so I send you." Can men say that of us? Have we the spirit of Jesus, who thought not so much of individual salvation—study His word and find out—but who thought supremely of social salvation? "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." This is Social Service, and this is the slogan of the great new crusade.



CHILD WELFARE

<i>Importance of Child Welfare</i>	-	-	-	J. J. KELSO
<i>Rights of the Child</i>	-	-	-	R. L. SCOTT, K.C.
<i>Defective Children</i>	-	-		HELEN MACMURCHY, M.D.
<i>Neglected and Delinquent Children</i>				R. B. CHADWICK
<i>The Juvenile Court</i>	-	-		HIS HONOR, JUDGE CHOQUET
<i>Mothers' Pensions</i>	-	-		MRS. ROSE HENDERSON

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IMPORTANCE OF CHILD WELFARE.

J. J. KELSO, SUPT. NEGLECTED AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN,
TORONTO.

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The world is entering upon an era of social justice, and Canada, as a young and growing nation upon whom the hearts and hopes of men are centred, should not be indifferent to the demand for such social legislation and expenditure as will place her in the front rank of the nations that are earnestly seeking the greater happiness, prosperity and comfort of the masses of the people. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and social welfare is a subject that might well claim the best thoughts and effort of all our parliaments. This is why we are assembled here to-day, and the cause in which we strive is one of which we need not be ashamed.

Social injustice, by permitting or ignoring the rights of the poor, tends to foster the misery and wretchedness against which the forces of social agencies are arrayed, and it is an important factor in child-neglect and dependency. Before the advancing wave of an enlightened public sentiment, drunkenness, illiteracy, and illegitimacy are being met and slowly overcome. By substituting social justice for charity, much can, and will, be accomplished in the coming years. What is needed is trained social leadership and organization for efficient service. The movement to bring a larger measure of health, happiness and contentment into the lives of all classes of people is surely a worthy one, and whatever the special line of activity in which we may be engaged, this Congress will, I am sure, be a unit in declaring that the child should be given first consideration in any and every plan of social amelioration.

The proper protection, care and training of the children of the Dominion, is a matter of tremendous importance, since it involves national characteristics and the shaping and moulding of our work and destiny among the distinctive peoples of the world. As we build now, so shall our future be—poor, mediocre or great—in all the essentials of a glorious democracy. That we may achieve the highest, let us see well to it, that the building material is sound and that the workmanship is thorough and painstaking.

In this day it is not necessary to argue the importance of child-welfare work. That has long since been conceded. Public

sentiment is in advance of any measure of reform that has been promulgated, and is ripe for any forward movement. Our laws for the protection of children are excellent, and little pressure is needed to secure any necessary amendments. It is for lack of funds that the work suffers most. With its splendid revenue advancing year by year, the Dominion Government spends nothing on child-welfare work, and the Provinces do but slightly better.

It is a pleasure to report that physical cruelty to children is comparatively unknown in this country, and the heavy sentences meted out to offenders is an indication of the strong sentiment that exists against it. Ragged, barefooted, and emaciated children are rarely met with, and this favorable social condition has often been commented on by visitors from the old land. Neglect of children is the result of a low standard of living, drunkenness and degeneracy, and over and over again we have found that neglected children were the progeny of parents who were themselves neglected children. Had there been efficient child-welfare and home-conservation work in an earlier age, much of the work being done to-day would not have been necessary. Faithfulness in gathering up the waifs of society is an urgent need, and to this end child-protective organizations should be strengthened and encouraged.

The orphanage method of rearing dependent children is now generally recognized as out of date and undesirable. By wise social measures the natural home life must be saved to the child, and if there is unavoidable homelessness, the foster home plan, with proper safeguards, is next best.

The segregation of the feeble-minded is acknowledged to be imperative by all engaged in social welfare work, and delay in organizing suitable colonies is due entirely to the expense involved. This will be taken up as one of the special subjects for consideration. With better organization and more liberal expenditure in preventive work, the population of our prisons and asylums might be materially reduced, with a corresponding reduction in the cost of police protection and judicial machinery.

Commendable attention is now being given to public health, and with the more general adoption of medical inspection of school children, defects and deformities will be prevented or checked.

The recreation and playground movement, with social centres in all our towns and villages, if given more public recognition and encouragement, will add materially to the health and happiness of the nation.

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But let us not forget that to adequately help the child we must be interested in a higher standard of living and in all that pertains to the home. The child is the central figure in all social reform. Do we not seek:

Better housing, that children may have a happier home life.

Widows' relief fund—that children may have a mother's care, instead of the orphanage or the reform school.

Workmen's compensation, that children may not be left destitute and uncared for.

Sun-lit and sanitary factories, that the father's life may be prolonged for the sake of his dependent children.

Better wages, that fathers may have more money to spend on their children.

Shorter hours of labor, that they may become better acquainted with their children.

Labor exchanges, that fathers need not be idle and the home deprived of earnings.

Playgrounds, that children may gain a reserve of strength for life's duties.

Vocational training, that they may be efficient workers in the industrial army.

In fact, there is no social question that does not either directly or indirectly bear upon the welfare of the child, and so with confidence we urge upon the nation, as well as upon the legislatures, the claim of this great movement for child-culture and protection.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD.

R. L. SCOTT, K.C., OTTAWA.

It is commonly said that the first right of a child is to be well born. Around this proposition is being built up the most recent of the sciences (if science it may yet be called), Eugenics. In so far as the exponents of it aim to bring about the prevention of reproduction by mental defectives, and perhaps also by the sufferers from certain chronic physical diseases of admittedly hereditary character, such as the black plague, they are in the right track. Beyond this I think in the present state of our knowledge we should hesitate to go. It may be a simple matter to breed good cattle, but men and women are something more than that, and the laws of heredity as applied to human beings are too complex, and as yet too little understood, to make it safe for us to enter on any wholesale regulation of marriage, in the interests of the prospective children.

The laws of heredity have certain definite limits, the nature of which is commonly misunderstood. It is quite true that each man is born with certain attributes and qualities which differentiate him from every other individual who ever was or ever will be born. It is, however, equally true that the really important thing is the manner and degree of development of those attributes and qualities. Probably no one has ever attained to the fullest and best development of which he is capable. Let me illustrate! If you give your cook a turnip, you cannot expect her, by the exercise of any amount of culinary skill, to transform it into a beet; but according to the degree of that skill which she possesses she may send to the table a dish, whether it be of beets or of turnips, palatable and wholesome or indigestible and unappetizing.

A man is born without knowledge or ideas. All these he must acquire from his surroundings through the channel of his senses. Similarly a man is not born either good or evil. To be good or to be evil is to conform or to fail to conform to the moral law, and a knowledge of what that law prescribes must first be acquired from without. In other words, criminality is not, and cannot be, hereditary. One might as well speak of a hereditary knowledge of algebra or Greek grammar. What a man does inherit is certain instincts. These cannot be wiped out or exchanged for others, but they can be developed either into something good or into some-

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thing evil. Take the instinct of acquisitiveness. Whether it will make of the boy a thief or a thrifty and substantial citizen and tax payer, depends on the environment. Take gregariousness. Whether it leads to the lawless street gang or to the baseball or hockey team, depends on the available play facilities. Take the instinct of fighting. Out of it may equally be made either the thug and murderer, or the fearless champion of the right. It is the right of the child to be afforded an environment which will develop his instincts in such a way as to make them tend towards good, rather than towards evil. On this depends whether he will grow up a good citizen or a criminal. If the environment is capable of sufficient improvement, it should be improved. If not, it is the child's right to be removed from it and placed in another and better one.

Probably from 90 to 95 per cent. of children coming for the first time before the courts are normal children who, if taken in time, can be dealt with by the regulation of their environment. Of the remaining 5 or 10 per cent., a certain proportion are mentally below normal. This class will be dealt with later by Dr. MacMurphy. Suffice it to say that they demand permanent institutional care. Another proportion are physically defective, and to this fact their delinquency is more or less directly due. A child may be suffering from adenoids, eye strain, ear ache or some other physical derangement, the effect of which is to make a constant demand on the child's nerve force. As the available nervous energy is limited, the other functions of the body are robbed of a portion of what they require, the vitality is lowered and an abnormal condition often results akin to mental derangement, and sometimes leading to it. The removal of the cause, perhaps by a simple operation, often results in truly remarkable improvement in the child, not only physical and mental, but even moral. It is the right of every child to be examined for mental and physical defects, and to receive such treatment as the examination shows to be necessary or desirable. There should be medical inspection of the schools, and in addition every child coming before a Juvenile Court should be submitted to a most careful and thorough medical examination.

Having ascertained that a delinquent child is not defective, either mentally or physically, his case should receive a study much more careful and thorough than is commonly given to it. The probation officer should start from the premises that there is some cause or combination of causes which is responsible for the condition of the child, and should not rest until this is laid bare. The

true cause of delinquency is sometimes very difficult to discover. I was particularly struck with a case referred to in an address recently published by a probation officer of experience. The boy in question had been a good boy until about a year previously. Since then he had become a truant, had frequently stayed away from home for days or weeks at a time, and had been arrested several times for theft. The parents were excellent people and the home a good one from every point of view. The boy was above the average mentally and had no physical defects. He assumed a strong anti-social attitude and was quite hostile to the probation officer. It took several interviews and the exercise of much tact to get at what was in his mind. Finally he stated that about a year before a neighbor had told him that the woman he had always looked on as his mother was in fact only his step-mother. This intelligence came as a great shock to him. He brooded in secret over it until his whole life became embittered. He imagined all sorts of petty discriminations against himself, and in favor of his little half-brothers and sisters. Finally he came to believe that the world was all against him and that there was nothing for it but to become a "bad man." His father had had no idea of what was passing in the boy's mind, and when told was quite astounded. He had, through kindness, concealed the fact that his second wife was not the mother of the boy. How many probation officers (even in the few places where there are such things) would have discovered the real cause of this boy's delinquency? Yet how, without knowing the cause, could the boy have been adequately helped?

The laws making provision for the improvement of the environment of children are of two classes: (1) The Provincial Children's Protection Acts dealing primarily with neglected children as such and granting power, where the home cannot be improved, to take the children and place them in foster homes. (2) The Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act, dealing with delinquent children, and making provision for the establishment of modern juvenile courts and of a system of probation for children. Provincial Acts are now in force in all of the Provinces except Quebec, and much good is being done under them. Speaking generally, their chief defect is that adequate funds for the carrying on of the work have not been provided. Too much reliance is placed upon voluntary effort, and the work is in consequence more or less spasmodic and lacking in thoroughness. A vast number of children who need help are not reached. Yet it is obviously false economy to allow children to grow up criminals or paupers,

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who could, by the expenditure of a little money on the salaries of social workers, be converted into good citizens.

With regard to the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act, the present situation, speaking of the Dominion as a whole, is still more disappointing. The Act is put in force by proclamation only where facilities for its proper carrying out have been locally provided. This is wise, as otherwise the law would become a dead letter. But though the Act has now been on the statute books since 1908, the spread of the system has been very slow. It is in force in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Halifax and Charlottetown. Alberta will very soon enjoy the distinction of being the first Province to have the Act proclaimed throughout the whole Province. It was hoped by the promoters of the Act that long ere this several Provinces would have accepted it. It was hoped that the Province of Ontario would have been the first to do so, but after six years there is no word of any movement to provide for this. The Act is in force in Toronto and Ottawa, and probation is in voluntary operation in a few other places, in the case of which applications to have the Act proclaimed are pending. Throughout the rest of the province no attempt is being made to apply modern probationary methods in dealing with delinquent children. The same is true of the other provinces (except Alberta) outside the few places mentioned above where the Act has been proclaimed.

The delinquent child is the victim of circumstances. It needs, not punishment, but help. It is the paramount right of every delinquent, as well as of every neglected child, that its case should be given intelligent study, and that it should receive appropriate treatment. The child question lies at the root of many other of the social questions which are being studied by this Congress. If children had their full rights, many of the evils which we are seeking to combat would be found in the next generation to have almost or quite disappeared. In helping on the cause of the children, therefore, we are doing more for permanent social uplift than could be accomplished through any other form of social service.

DEFECTIVE CHILDREN.

HELEN MacMURCHY, M.D.

There are words we regret to associate—such as these two—Defective Children. It is against nature, for every evolutionary resource and strength is utilized by nature to bring the babe to birth fair and well. Would that there were no defective children in Canada—and there are not many compared with all the great host we count in the treasure-house of our national jewels—yet, in Ottawa, in Halifax, in Victoria, and in all the cities between, you will find the handicapped child.

Which, and why, and what shall we do for them? Which are they? They are these: (1) those who cannot hear well; (2) those who cannot see well; (3) those who cannot walk well; (4) those who cannot think well. Why? Because we have not considered their case to prevent these great misfortunes. There are a great many reforms, and this is one of them, that stand behind the gate waiting for an enlightened public opinion. Nothing else has sufficient momentum behind it to accomplish real reforms effectively. Nothing else can turn sufficient electric power on the question of the defective child to light it up thoroughly and to make it move towards an adequate solution.

What shall we do for them? If, then, there are—and there are—children whose hearing, or whose sight, or whose limbs, or whose minds are so defective that they cannot hear enough to learn well at school, or cannot see enough to learn well at school, or cannot walk well enough to get to school, or cannot understand enough to learn well at school, what shall we do for them?

1. We must find them out. No fads are wanted in Canada, but we are not going to waste our good money by letting children occupy places in school without making all the capital invested in lands, buildings, teachers, books and time, for public school work as productive as it can be made.

If a child cannot hear or cannot see, that child is either being educated at a loss or not being educated at all.

The child is not getting the education. It is therefore necessary that parents, teachers, school nurses, and School Medical Inspectors should find out somehow whether the children hear and see, so that they can learn. This is an essential matter, and it is often quite neglected. It is well known to those who have a thor-

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ough practical knowledge of this work that poor hearing, or poor sight often exists to quite an important extent, and neither parent, child, nor teacher knows it, because the matter has never been properly tested and investigated. Any one who has anything to do with children or schools should regard this as a primary responsibility and should see that it is attended to. For powerful aid in this matter we look to scientific, economical and sensible practical medical inspection of schools.

2. We must bring the education within their reach. Sometimes a seat in the front row will remove the educational handicap in slighter cases. But in the more serious, we need, at least in the great cities of Canada, some special classes in the public schools, and special facilities for the children with sight and hearing so poor that otherwise they lose their chance of education. In these classes lip-reading and plain enormous type, and many other helps secure good educational results. The time has come when this needs to be considered. In one Canadian city, the oculist on the staff of a children's hospital has shown me that he has at least twenty children with such poor sight that most of them do not go to school at all, or learn next to nothing if they do. That is not the way to make a good self-supporting citizen. The loss is the child's and ours and Canada's.

So is the loss the child's loss and ours and Canada's when children who are disabled by accident or by tuberculosis or by infantile paralysis do not get to school. Our streets are full of cars and carts, of busses and motors and wagons, of ambulances and automobiles and horses and carriages—they could be put to no better use than to carry such children to school.

Probably half this audience are thinking: "O there are very few children who are physically disabled." Do you know the situation? In the first place, there are many cities in Canada with no law for compulsory education, and there is no city in Canada that has a complete register of her children. It has not been attempted, as far as I know. Not till we have it shall we know how many cannot go to school on account of physical disabilities. Ask the doctors. Do you remember the epidemic of infantile paralysis in the Ottawa Valley? The victims of that epidemic—and they were too many—will soon reach school age. Many of them will find it very hard to get to school. Not long ago I saw a little girl eight years old in a Canadian city. Her father is a laboring man, quite unable to pay for anything more than food and clothes and shelter for his six children out of his wages—nothing over for such an expense as conveyance to school. Both the little girl's

lower limbs are quite useless from an attack of infantile paralysis, and she can only creep along the floor like a baby. How is she going to get to school? We must bring education within the reach of such children by conveying them to and from school if necessary. This is done in other countries.

Children with poor sight and poor hearing, and disabled children, should not be sent to institutions if it is possible, and it generally is, to keep them at home, or at least in the community. The one institution for the child is the family home.

These things are all true—but we have not yet reached the root of this matter. We must do our best for those who are defective—but prevention is better than palliation.

Why should any child be deaf? It is well known that deafness is hereditary to some extent. The majority of cases of acquired deafness in Canada probably come from scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles. These diseases are preventable and must be prevented, and every case of any of these diseases must be thoroughly and carefully treated, and as many cases, and these usually the most serious ones, are treated in our isolation hospitals, there should be attached to every isolation hospital the best specialist in ear disease we can get. Then our public health authorities should soon demand that every case of meningitis and every case of syphilis should be reported, so that they may be properly treated. The last named disease is specially important as a cause of deafness in the thrice unhappy children of those who have this disease of sin and shame.

So with poor sight. The thorough registration and superintendence of the work of midwives (a task not even touched yet—not even mentioned yet—in Canada) and the care of mothers and babies where the family cannot afford to pay for such care would reduce our cases of poor eyesight and blindness enormously. So would early treatment of every eye affection. Does everybody here know that strabismus or squint, if the poor child who has it is three or four years old, has usually resulted in blindness of the affected eye? Everybody should know that strabismus or squint must be treated in very early childhood. The provision of proper glasses alone would greatly reduce difficulties of sight in school. So would more attention to good type in books and the proper lighting of school-rooms.

The researches of Noguchi, Rosenau, and others have at last thrown some light on the cause and transmissions of infantile paralysis (anterior poliomyelites). It is certainly contagious and

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is probably carried by the stable-fly. The fly can be and must be exterminated.

The most important topic has been left to the last. We refer to mentally defective children. Retarded or backward children are not defective. The mind is there—but it has not had its share of sunlight yet perhaps, and growth is slow on account of being in the "cold shades of opposition" or the colder shades of illness or misfortune. Give them sun and they will grow. But mentally defective or feeble minded children need badly to be found, and when they are found they must be cared for permanently. They may be found best by providing special classes for those who do not get on. The special class shows the difference between the backward child who can and the feeble minded children who cannot get on. As soon as the fact of mental defect is certain, mentally defective persons must be cared for, in a permanent and adequate manner, so that they may be happy, so that they may associate with their equals (one of the greatest conditions of happiness), so that they may learn some simple trade or industry under supervision, and so be able wholly or partly to support themselves, so that society may be protected from their inefficiency, errors, misdemeanors and crimes, and so that mentally defective children may not be born to them in turn, thus deteriorating the national character and increasing the national burden. These conditions can seldom be secured in a private home, but they can be secured, and economically and permanently secured, in training schools and homes for the feeble-minded of the farm colony type.

One more word. It has been shown that in New York a large percentage of mentally defective children in the public schools are foreign-born or of foreign-born parentage, and it is well known to every intelligent Canadian that the number of recent immigrants who drift into institutions for the neuropathic, the feeble minded and the insane is very great. Here is a page from our own record. It is shown by the Report of the Minister of the Interior for the year ending March 31st, 1912, Sessional Paper No. 25, p. 125:—Table 1, Total Detentions—Cause of detention, feeble-mindedness. Number detained on account of feeble-mindedness, 47. Number debarred, 23. Number released, 24.

THE JUVENILE COURT.

HIS HONOR JUDGE CHOQUET, MONTREAL.

There are few people who will deny the assertion that the introduction of Juvenile Courts into our Dominion marked a step in advance towards establishing newer ideas, and more just and humane methods of dealing with youthful offenders. This, time has clearly demonstrated.

The Juvenile Court is not only a place where children and their parents are humanely treated, and their steps turned in the right direction, but it is also a great national asset, saving as it does thousands of children from becoming habitual criminals. Last year 2,500 children passed before me for various offences, out of which number only 160 were sent to the reformatory, and 2,340 were let out on probation. It is safe to say that if it were not for our system of handling and advising both parents and children, many of these would be leading lives which would end in the reformatory or penitentiary. The money saved to the State is enormous, but the saving in the lives and morals of these future citizens cannot be estimated in terms of gold.

There is no department of the State of more importance than the administration of the Juvenile Courts. No pains nor money should be spared in bringing these courts to the highest state of efficiency. They pay for themselves a thousand times over in the saving of our children from institutions, gaols and penitentiaries.

THE JUDGE.

In a city like Montreal, which to-day is absolutely cosmopolitan, a judge in the Juvenile Court has a very difficult position to fill. Many of the children who are brought in front of him are of foreign extraction and of different religion, whose parents have but lately arrived in the country, and who know nothing of the laws and language of the new land. Consequently, a judge has to exercise an enormous amount of tact and patience in considering cases of the most complex character. Often he cannot understand the parents, and they cannot understand him. The training should be towards assimilation and not as it is now, distinctive and separate. The laws and customs have to be impressed upon these parents and children, and the judge must make them realize the necessity of observing the laws and customs

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of the country, and often must explain these laws and customs to the parents and children. These people are obsessed with the idea of making money, consequently the duties of citizenship are almost ignored, with the result that the home training is lacking and sometimes bad. They often do not know why their children are brought in front of the court, and instead of trying to help the judge and officers to understand the case, they will lie in order to screen themselves and their children. Here the judge must have great understanding of human nature; patience and wisdom is even more necessary than a thorough understanding of criminal law, dealing as he is with the most primitive instincts, which are so subtle and so strong between parents and their children, laws and forces which are the very basis of the social fabric.

PROBATION OFFICERS.

The judge must be assisted by probation officers, men and women, who really act as his eyes and ears, with a thorough understanding of social conditions, possessed of great patience and tact, also a great love and understanding of children and their problems. Their duties are to make investigations and convey to the judge all possible information regarding the various cases, so as to enable him to do what is best for both parent and child. In making these investigations, great care and tact are necessary, as they will have to weigh the information that they receive from the parents, neighbors, teachers, and employers of the children, and decide whether such information is honestly and impartially given or not. They must also be capable of making friends of the children with whom they come in contact, as a child will speak freely to a person whom he trusts, but will be stubborn with, or lie hopelessly to, a person whom he dislikes or distrusts.

These officers should be named by the judge, and be responsible to him only, by whom they could be displaced if found unsatisfactory. These officers should be well educated, and a high type morally, as their influence on the children is very great.

THE DETENTION HOUSE.

Attached to the court there should be a house of detention, divided into two parts—one for boys, another for girls—where the children can be kept while necessary investigation is proceeding. These two divisions should be again sub-divided, so that children of vicious habits could be kept separated entirely from those who are not naturally bad. Occupation in the form of games

and education of some sort, suitable to the age and knowledge of the children detained, should be provided, so that they will feel as little as possible their detention. There should also be a library, gymnasium, and playground, so that they should not suffer loss of health. There should be a matron and an assistant matron in charge of a detention house, and guards. The matron is just as essential for the boys as she is for the girls, and women are continually proving their value and efficiency in such capacity. Needless to add, those attached to the detention house should be as free as possible from petty officialdom. They should be broad, humane, and educated, as their influence on a child during its detention may turn the entire trend of its life.

There should be two branches of the Juvenile Court; one branch for children who have broken an article of the criminal code; the other branch to look after the children who are being improperly educated, insufficiently clothed or fed, and who, if not given the necessary means of development are likely to become undeveloped or undesirable citizens.

NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

In dealing with neglected children, we do not mean to usurp the authority of the parents, but the child must be protected. So far as this department is concerned, it should be formed along the same lines as the Juvenile Court; but the children should not be summoned before the court as if they were delinquents, nor should children be detained in a detention home or reformatory set apart for delinquent children while investigation is proceeding. This is especially necessary, as in such cases we are not really dealing with the punishment of offences, but with their prevention.

After investigation has been made, and it is found that the fault lies with the parents, on account of their own vices, then the children should be taken from them and placed in homes permanently, or until such time as the parents can satisfy the officers or judge of the court that they are fit and proper persons to have the care of their children.

Where the parents are not habitual drunkards or given to vicious lives, and are honestly doing their best, but through sickness or unemployment cannot support and educate their children, the court should only interfere in so far as to recommend them to grants of charity or give advice. If a father or mother is

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drunken or vicious, they should be removed from the family, as their influence is only harmful and pernicious.

HOME INFLUENCE.

There is no influence more potent, no influence that can take the place of that of the child's natural guardians—the parents. The influence and teaching which is impressed upon the child during the tender years of its life is never forgotten; if the influence is good, the child becomes a good citizen; if it is bad, it usually goes from bad to worse. For this reason, where there is a widow who is a proper mother and doing her best for her children, I believe we should adopt some means of helping her to remain at home with her children, and do her duty by them and the nation. The lessons learned at the mother's knee in the home influence men and women all their lives. Therefore, a good mother's place is the home, and she should be helped to remain there when necessary.

CIGARETTES.

Fully ninety-five per cent. of the boys brought before me smoke cigarettes. Many of these boys have become moral and mental wrecks from their use. Those selling such harmful commodities as liquor, drugs and cigarettes to juveniles, as well as the receivers of stolen goods, should receive the full penalty of the law, as these people contribute to child delinquency in its worst forms. The law is not now severe enough. I strongly advise severer penalties for offenders of this class.

MOVING PICTURES.

Moving pictures likewise influence children to a marked degree. We have laws regulating the admittance of children under certain ages who are unprotected, but these laws are being continually broken. Children who frequent these places soon acquire a passion for them, and will steal or do almost anything to get the money to go.

The picture now shown are of little educational value. They are almost useless. They should be made a means of education, and so influence the children for good. As they now are, while some of them are good, very many of them are really more injurious than instructive. They fascinate children of all ages, and create wrong ideals of life, if not properly used. The moving pictures and cigarettes have such an injurious effect on children that every means ought to be used to protect them.

The moving pictures are here to stay. It is no longer a question of abolishing them, but one of bringing them up to a

higher moral tone. They fascinate children by the thousands, and are a great source of stimulating thought, which has its reflection in action. We do not yet realize the powerful influence they have on the mind of the child. Pictures representing cheap drama of all kinds should not be allowed, as this has a very harmful effect. Many boys brought before me for offences of shooting and playing wild west heroes, admitted candidly, when asked why they did this, or where they learned to steal, that they saw it at the movies.

EDUCATION.

No child should be allowed to grow up without sufficient and proper education. If it does, it sooner or later becomes a charge upon the nation. It is amazing how many children are brought before me who cannot read nor write, without any training morally, and no idea whatsoever of the meaning of honor or truth. Such citizens are a menace and a disgrace to any nation. Parents come to me every day complaining that their children will not attend school. There is no law which obliges the parent to send his child to school, or which makes it possible for me to punish or fine them for not doing so. These children now growing up will be the parents of our future citizens. How can an ignorant parent train or control the child with any degree of success? One of the main causes of delinquency and subsequent crime among children is the fact that they are not educated and trained to be good citizens. The time which should be spent in school is passed in running the streets, learning the ways of idleness. These children later develop into criminals and are constantly before the police courts. Who is to blame? The school curriculum should include social and sex hygiene. My experience shows me that children should be taught from a very early age how to protect themselves against their own ignorance, and also against older and more vicious companions. Many cases of children addicted to secret vice or the victims of others, come before me, too late in many cases to repair the injury done. The school has a duty here as well as the parent.

I also consider that the most essential teaching that can be given to a child in school is to inculcate into its very nature the habit of truth. This I believe to be the very basis of all education, and no school can turn out proper citizens if every one of its teachers does not make a special point of impressing the sense of honor upon their pupils.

The Juvenile Court is not yet perfect, and there is need for many amendments to the Juvenile Act before it can be made so.

Is the Act passed by Federal Parliament sufficient and broad

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enough to enable the judge acting under its authority to make it effective for the welfare of the children? Clause 31 reads in part as follows: "That the care and custody and discipline of a juvenile delinquent shall approximate as nearly as possible the advice given him by his parents, and that every juvenile delinquent be treated as a misguided child, instead as a criminal."

To a large extent, therefore, the judge must take the place of the father, but his powers should be clearly defined. He cannot go beyond the powers given him by the law. He has to deal with juvenile delinquents and cannot go beyond clause No. 2 of the Juvenile Act, which limits his powers. There are many acts of delinquency which are not covered in that clause, for instance, immoral conduct, disobedience, refusing to go to school, frequenting moving pictures and pool rooms, etc., which contribute largely to child delinquency. Most of the Provincial Legislatures have passed laws which have supplemented this Act to some extent, but the law officers of the Province of Quebec have expressed great doubts as to the jurisdiction of Provincial Legislatures in regard to the power to create offences, even juvenile delinquences.

The law on these questions should be uniform all over the Dominion. I would suggest that the following acts of delinquency be added to those mentioned in paragraph C, clause 2, of the Juvenile Act:

"A juvenile delinquent means also any child who is incorrigible or who knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral persons, or who, without just cause and without the consent of its parents or custodian, absents itself from or deserts its home or place of abode, or who is growing up in idleness or crime, or who knowingly frequents a house of ill-fame or leads an immoral life privately, or who knowingly patronizes any policy shop or place where any gaming devices are or shall be operated, or who frequents any saloon or dram shop where intoxicating liquors are sold, or who patronizes or visits any public pool-room or bucket-shop, without being on any lawful business or occupation, or who habitually wanders about any railroad yards or tracks, or jumps or hooks on to any moving train, or enters any car or engine without lawful authority, or who habitually uses vulgar, vile, obscene, profane or indecent language, or is guilty of immoral conduct in any public place or about any school house."

In cases where it is necessary to pass sentence on a boy or girl, I take especial care to give a sentence which will not allow the child out into temptation before the age of sixteen at least, as

I consider this a very critical time in a child's life. Therefore, when parents and friends seek to obtain release for such children, it should not be granted without a thorough investigation into the case.

As the law stands at present, it is much too lenient for women leading immoral lives. The average sentence is about three months. This is neither punishment nor prevention, and I would recommend that any woman found to be leading an immoral life should be sentenced to at least three years. This would give her time to consider and realize the folly of her ways, and as her former environment would be completely changed, there would be a better chance of reformation. With these amendments the Juvenile Court will become a power for the protection not only of the children, but also of their parents.

Some people are much concerned at what they think is the increase of child delinquency. But child delinquency is really not increasing. The population has been increasing at a very rapid rate. Thousands of people are pouring in every year, unaccustomed to our laws and regulations. We are only now beginning to touch the sources that have so long contributed to child delinquency. If there are more cases, it is due to the better protection that is afforded the child, and the enforcement of the laws under the Juvenile Act. This only goes to prove again what a force is the Juvenile Court in protecting the morals, not only of children, but of the community.

I hope before long to see established in every large city, a Domestic Relations court. It is greatly needed, and would be undoubtedly a great help in settling family disputes, which should not be brought up in the Police Courts. This court should, however, be entirely separate from the children's court as to officers and administration. The children must always be kept as far as possible in their own environment. In this way they can best be dealt with and saved.

After all, the children should be the nation's first consideration. They are our citizens of to-morrow, and any expenditure of time or money, of thought and effort, will come back to the nation two-fold in the quality of its citizenship. This is building from the foundation up. Let us see that our foundation is as solid as it rests in our power to make it.

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PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS.

MRS. ROSE HENDERSON, MONTREAL.

The Mother: The dependent widowed mother will form the topic of my address to-day.

There is no figure in society to-day more deserving of our earnest consideration than the widowed mother with her family dependent and penniless.

In discussing a pension for mothers, three considerations must guide us. First, the need; second, the financial aspect and what other countries have done; and lastly, its religious, moral and humane aspect.

First, its necessity. The proposal to endow mothers must have become necessary or else it would never have become law, and the arguments I have to bring forth in favor of mothers' pensions are advanced from the standpoint of our social and economic conditions. Mothers' pensions have become law in at least twenty-one States to the south of us, and twelve other States are petitioning and legislating for it, and expect it to become law within a year. Germany spends millions annually looking after her needy mothers and children; most of the countries of Europe have adopted mothers' pensions; New Zealand and Australia lead in advanced legislation on this subject; Switzerland will tolerate institutions for neither children nor old people; and Japan makes the relations, even down to the second and third cousin, responsible for orphans left without support.

The average wage of men in industry to-day is less than five hundred dollars a year. During the last twenty years prices have gone up forty-five per cent., while wages have only advanced about half. On this wage it is almost impossible to live. It means that the mother must leave her children to the care of an older child and also send the children of tender age into the factories and stores to try and eke out an existence. Under these conditions insurance is out of the question, and to suggest putting money away for a rainy day out of a salary not enough to clothe and feed a family, is not only farcical, but immoral and dangerous to the family and community. Men to-day do not earn enough to belong to their unions, much less to save money. The average worker's child can-

not afford to stay out of the factory after it reaches the age of ten or twelve years.

Industrial accidents are also claiming a number of men in the prime of life. In nine cases out of ten, these men leave a wife and young family, the oldest very often not older than eight or nine, and unable to assist in maintaining the family. In cases of this kind the suffering is very great; the mother must leave her home to earn a pittance to keep body and soul together, while the children run the streets half clothed, half fed and uneducated, and eventually are brought into the Juvenile Court, most of them in time finding their way to the reformatory, which many times is but the vestibule to the jail and penitentiary. We cannot blame either mother or children, society alone is responsible and must evolve a method dealing more humanely with the widow and orphan.

We must realize, no matter what our prejudices are, that home life for the masses has been almost destroyed by our modern industrial conditions. It is no use talking about the sacredness of home unless we consider shacks and overcrowded tenements sacred.

The Institution is a costly affair. The charges for superintendents, nurses, teachers, doctors, servants and all kinds of helpers are very great. All this extra expense is saved when you leave the child in its home with its mother. The mother asks nothing for her labor. Henry Neil, Chicago, says: "The facts I have gathered concerning the unhappy careers of children brought up in institutions sufficiently condemns them in the mind of any right-minded person." Judge Pinckney, Juvenile Court, Chicago, says: "I am an ardent supporter of mothers' pensions since the Act was passed giving pensions to mothers. Thousands of mothers and children are being made happy. It is helping us to do a great work!"

The Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society's last report shows a deficit of \$197.03, with an income of \$15,166.35, for the maintenance of nine old women and forty-seven boys and forty-two girls. The cost for each head is \$156.75 yearly, equal to \$13 a month, to which you must add all the many monthly donations. Counting interest on the investment, the keep per annum for 89 children and 9 old women reaches about \$19,000, of which only \$7,216.43 went to the support of the 98 inmates. Is this not the most flagrant extravagance? The cost of other institutions is, in some cases, twice this amount, with no better results.

The cost in Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Hungary and Denmark for a child's maintenance is about \$50.00 annually in foster homes. Where no parents are living, in Chicago the cost per child is at least \$200.00 annually. It costs the city, for the maintenance

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of its delinquent and dependent children, \$200,000 yearly. Lyman Industrial School of Massachusetts costs, per child, \$296; Cincinnati, \$172; George Junior Republic, \$350 to \$375; Children's Village, New York, \$200; State of New York Agriculture and Industrial School, \$284; State Industrial School, Mass., \$294; Chicago Parental School, \$427; the Boys' Farm, Shawbridge, P.Q., \$281.

The matron of the Protestant Orphanage, Montreal, says \$300 is about the average cost. Some children cost more. 1,054 children were placed on the relief list last year in Chicago, at the institutional rate of \$15 per girl and \$10 per boy each month; it would have cost the State \$157,260 to keep the same number at home. Under the Fund to Parents Act it would have cost a little over \$80,000, allowing \$10 per month for each child, thus saving \$77,260. In view of this showing it is not surprising to read in the report of the New York charities as follows: "It is questionable if under a proper system many of these children could not have been kept at home with their families and allowed to grow up under better and more natural conditions of life. Again—there is reason to believe that the use of public money in the City of New York, in order to prevent the breaking up of homes and the commitment of children to institutions, would, in the majority of cases, prove to be more economical and a more humane piece of work."

The Fund to Parents Act is economical. This has been clearly demonstrated in Illinois.

Mr. Henry Neil, of Chicago, says after three years of continuous and strenuous work for a pension for mothers of dependent children, he succeeded in getting the Illinois Act passed last year without a dissenting voice, and last month in Chicago 380 mothers with 1,306 children received \$8,145 towards the support of their children for one month. Next month these same mothers will get the same amount, and more mothers will be added to this pension roll of honor—a roll of good mothers aiding the State to keep their children out of charity institutions. Under this law the mother is hired by the State to bring up her own children in her own home, under natural and normal conditions, thus preventing the children and mother eventually becoming a charge on the State by degenerating into incompetents, and at half the cost to the tax payers that it takes to bring them up in institutions.

What do we who believe in mothers' pensions want? We desire that the money allowed by the tax payers for the care of fatherless and needy children should be given entirely to the mothers, on the grounds that institutional life is bad for the child, and uses up twice the amount of the tax payers' money that would

be used if the mother was allowed to remain at home and keep her children with her. We believe that the child is the nation's greatest asset, and that patriotism, morality and good citizenship are born and nourished in the home, that the child to grow up to be normal, useful and self-respecting, must have his life and training in the home and the community, by his mother. We hold the just view "that if a woman bears and rears her children for the service of the State, she does her duty without earning their living as well, and we recognize the justice of the claim that if a mother risks her life for her children, she is entitled to the pleasures in which mother love finds its greatest compensation, namely, caring for her children at home. In granting mothers' pensions, the State will honor motherhood, and save money."

"We must be careful not to pauperize," say some comfortable wiseacres. We pension Royalty, noblemen, statesmen, judges, civil servants, industrial magnates, army and naval officers, all in receipt of good salaries during their lives. Is there any reason why our widowed mothers with young children should not be pensioned? Thirty-three bishops and archbishops in the House of Lords in England draw large pensions for practically doing nothing but opposing progressive measures introduced for the amelioration of the lot of the poor. Would anyone suggest that these noble lords were being pauperized by their pensions?

The Mothers' Pension Act aims to protect the home as the center of human life and activity. We hold that the family ties, deeply embedded as they are in the laws of nature and life, are the greatest source of the strength, morality and stability of the social order, and should not be broken. We aim to direct the money now spent on matrons and institutions to the maintenance of the child in its proper environment, the home, to employ the mother to bring up her own children in her own home, instead of a matron in an institution. We aim to save tax payers and philanthropists half the money now paid by keeping children in their own home at half the expense. Nations have risen to power and eminence and have fallen, because the children, mothers and homes of the masses were not taken into account, and nations will again rise and fall until we recognize that no nation can be great until built on the staple foundation of good, strong men and women. That foundation must be built in the home; by the motherhood and childhood of the nation. Let our watchword be "save the nation through the home."

The church and nation proclaim the sanctity of the home. To subsidize the dependent mother to carry out her parental duties

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in the home, is but putting our beliefs, which we admit to be right, into practical form, applying our Christianity.

The injustice to the child we can never estimate. Thousands of fatherless children are sent out into the world annually unfitted both in mind and body to earn a living. These untrained, unskilled boys and girls, half educated, and often half nourished, soon become the prey of older and more worldly companions. Untrained in business or ways of city life, they prove to be plastic material for these chance undesirable acquaintances, and before long they are brought up in the juvenile or police courts, and the step to the jail and penitentiary is but a short and often an easy one.

There is a freedom about home, school and community life which is absolutely necessary to the development of the child. Through this environment the child must evolve in order to try out and strengthen his character and overcome weaknesses and meanness, which he can only discover in free exchange with other children. This valuable and necessary part of his training he is deprived of if shut up in an institution. He is deprived of initiative which is the chief characteristic of every normal, healthy child, deprived of the joy of whipping, or the discipline of being whipped by, another companion for some fancied wrong; deprived of the competitive games of skill and daring on the playground; deprived of the training of being a leader, an active member or merely one of the group, learning leadership, subordination, principle and self-effacement; deprived of association with the many and complex characters which form the most coveted hours of a child's life. Added to this, the breaking of the most sacred and binding of all ties—the influence of a mother's love, counsel, and home, the love and companionship, advice or admonition of brothers, sisters and relations, and what is there left to keep a strong character from becoming weak, or to make a weak character strong?

It is not possible for a matron or her assistants to generate mother love or give individual care. They are not there to perform that service, nor could they if they would. Their duty is to run the institution as cleanly and as cheaply as possible; institutions are rarely, if ever, overburdened with any surplus save a surplus of mouths to feed. If there is any cutting down of expenses it is usually the children who feel it most; it is either the food or service which must be economized on.

The institutional child is further handicapped through an inferior education. The education and training is not thorough nor complete when the child is put out to work, unfitted for anything in particular, thrust out at an early age amongst strangers without

the restraining influence of the mother, home or relations. It is like a bird with its wings clipped; it cannot ever hope to soar. This fact becomes apparent to the child before long; it becomes disheartened, and if it ever had ideals they quickly flee, leaving only a hopeless, friendless, immature, mechanical human being to make its way in a strange world. Having eaten, slept, washed, marched and thought by bell and rule for so many years, it is little more than a machine, and this accounts in part for the prevalent idea amongst so many people that institutional children are of an inferior creation both normally and mentally. The child also feels the stigma of being a foundling; it feels a sense of shame at being brought up through the charity of others which it can never hope to repay.

The widowed mother with the helpless family should compel the pity and admiration of every right-thinking man and woman; yet what is the treatment meted out to her by society to-day? When the support of the father is lost the home is destroyed, the children are placed in different institutions according to age and rule, and the mother is left childless. This is a real cruelty to the mother and a terrible disadvantage to the children, and the fact that poverty alone enforces these conditions is a stain on the nation.

Can there be any crueller or more unhuman or unchristian way of dealing with a mother than to separate her from her children through no fault of her own, with only poverty as our excuse? The good men and women of the South rose up in their might and beat slavery out of the country, and one of their greatest grievances was the separation of the children from their mothers, yet nearly all over this country we are separating mothers from their children, breaking ties that were not made by either Church or State, ties above all else secret and divine, separating these mothers from their children and the children from the one human being above all others who loves them most, and not this alone, but the children from one another—depriving them of God's greatest gift to mankind—home love of mother and brothers and sisters.

The mothers of the poor love their children intensely. They are all they have in life, their only comfort, their only hope, the only thing which brightens and makes life worth striving for. What tongue or pen can describe the feeling of these mothers whose children would never have been taken from them had it not been for poverty! The world sees little of their sorrow; they do not hang their heart or tales of sorrow on their sleeve; their sorrow, like their love, is deep and too sacred for the cold, cruel, critical world to let see. They are sensitive—their poverty crushes and makes them so—they suffer in silence, knowing from experience that they will re-

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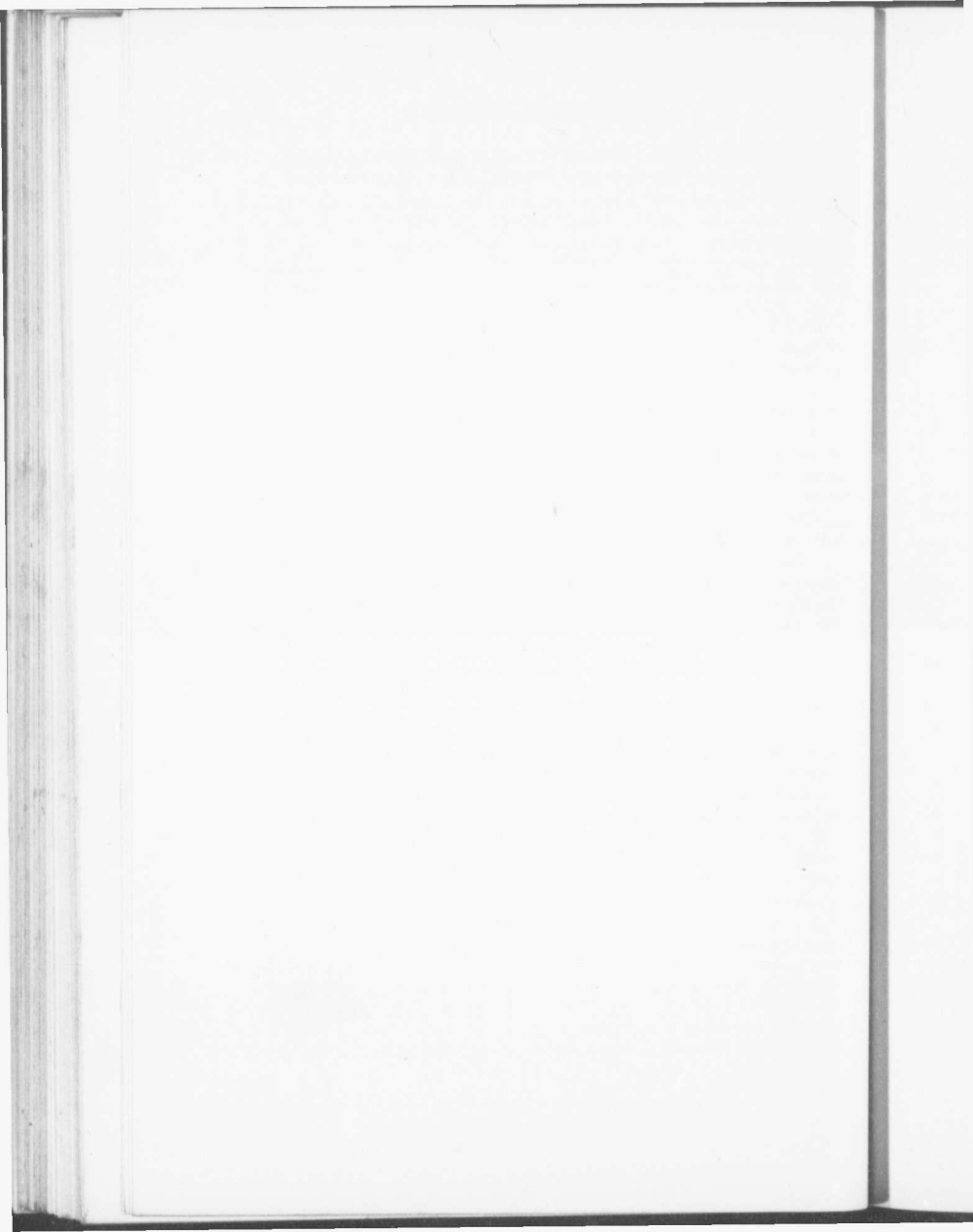
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ceive but cold comfort from the average comfortable person, and having heard so often the note of blame and censure for their poverty, their ignorance, their inertia and degeneracy, they keep silent.

We are continually saying "woman's place is the home, women should be satisfied and glorified in their motherhood." We reel these self-satisfied platitudes off year after year, giving motherhood and childhood scarcely any concern. Now I am going to put this as a test to our country and find out if our babies and mothers are really of any account; if animals, agriculture, forests and mines are of more importance than our native-born Canadian babies, and motherhood is a curse to thousands of mothers in this country and childhood a sorrow. I have seen these mothers fade and wither, grow weaker and weaker, and when weary and disheartened, lose all hope and ambition; I have seen these little children grow up to be brutalized and exploited, their virtue turned to shame and sin, their morals, bodies and minds distorted until they have lost almost all semblance to human beings, their lives lower than the animals, all for the want of a helping hand at the proper time, before they have taken their first downward step.

The Trades and Labor Congress have at their last two conventions passed resolutions in favor of mothers' pensions, and urged its adoption. All that is needed is to arouse public opinion and educate the people. The Government cannot go ahead of the people, but what the people demand the Government cannot withhold. Mr. J. H. Burnham, M.P. for West Peterborough, has already brought this matter before the House on two occasions. To this gentleman we owe a debt of gratitude.

What can you do? Organize a league to educate the public to the necessities and advantages of this pension. Investigate the institutions. Find out how many should be with their mothers. Write to your members of Parliament, both Federal and Provincial, urging immediate action. Give lectures, write articles and and letters to the newspapers, and generally make the agitation as public as possible. This is Patriotism, Morality and Christianity in its truest sense.



THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY

<i>The City and the Churches</i>	-	PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR
<i>The Municipal Departments</i>	-	CONTROLLER MCCARTHY
<i>The Church and the Slum</i>	-	REV. S. W. DEAN
<i>The Social Settlement</i>	-	MISS SARA LIBBY CARSON
<i>Socialization of the Public Schools</i>	-	REV. R. L. BRYDGES, M.A.

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THE CITY AND THE CHURCHES.

PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR, PRESIDENT CHICAGO SCHOOL OF CIVICS AND PHILANTHROPY.

Only the outline of the address follows:

At four points of contact and community of interests the churches stand between the people and the city.

1. They stand between what the city is and what it ought to be, between the actual conditions and the real. Ideals are dependent, at least for their realization, upon the knowledge of the actual. A city is actually more than a place, more than a political division of population. It is the ground in which lives are rooted. It is the frame-work within which children grow into manhood and womanhood. The ideal of what it ought to be should therefore be based upon the knowledge of conditions as they actually are. Without such knowledge we are working in the dark. It is time that the churches within a certain area should accurately and definitely know the living and working conditions surrounding them, and should have some ideal of what they ought to be, in order to know how to go to work to improve them. Actual conditions can be known only through a careful survey by competent experts. The type and standards of such surveys were set by Mr. Charles Booth, in London, England, by his publication of the results of the greatest inquiry of the kind which up to that time had ever been made, in his "Life and Labor of the People of London." Rountree's work, "Poverty in York," followed. The Pittsburgh Survey, conducted by The Survey Magazine, and published by the Russel Sage Foundation, is the most thorough investigation that has ever been accomplished. It led to the establishment of a Department of Surveys by the Russell Sage Foundation, through which information and advice are offered to communities proposing to make surveys of their conditions, on varying scales of expense and scope.

The community ideal, based upon such knowledge of facts, will be formative, not merely reformatory; constructive, not merely destructive; affirmative, not merely negative. It will lead to town planning and a programme for carrying it out, in which the churches should have their part.

2. The churches stand between livelihood and life. The city is a great workshop. It is often planted by, grows up around, and is dependent upon, some leading industry. The city must

TAYLOR
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have means of livelihood, material resources for its citizens' livelihood and its civic forces. But life is the end, the paramount interest to be kept in sight until it dominates. The churches stand for life, for soul, for personality, if they stand for anything. It is their supreme function to make life, soul, personality, the aim and end for which the community exists. They must make the way of earning a living tributary to, and not destructive of, the Way of Life, which they teach and preach. The churches must make the work-a-day life sacred and their faith the work-a-day religion. Thus the city itself will become a Life. But between us and that crown lies the cross in industry. The church therefore must have a gospel which can be translated in terms of economic values and industrial relations, if it is to have any gospel at all for an industrial age. The religious and economic valuation of a life, of the standard of living, and of the union by sacrifice to protect and promote these ends, must be the same among the same people. Otherwise, their religion is hypocrisy, or their industry is pagan.

3. The churches stand between the individual and the community, the one and the many. They have always stood for the one, the infinite worth and possibility of each and every man, woman and child. They have seldom seen or emphasized the corporate life, the community as a whole. And yet what the city as a whole is, the individual comes to be. The very soul conforms to its surroundings as surely as surroundings conform to soul. Thus the house shapes the family, determining in no small part its health and character. There is a leisure problem as big as the labor problem, which should impel the church to improve the recreational facilities and associations of the young. Justice between man and man, between the one and the many, equally with charity, is a function and sphere of the churches. The humanizing of the courts, the promotion of social justice, are means not only of preaching, but of realizing the simple gospel.

4. The churches stand between the state and religion. They represent organized religion. Government is the organized community. Each is dependent upon the other. They intersphere. Public administration cannot succeed if the churches fail. The churches cannot succeed if the administration of public affairs fails. Each can do for the other what neither can do for itself and by itself. The co-operation between voluntary and public agencies, the private citizen and the public official, are the marching orders of the church and state leading to the self-realization of each. Man-ward to God, God-ward to man, are the imperative mandates of our times.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY—FACTORS IN ITS SOLUTION—MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENTS.

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The City Problem, as stated this morning, lays a heavy responsibility upon every man connected with municipal government.

A city is a large collection of people, not houses—the old geography definition that I learned at school to the contrary. Man has a soul—most people believe it; the city has a soul—few realize it. Houses, streets and pavements do not constitute a city. The building and its installed machinery do not constitute a factory, but the means, the plant, necessary to enable men to manufacture goods. Houses, streets, pavements, etc., are but the plant necessary to accommodate the modern city.

A generation ago municipal departments were concerned almost entirely with the plant and not the product. I would not minimize the importance of the plant in city building. I am mindful that a well constructed, well ventilated, well lighted factory building equipped with modern machinery is essential to efficiency. I also remember that good raw material is essential. I also remember that the workman is essential, and that his condition and the spirit in which he works are essential to efficiency.

A generation ago, municipal departments were concerned with the plant, the material building, of the city. As one connected with municipal government, I rejoice to say that a new day is dawning, has dawned, and that human beings, not bricks and mortar, are becoming the concern of the City Fathers. Man and woman, boys and girls, babes born and unborn are, or should be, the concern of every municipal legislator and official.

A new day is dawning. Men talk of social welfare, of social Christianity as though it was a new-found religion, as though practical Christianity was superseding a former. 'Tis not so. 'Tis but a new vision of the old Gospel proclaimed so faithfully these nineteen hundred years. 'Tis but a spiritual awakening, a new birth, if you will, into the kingdom of service established by the Lord and Saviour of mankind. Present-day practical or social Christianity is not a reflection or a rebuke but a glorious tribute

to the church of Christ and to the faithful souls who have, in days and centuries of less sunshine and hope than the present proclaimed the old yet ever new Gospel.

Let me add out of thirty years' experience, rubbing elbows with men in every walk of life, that the average man is not worrying over interpretations, doctrines and denominations. He somehow has an idea that the Bible and the Christian religion is a sort of cube. Science and investigation may turn the cube over and show us a new side, but each new side to view is as large as the last, but the average man is anxious, yes hungry, for a great, practical Christlike Christianity that will grip his life, his problems and this world. We say to the church college—teach theology, but at the same time create the vision and teach the duty of social service, for upon these equally depends the salvation of our people. It is because of the new dawn, of this new spirit of service and human brotherhood, that the municipal governments and departments are able to take up these new responsibilities, these new fields of service.

What are these fields? In referring, as I shall, to work in my own city, I do so in no self-satisfied sense, but in the humble spirit of the worker, who as his eyes are closing, exclaims: "So much to do, so little done."

Municipal government in every city has its Works Department, Assessment Department, Property Department, Treasurer's Department, etc. The city of to-morrow will have a Child Welfare Department and a Social Welfare Department under sympathetic and trained Commissioners.

If I begin with Child Welfare, shall I refer first to infant mortality and juvenile delinquency? No. In the light of to-day, I must go back to these. For a half century and more in Ontario, the rural districts have poured into our cities a constant stream of healthy, vigorous, clean-lived people. The standard of our citizenship in physique and morals has been largely influenced, if not controlled by our country life. But with the comparatively faster growth of our cities, conditions are changing, and the change has but begun. The standard on the morrow, of citizenship, of physique and of morals will be the standard in an ever-increasing degree of the city. Then do social disease, social evils and fitness for parenthood loom larger as a city problem, and with these we must deal, or face national weakness and decay. It was not because we thought Toronto an unusually bad city, but rather because we realized this problem, that we appointed some months ago a Social Survey or Vice Commission. This Commission, fin-

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anced by the city, has been quietly investigating, studying and working for months, not that it may publish a vice report to satisfy the hunger of morbid or curious persons, but that it may out of a full knowledge of the situation make recommendations looking to a solution of the problem. May I, without betraying any confidence, guess at what some of its findings and recommendations will be?

1. That a great percentage of those who sin, do so in ignorance, and that it is the duty, not of the Church, but of the municipality, to see that every young man and every young woman is taught the fearful hygienic effects of social disease upon the human race.

2. That vice is more the product of bad environment, of wrong social and economic conditions, than of the vicious nature of our people, and that if we should minimize or prevent evil, we must deal with that environment and those conditions.

3. That insufficient and unfair wages on the one hand, and extravagant living and vulgar display of dress by well-to-do people on the other hand, are alike responsible for much vice.

4. That it is the duty of the city not to scorn or pass by on the other side, but to provide ample and, if necessary private, hospital accommodation for social disease.

5. That under the powers contained in the Health Act of this province, we should compel the reporting to our Health Department of every case of venereal disease, not for publication but to go on private records of the municipality, and that the power to issue marriage licenses should be entirely in the hands of the municipality that has access to these records.

I have referred to the commission to call attention to the fact that child welfare work is half a farce if we ignore the social conditions and social disease that damns children, physically and morally, from birth.

Last summer we employed a few child welfare nurses in home visitation in a congested area of the city. I need not detail their work. As a result, the infant mortality in July and August in this congested area was considerably lower than in the adjoining and better areas and greatly lower than in other equally congested areas. The success of the experiment only adds to our responsibility in the coming summer. We now know that it is infant lives and happy mothers on one side of the scale and dollars on the other. I hope we will pile on the dollars.

Three years ago we determined to make use of the statute law of Canada, which provided that a child under sixteen years of

age guilty of some offence or violation of the law, should be treated as a delinquent and not as a criminal. We instituted a Juvenile Court, which seeks to save rather than punish. The wrongful act of the child is evidence of wrongful conditions, and through the Court and its probation department an effort is made to seek out and correct these wrong conditions.

In two years this Court has dealt with the interests of nearly 4,500 delinquent, dependent, and neglected, children. Of the normal children dealt with, eighty per cent. have been saved under probation workers, and another eighteen per cent. are improving: but all are not normal. The truant boy more often needs the physician than the schoolmaster's strap, and if the parent is poor, he is directed to the out-patient department of the Hospital or to the free Municipal Dental Clinic provided by the city. The truant boy is often the mentally-backward boy, needing a special class in the public school. We are faced with the problem of feeble-minded children needing special and often custodial care, and we hope to make provision for these, or at least begin making provision during the present year.

Again the Juvenile Court has revealed the fact that a large percentage of delinquent children are the result of being left in the home or on the street, with nobody to care for them, while a widowed mother goes out to earn house-rent and bread. God grant that the day of mothers' pensions is not far distant in Canada! It may be good policy for the Government to spend Canadian money encouraging immigration from continental Europe; it would be better policy to spend Canadian dollars to save these, our own children, to the future manhood and womanhood of Canada.

Again, the Juvenile Court reveals to us the horrid results to boy life, of the filthy, vulgar and indecent theatre, and we have appointed theatre censors and are using the police court in an effort to clean up. The power now vested in the Board of Police Commissioners to refuse a theatre license or to cancel an existing license as a penalty for allowing immoral and indecent plays, will, I believe, be more productive of results than either censors or police court proceedings.

Parks, ample athletic fields, skating rinks, and supervised playgrounds, are costing more dollars every year, but are necessary alike to the physical and moral well-being of our boys and girls and young men and young women. The dollars so invested are earning big dividends.

The City of Toronto has purchased and is developing an Industrial Farm of 700 acres for men. Here inebriates and first

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offenders have a chance in God's fresh air and sunlight, and with proper work and good food, to regain themselves physically and morally. There are no cells and no locks on this farm. There are some discouragements; but on the whole, the results are very satisfactory. Men are being saved to themselves and to the community. The city is now purchasing a smaller but similar farm for women. Many of these men have been permitted to work for neighboring farmers to earn money to enable them to send something home to a needy family and to leave the farm with a few dollars to make possible a new start in life.

Girls and women held as witnesses, arrested on suspicion or for petty and first offences, should not be herded in the common gaol with prostitutes, procurers, and confirmed criminals. The city is endeavoring to secure a detention home for such persons.

The possibilities and duties of social service in relation to municipal departments are growing year by year. I have but touched the fringe. The modern Health Department of a city should be the greatest social service and social reform organization in the city. Clean food, pure water, sanitary inspection, prevention of disease, and proper housing, are essential to the social and moral well-being of a people. Our efforts in the direction of good housing are aggressive but too negative in character. We eliminate slums, we compel the installation of proper sanitary conveniences, and we prohibit dark rooms and compel ample air spaces, and we try to regulate overcrowding, and we enact a building code or by-law; but this is not dealing with the housing problem. Too much of our effort is spent in trying to make the bad less bad.

The housing problem is provincial and federal as well as municipal. We need a careful study of the whole problem with a view to providing under proper sanitary conditions the class of house that the average workman can afford to live in.

May I digress from my subject to say that in my opinion no honest man can apply himself earnestly and sympathetically to the social problems of municipal government without becoming an enthusiastic supporter of woman suffrage.

A municipal government is in the light of to-day responsible to some extent for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the people. It lies within their power to promote all three, and they are responsible to humanity and thereby to God for the use of the power given.

The municipal law says that men of certain occupations, or men convicted of certain crimes, are not eligible to serve in muni-

icipal councils. In the light of to-day, ignorance, selfish ends, and indifference, are a trio of criminals far more dangerous to municipal government. The municipal government of to-morrow may be a machine into which you can feed human lives and human souls and grind out dirty dollars for the maker and the operator. It may be a machine that will sacrifice and serve for the transforming of the dark places and for the upbuilding of a stronger and a purer manhood and womanhood. Listen—the same machine will not do both. Churches, Brotherhoods, Young People's Societies, Social Reformers, listen: Who is going to make the municipal machine of to-morrow that shall grapple with the city problem and be a factor in the solution? Ignorance, selfishness and indifference in government is but the product of ignorance, selfishness and indifference in the individual. Who shall make the municipal machine? Humanity pleads and God demands that you make it; and that you don't skimp the job.

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THE CHURCH AND THE SLUM.

REV. S. W. DEAN, SUPT. METHODIST UNION, TORONTO.

These two are incompatible. Either the church must destroy the slum or the slum will destroy the church. A live church in a real slum is no dress parade affair. War is declared. The battle will wage by night and by day. The church that endures to the end will be saved. This is apparent when one considers:

I.—The Slum and Its Effect Upon the Church—The slum is the city at its worst. It represents the sphere of congested housing, the lurking place of disease and impaired health, the hiding place of crime, the haunt of immorality, the home of poverty, the habitation of drinking and drunkards and, because of its lesser rentals, the colony of the foreigner in our midst. Most of these influences are at once causes and results of the slum. The most luxurious parts of our city, its most spacious palaces, would become slums, were the above conditions introduced. Keep such qualities out of our poorest sections and they never will become slums.

Where such conditions abound it might truthfully be said, the church has one of her greatest opportunities. But where there is superabundance, the church is in peril. Either these forces must give way before the church, or the church will give way before these forces.

Just think briefly of the effect of slum conditions on the normal life of the church. 1—As to congestion of population. This tends to deplete the physical energies of the people and make them a burden on the material resources of the church instead of a help thereto. It is apt to create an abnormal appetite for the morbid to which the gilded saloon and the questionable playhouse offer stronger attraction than the quieter atmosphere of religious worship. Religion will be more needed but less desired than under better conditions. 2—Crime and the church cannot consort. "Men love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil, neither will come to the light lest their deeds be manifest." The truth which could save is shunned because of its disturbance to conscience and habits. 3—Similarly immorality tends to break up the home and to stratify society. It either drives to extreme dependency or brazen shamelessness. 4—Poverty is no disgrace but tremendously inconvenient. In moderation churches can thrive well upon

a membership of limited means. But in its extremes, generally speaking, it means limited horizons and unintelligent minds, and impaired time and energies for service. Under the conditions the slum church labors with, it requires more support than the poor alone can contribute. 5—The saloon and drunkenness have no fellowship with the Kingdom of God. A mother of all depravity and sin, the saloon mightily baffles the work of the Spirit of God, through His word and His people. No drunkard shall inherit the Kingdom of God. 6—The foreigner's presence in the slum in our Canadian cities, is apt to give him the impression that the type of life witnessed there is the standard for which our churches make demand. Consequently he is apt to discount the church. According to all natural tendencies the effect of the slum upon the church is far from good; in fact, it is seriously endangered thereby.

But the church is a spiritual force and if the church believes to-day what our fathers did her duty is clear. If it is true that "Where sin abounds grace doth much more abound"; "If Christ came to seek and to save that which was lost"; "If God for us is more than all that can be against us"; "If He is yesterday, to-day and forever the same." and "Will never leave nor forsake"—surely though the church may be in danger if she is content with the defensive attitude, on the other hand if she will but assume the aggressive attitude the slum is her big opportunity to demonstrate these truths and to show her conformity to her Founder who said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath sent me to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty them that are bruised," etc., etc. (Luke IV.)

These conditions constitute the true "storm centre of our Christianity." If our churches fail in the battle with the slum in our own city, have we not lost our right to evangelize in foreign lands? For there we shall find the city conditions abounding in the very thing we fail in at home. And the city is our very first point of attack in foreign lands.

Even though we had not to meet the same abroad, our prestige abroad will be much affected. Travellers from every land visit ours. Unfortunately railway entrances to our cities, and hotel life, are near to the worst slums we have. What must be their judgment but that "these people have no religion to export"? Similarly

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must the foreign immigrant record his impressions as he corresponds with his homeland.

Whatever the cost may be, for every patriotic and religious reason the slum must go.

“Is it well that while we range with science glorying in our time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?
There amongst the crowded alleys, progress walks with palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands in the street,
There the master scrimps his haggard seamstress of her daily bread,
There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead.
There the smoldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor.”

Surely no future civilization can afford to have her Tennysons paint such pictures of her slums. But the light already breaks on the eastern sky.

II.—The Church is at Work in the Slum.—Of course, some churches do not work in the slum. The slum is far from them. Some churches move away when the slum comes. Some remain in the slum and fight on with more or less success. Others again move down towards the slum or establish outposts there. This can be participated in by the co-operation of churches in a united effort in some specialized form of church activity.

We need not discuss to-day the church which ignores the slum or runs away from it. That is the total of the strength possessed by some churches. Their strength is in their legs. There may such classes of population come into a slum district that churches may feel justified in moving on. Some may consider it right to fall back before a large influx of Jewish residents, leaving them to the care of the synagogues or giving over the church for a synagogue. Or Protestants might recede before Roman Catholics or vice-versa. But the Church is with increasing vigor assailing the slum. In this work she has many varieties. These may be classified as follows:

1.—The Rescue Mission for Men. (1) One type is evangelistic and charitable. Many converts, more professions, great good results, but great hypocrisy is encouraged in many, I fear, by the habit of giving beds and meal tickets to professed converts. (2) There is also an industrial type of men's missions and lodging house, which (a) finds work or (b) makes work, (c) lodges, (d) evangelizes. This in our judgment is far superior to the other.

2.—There are Rescue Missions for Women. (1) Such as the West London type, where the deaconess seeks on the street the fallen, but aching heart, getting her excuse for conversation by

offering a flower. Kindly words and kindly encouragement to right living follow with varied results. (2) There is the distinctively slum type which seeks in the beer gardens and on the streets and keeps open doors for hungry and sin-worn unfortunates—trying to relieve their distress and lead them to Christ. (3) There is the Bible training type, where girls who have fallen and are in trouble are trained in Bible study and prepared for evangelistic work. The motive is good, and much work is good, but we fear the average intelligence of the girls is not that required for successful evangelistic work. (4) There is another type, where the girl is trained in a cycle of household work which fits her for domestic service, is also given a chance to earn part of her own support, and is besides evangelized so far as possible. We have witnessed magnificent results from this type.

3.—There is the Institutional Church of America, which is almost identical in its spirit with the Central Halls of Great Britain. In this type the Church adapts herself to the changing needs of the community and seeks to supply any physical, intellectual, social or religious need of the people which is not being otherwise met. These churches all vary in activities according to their respective communities and resources. The general principles on which they act are: (1) Prevention is better than cure. (2) Conservation of human life—milk depots (certified), nursing, gymnasium, fresh air camps, outings, etc., are used to further this end. (3) Redemption of spare hours, for old and young. Providing attractive recreation under good surroundings and offering education and technical training in evening classes. (4) Teaching practical economics, providing relief when urgent, employment bureaus, teaching to save, to spend, to provide for future, insurance, etc. (5) Pioneering philanthropies such as playgrounds, libraries, penny banks, household science, etc. (6) Evangelizing the masses. Converting people after first winning them to hear the truth.

This last is the sum of all good, the key to the rest. If housing reforms and abstinence laws, etc., are to be effective it will be in redeemed characters. It is desirable that the transformation of the individual and the environment should go forward, side by side. To transform one without the other is not enough. We have known many converted men who changed their homes and everything after conversion. But many others have gone back to sin because of environment. The great housing reforms of most cities have found that because the people are not transformed the new houses are occupied not by the old, displaced people, but by new and more respectable families. A pig in a palace is still a pig. Some may be convinced that "the sty makes the pig." There

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can be no question but that "the pig makes the sty," and to prevent sty conditions the porcine nature must be transformed.

4.—There is also the social settlement. These are the outgrowth of the religious inspirations of the churches and are largely manned and supported by members of the church. Not all of these are avowedly religious. Hull House, Chicago, and many of the university settlements, though Christlike in the service they render, eschew all religious activities. Most others are decidedly religious as well as social.

5.—There is also the mission to foreigners. Some churches carry on a combination of work. But it is found that where there are many foreigners in colonies they prefer to attend places where they can be taught in their own tongue. This gives a home-like touch that breaks down barriers. This work is:—

- (1) Educational for young children.
- (2) Educational for adults.
- (3) Institutional—utilizing clubs and classes.
- (4) Evangelistic.

Chinese, Japanese, Italian, Macedonian, etc., are types of these which exist in many of our Canadian cities.

6.—We have not referred in the above classification to the work of the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and Volunteers of America. The well-known work of these institutions has been at once the rebuke, the stimulus, and the example, of the churches, inspiring effort amongst slum populations.

III.—The Church's best work for the slums will most likely be done outside the Church altogether. The Church is a purely voluntary organization and the relations of the slum life and population to the Church are purely voluntary. Therefore, any action which the Church may devise involving compulsion of the slum population as a whole and changes in the external or material condition, must be accomplished from without the Church by process of law and education. The slum is not a moral problem only. It is largely an economic one. The more one is brought face to face with social problems, the stronger grows the conviction of their complexity, yet of their preventability. The "fence on the edge of the cliff" is infinitely better than "the ambulance down in the valley." The disproportion between the rate of conversions and the growth of slum population, the handicaps to which also the converts are subjected, demand that the Church inspire authorities vested with powers to prevent as well as wipe out the shameful conditions responsible for slum conditions. (1) In this connection it will be the church's opportunity and duty to discover and reveal the actual conditions of our slums. Pastors, deaconesses,

Christian workers, have opportunities which few others have of knowing the depravity, filth, vice, poverty, and despair, of these habitations of the unfortunate. Both civic authorities and the press can be used to get the light in. Many a slum has disappeared before the agitation thus created and the conviction that these things ought not and must not continue to exist. (2) Co-operation with medical health department, school nurses, organized charity, police department, playground movements, etc., is invaluable work. (3) Having obtained and imparted her visions of the need, she must inspire her membership with public spirit. If she does this municipal offices will not be left to "ward heelers," and parliamentary positions will not be all filled with political partizans. Instead men shall feel it a religious and social duty to qualify for and win the highest offices in the gifts of the people.

This congress is favored on its program with men who have been trained in the Christian Church and imbued with its ideals and now are strong social factors in the most progressive, provincial and municipal governments of the day. Whilst such men lead, others may invest their money in housing schemes, or take a practical part in the education of the foreigner or the institutional life of mission or settlement or some such work.

(4) The Church must demand that the parenthood of the state be asserted in providing for and protecting the weak. The unfit must not be allowed to marry and propagate their kind. The fit must do so under better regulations than at present. The orphaned child must be the ward of the nation. Overwrought widowhood must not be allowed to produce delinquency in their children, while absent from home providing food, etc., for them. Unworthy and vicious fathers must not be allowed to desert their families and leave them upon the public for support. Strong drink, which blights and damns parents and child alike, must not be legally allowed to do its destructive and slum-making work. (What right has the Church to pray for the conversion of the drunkard or the cure of the slum if she remains a silent partner in the saloon?) Unsanitary and congested housing can be prevented by the state and transportation provided to cheap land and God's pure air. The right and opportunity to work for at least a living wage, the state can provide. Poverty due to seasonal and local occupations can be overcome by systems of labor exchanges, limited immigration, public works and unemployment insurance. The right to a living wage must be proclaimed by the Church as the moral right of every honest toiler. More than that, she must proclaim the right of the toiler to a more equitable share in the wealth which he or she pro-

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duces. Attention to such matters as these would go far to depleting the slum of its victims.

5.—The Church as in the past must pioneer movements for social betterment, until their value and indispensability are proven to the municipality and the state. Our charity organizations, hospitals, refuges, educational institutions, supervised playgrounds, etc., etc., have come to us in this way. Who shall say what the contributions of the churches to the betterment of the slum population—and the annihilation of the slum itself—shall be in the future?

There may be more truth than poetry in the following rhyme of Ted Robinson in the "Cleveland Plain Dealer":

THE IGNORANT MASSES.

The Social Uplifters, those eminent sifters,
Of merit and poor people's needs,
Went down to the slums to regenerate bums,
And to do meritorious deeds.
We washed them, we dressed them, with libraries blessed them,
We prayed with those ignorant mobs,
And the wretches were hateful and vilely ungrateful,
And said what they wanted was jobs.

Our noble committee then searched through the city,
To find all the fallen and lost;
We learned how they came to be living in shame,
This, mind you, at no little cost.
We swamped them with tracts and statistical facts,
But the creatures were terribly rude.
They acknowledged 'twas nice to be free from all vice,
But they said what they wanted was food.

They're just as God made them, it's useless to aid them,
The brutes do not ask for reform;
Intellectual feasts are all wasted on beasts
Who want to be fed and kept warm,
Let them keep their allotted positions, besotted,
And blind, when you bid them advance,
Those ignorant asses, the underworld classes,
Will say all they want is a chance.

It is the Church's business to provide "the chance" by a gospel of redemption preached in the slum and a gospel of social service preached outside it.

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT.

MISS SARA LIBBY CARSON, GENERAL SUPERVISOR OF EVANGELICAL SETTLEMENT WORK, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Professor Graham Taylor has defined a settlement as "a group of Christian people who choose to live where they seem most needed, for the purpose of being all they can to the people with whom they identify themselves." The first settlement centre, taking definite form as such, came into existence in East London, England, about thirty years ago. That it has proved its power and practicality in meeting the city need is shown by the fact that there is hardly a large city on either continent to-day without one or more similar centres.

Of course the character and extent of the settlement's work must depend largely on the personality of those in residence and their interpretation of the neighborhood need and the way to meet it. It would be impossible to bring into one definition all the activities of settlement life; but the idea seems best expressed by words very often heard in settlement circles: "Just being friends with our neighbors." For that is just what the group of residents aims to be to all in the neighborhood, in every way that is most practical and helpful. The strong point of the settlement is that its constant presence in the neighborhood makes it a centre of opportunity in all the emergencies that arise at expected and unexpected times in the daily life of any community.

The community settlement centre had its birth amongst university men and women, although residence in settlements has not been restricted to university graduates. The character of the work seems to demand that members of the resident group, while not necessarily graduates of any university, shall be men and women of trained mind and developed character, if they would meet the need of the neighborhood for its best development and become a guiding and directing force in its life—the brains and the clear thinking and the steady living for those who are still groping for these things, helping them, in the simplest way possible, to learn to meet their own need.

And what has been the need as seen by some of the settlements? Some are doing a strong, helpful work by putting themselves in touch with the various civic bodies of the community, using their time largely in working for a better understanding

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of the housing problems faced by almost every large city, or for a clean political life for the neighborhood, or for the straightening out of industrial difficulties. Other settlements are adding to these phases of work the tying of the settlement centre to educational, recreational and social welfare agencies, aiming to co-operate with these agencies and, if necessary, raise their standard. Other settlements aim not only to be the clearing-house for agencies already organized, but to supplement them in every way. This last named plan of work has brought about the addition of the systematic, well-organized, social, educational, industrial and physical welfare departments that we have in some settlements.

In such settlements there are often medical centres and pure-milk station, co-operating with the city health department and with the hospitals, interpreting to those in the neighborhood the things provided by the city for their need, of which many times they are ignorant, or, through ignorance, fearful. The educational department meets the need of the girl who "had to mind the baby and didn't get along in school, and then had to go to work"; or of the foreigner who "knows if he can have a teacher all to himself he will soon catch up and get a better job because he speaks English"; or, again, of the little child too young to go to "the big school," but allowed to roam the streets because "there is no room at home," who gladly becomes a member of the settlement play school instead of playing in alleys or pool-room doorways.

Canada has not been blind to the great possibilities of settlement work for meeting its constantly increasing city needs. Twelve years ago I had the pleasure of organizing the first Canadian settlement—Evangelia Settlement in Toronto. No one could doubt for a minute its right to exist, after comparing its beginning records of twelve years ago with its present work—its beautiful group of buildings, its supervised playgrounds, clinic, milk station, gymnasium, public baths, educational class work, gospel meetings, Bible classes, summer camp, housekeeping and laundry classes, young women's lunch room, and last, but not least, its splendidly organized social clubs. And when one looks at the records, and knows of the boys and girls who have gone out from there earnest men and women, some filling positions of trust in hospitals, warehouses and churches, with hardly a trade or profession not represented, and when one looks into the faces of these men and women, one begins to understand what it has meant to them to "have their chance" and a right start in life.

Two new settlement centres have been organized in Canada

under the Board of Social Service of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: St. Christopher House in Toronto, and Chalmers House in Montreal. Neither of these settlements is two years old in its organization and each comes in touch with a membership of over six hundred men, women and children.

St. Christopher House, organized in July, 1912, is housed in an ordinary old-fashioned residence, situated in a back street. It has neither sign nor name upon it; it has never used any printed matter to attract people to it; yet, in the year and one-half that it has been open to the neighborhood, the aggregate monthly attendance at play school, social clubs, educational and industrial classes and other gatherings has steadily mounted from fifteen hundred to over five thousand, and eighteen nationalities are represented in its neighborhood families. And this large membership has grown entirely from one neighbor telling the other about the place. Why has the settlement placed itself in such a position? It is helping the street gang to see that a well-organized club, with fair play for everybody and a clean place to come to, is better than a "hunk" behind a shed or a poolroom. It is helping the foreign boys and girls, and men and women, to understand the ways of this new country to which they have come. It is co-operating with whatever the city has of things of betterment and bringing its neighborhood into touch with them. It is making a neighborly social centre for the big cosmopolitan neighborhood in which it is living. If you could listen to one club of young men and women, all of whom, during the last year, have learned to speak English in the settlement classes, and hear them open their club meeting—as do all the clubs in this particular settlement—with the pledge of allegiance to the British flag; or if you looked into a Sunday service, where Jew and Gentile and Greek come to hear a message from the Book of books, you would agree that a settlement does meet the city need of the English-speaking person and foreigner alike, and helps the city to solve its problems by being the interpreter and clearing-house for all the helps that the city offers, and by standing for all that makes for wholesome recreation, good citizenship and civic righteousness.

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SOCIALIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

REV. R. L. BRYDGES, M.A., SOCIAL SERVICE CHAPLAIN TORONTO
DIOCESE, CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN CANADA.

Canada's opportunity is being borne in upon the consciousness of us all in this new day and new time. She is literally a nation in the making, plastic, being moulded by a thousand influences. One of the greatest factors in the making and moulding of new peoples is the problem of the city. We must face the conditions of to-day, the facts as they are, with courage to do our job. The social conscience is awake as never before, individuals are recognizing now their responsibility and relationship to the community, national and social consciousness is aroused, the conscience of the community has been awakened through its members to its responsibility of each for all, and all for each. We must build our vision into life. The Rev. Charles Stelzle spoke of "Its being time to talk of opening up things." It is just opening up things that we want to address ourselves to.

One of the greatest problems of the city is lack of oneness, community spirit, civic consciousness. The question of immigration has greatly intensified this problem of the city. Thousands of foreign-born people from all over Europe are pouring into our midst, and the foreigner is an isolated being. As Bishop Farthing so well pointed out, "Variety of race and tradition make it difficult to find a common basis of assimilation." But we have such in our midst, at our very doors, in the public schools of this country. The public school is the melting pot for the fusion of race, the creation of citizenship on this continent. As Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard, has pointed out, millions are invested in the public schools of the land. What are we doing with them? These buildings and their equipment are mostly used for about five hours in the day, then given over to the janitor and cleaner. Instead of looming up dark and forbidding at night on the city streets, let us turn them into centres of light and gladness. We can transform the public schools of our cities and towns into social centres.

The breaking down of racial prejudice, isolation, custom and habit, the problem of assimilation, is an acute one amid our civic conditions. The Jew, Italian and the Slav live side by side in our cities and know nothing of one another, are not interested and do not care, but in the schools and in the child lies the hope of the

ation and the solution of a large part of the problem of our civic conditions.

In preventive, constructive, creative work for the children and the young lie our greatest possibilities. Mr. Edward J. Ward in his most able and helpful book on this subject says: "This continent, in the public school, has taken the child and set him in the midst as Jesus took the child and set him in the midst. The invigorating atmosphere of the child's unfolding is the breath of life. The light of the child's presence in the thought of men and women enables them to see.

"The place of the children's education, at the centre of the neighborhood, has in its freedom from dogma, its democratic foundation, its limitless aspirations, its vital character, not only the most powerful dynamic possibility for moulding the future, but in its use by men and women to-day as a centre of equal association, it has in it the certainty of developing that which cannot come by authority, study or precept, the power to feel, to suffer and enjoy, in terms of the membership of the neighborhood as now we feel, and suffer and enjoy, in terms of membership of the little household."

The school, then, is our melting pot. The creation of the schools into social centres will prove one of the greatest possible factors in the solution of the city's problems. Through getting together about things we have in common, as folks, as citizens, as neighbors, in the building which embodies the greatest of our common interests, the city is going to feel like home. Nothing can do as much in our national life to foster the spirit of democracy, of spontaneous thought and sense of solidarity as this free association of citizens upon the common ground of civic interest, of acquaintance, of neighborhood in the school house. We have lost the old sense of unity, of neighborhood which we knew in the simple early days. Our inventions, and our acquisitions, as a people have not added to our happiness, because we no longer feel together. What is the remedy? To go back to the simple conditions of the early days? No, we could not if we would, and we do not want to. The great joyous task is to reach our hands across and find unity in the midst of our rich diversity. Now strong, irresistible, comes this impulse of social gathering together, unification.

There is really arising a hunger for neighborliness. We need our neighbor and we need to know him, and the shortest way to him is round by some common meeting place, where we join with him in a common cause.

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President Wilson says: "There can be no life in a community so long as its parts are segregated and separated. One can never know the genuine spirit of mutual consideration, of high joy in inter-service, out to the wide reach of the city, until we have found a halfway stepping stone. in the institutions of the neighborhood, wherein men and women, associating in the clear atmosphere in which the home spirit was born, have their eyes opened and their hearts freed. There must just be the restoration to its true place in social life of that most democratic of all institutions, the public school centre, in order that through this extended use of the school building may be developed, in the midst of our complex life, the community interest, the neighborly spirit, the feeling of home."

The social centre comes to the rescue of the middle-aged woman in the bitterest hour of her life, after the unutterable experiences she has gone through, when she feels that she is hopelessly behind the times, and her children do not look up to her any more: indeed the contempt of the child for the foreign parents is too well known. What shall she do? She goes to the social centre, enters into things, takes notice, finds herself, becomes a bright, intelligent, well-informed citizen, and soon commands the respect and regard of all who know her. The school is the natural focal point of the community's social life, since it centres the universal interest in children and cuts through social, religious and even racial lines. As the school plant already belongs to the people, it is proper to employ it for their social activities. Making it useful for twelve instead of five hours a day would involve few administrative changes, and a comparatively slight expenditure of money, the regular staff having been advantageously employed in many instances for this additional service at an extra fee for their labor.

"There's just one place," said a middle-aged Jewish woman, "where we all know that we are one in heart, and that's at the social centre." Another said: "I never realized before that people who are so different are so much the same." The social centre eliminates that great trouble of city life, the gang from the neighborhood. For two and a half years, in one of the Park social centres of Chicago, the gang practically ruled, equipment and apparatus were continually broken and stolen, not a flower could be left. But the purpose and spirit of the service there has absolutely changed the whole atmosphere of the place, and abundantly proves what can be done with all the varied conditions and elements of the community's population. All property is respected, everything is sacredly preserved, not even a flower is ever plucked or stolen now. Then, too, wonderful indeed is the effect

on the foreigner. When you meet the Italian half way, as you do in the social centre, recognizing that he, as an Italian, has something to bring, something to contribute to the common store, when you teach him to love and honor the institutions of the country, then you make him feel that he, too, must be worthy of his larger citizenship. Likewise the training of girls after class hours in the folk dances of Europe furthers race amalgamation. When the poor peasant first sees his daughters dancing the steps which are bound up with his most cherished memories of the fatherland his heart is filled with gratitude, and later at this picnic or outdoor festival, where he and they trip through the intricate figures of his national dance before an applauding multitude, he realizes that he is transformed from an object of disdain to one of interest, his equanimity breaks down, and his feelings overflow. After that he belongs to the country too.

How easily the ordinary public school plant becomes the focusing point for the social activities of the neighborhood, serving as a public club house for men, women, boys and girls, being used as a moving picture theatre, a lecture hall, a gymnasium, a bath house, a dance hall, a library and a playground house, besides being a free dental clinic and a public health office, and its yard used as a playground, an athletic field and a school garden. Is there possible any other institution that so naturally attracts to itself all the varied interests of the community?

Chicago in 1910 voted \$16,000 to be devoted to the development of the public schools of the city as social centres, and the amount used for this purpose has been increased each year, until in 1913 the amount set apart for social service in this direction was \$27,000, though this was below the required needs and growing demands of the work.

In vocational training, too, the public school can be used in a most efficient and effective service to the community. Thousands of girls between fourteen and sixteen are turned out annually who are practically of no commercial value as industrial workers, and who begin to make their living in receipt of a minimum wage for inefficient service rendered. The school through the later years of their school life could direct them into channels of useful work, discover their bent, what they can best do or are adapted for. In Germany only four per cent. of the girls in the schools are thus directed and guided in useful ways, while the boys are given the greatest attention and care in the direction of their training for life in the trade schools. These schools, too, in New York City, are most splendidly and efficiently equipped, and the departments

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directed under the care of skilled master mechanics, as far as they have been incorporated into the public school system.

It is left for us in Canada to take up this work in the schools for the youth of our country, and to render to our community life the most efficient service possible, and thus largely save ourselves from the inundation of unskilled labor that this winter season has experienced.

In preventive, constructive and creative measures as outlined in this address lie the greatest possibilities for the betterment of all our civic and community life.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	-	-	E. C. DRURY
<i>The Rural Problem</i>	-			REV. JOHN MACDOUGALL, B. A.
<i>The Department of Agriculture</i>	-			PROF. J. B. REYNOLDS, B. A.
<i>The Church</i>	-	-	-	REV. S. F. SHARP, B. A.
<i>The School</i>	-	-	-	REV. HUGH DOBSON, B. D.
<i>Co-operation Among Farmers</i>	-			ALPHONSE DESJARDINS
<i>Discussion</i>				

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THE PROBLEM OF THE COUNTRY.

MR. E. C. DRURY, EX-PRESIDENT DOMINION GRANGE AND
FARMERS' ASSOCIATION.

This is the most important conference that is being held. The other conferences deal only with the cleansing of the sewers of our civilization; we have to deal with a much more important and greater problem—the preservation of the springs of our civilization, of the fountain-head on which the whole depends. Anyone who has given much thought to the question cannot help admitting that in country life, in Canada at least, if not in all countries, we find the very fountain-head of our civilization. In Canada we depend upon our farms to pay our national obligations financially; we depend upon their development for our national greatness; and more than that, we depend on our farms for the supply of a virile humanity. There is no other place where we can get them. The farm home is the fount of the nation. Therefore it is exceedingly important that we should understand the problems of the farm.

I am an optimist in regard to farm life. I have proved it by casting my lot, out and out, with rural Canada, by casting my lot for my living, socially and financially, on the farm. That is the best proof of my optimism. At the same time I am not one of those who believe in saying "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. A man fell out of the twelfth story of a building, and as he passed the fifth story he shouted, "I am all right yet, boys, anyway." That man was an optimist, but not a reasonable optimist. While dealing with the rural provinces of Canada we might shout, "We are all right yet," but while we are fast on our way to the ground we may be sure we are not right. In all the settled sections of our Dominion, that is, in every province east of the Great Lakes where agriculture has passed out of a pioneer or settlement stage or reached what we might call normal conditions, there is in every one of these provinces an actual decline of population; and when we come to look through these same provinces we see schools with their attendances cut in three, and country churches barely able to keep going, slim congregations in churches built to hold 200 or 300, accommodating, perhaps, 30, as I know in several cases; we see that the social life of the farm is not keeping pace with the social life of the city. Do not misunderstand me; actually the social life of the farm has advanced, but relatively it has retrograded. We must understand

that all situations, even all wealth, is comparative; and in saying that the farm has retrograded we are comparing it with the city; in drawing the people, farm life has absolutely retrograded. It has also absolutely retrograded in numbers of the people; and when we consider how much that means in the rural situation we see how serious it is. In one of the best sections of one of the best counties of Ontario near my home I counted fourteen empty houses that twenty-five years ago were filled. That is not an exceptional case. A school that I attended a little over twenty years ago had then ninety scholars; the section is now divided and it has even a less attendance, but before the division of the section it had thirty. That is not an exceptional circumstance. Some few years ago one school section in the wealthy county of Huron had one child in attendance.

What is the reason of this? The reason is that agriculture, where it has come down to a settled basis, is either standing still or retrograding. Now, it is nonsense to try to explain this superficially. Four or five years ago I spoke at the directors' luncheon at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, and I pointed out this question of rural depopulation and what it must lead to. One of the Toronto papers, commenting editorially on what I had said, remarked, "It is useless to lament the loss of rural population; the men who used to bind the sheaves of the field are now in the factories making binders." That is superficial. As a matter of fact, agriculture in its modern phases requires more men and not less than the old style of agriculture. Those are the conditions we have to face. Let us be optimists, but not too optimistic; let us face the facts; don't assume that all you have to do in order to solve the problem is to teach the farmer. I want to tell you that the farmer knows more about his business than anybody else can tell him—absolutely.

The easy assumption on the part of government officials and city editors and others that you have to get out and teach these fellows how to farm and how to live is not only absolute nonsense but it is absolute impudence. Don't let us take that bad attitude. I know something of the life, and I do know that, working in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties—difficulties so great that no other industry in this land could face them and live—the farmers have done absolute wonders. Let us approach the question with a fair and open mind, and let the motto of this meeting be, "Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they will."

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THE RURAL PROBLEM.

REV. JOHN MacDOUGALL, B.A., OF SPENCERVILLE, ONT.

D'Arcy McGee once said "We Canadians are here to vindicate our capacity by test of a new political creation. In order to do so, what we most immediately want is men, more men, and still more men, in town and country." In the town that need is being met, but the country, far from gaining "men and still more men" cannot hold her own.

In D'Arcy McGee's own Province of Quebec, Canadian capacity has been vindicated by an urban growth of three-quarters of a million since his day, but in older Quebec, the Quebec he knew, there has been an absolute rural loss. The slight total rural increase of 73,000 since Confederation is more than accounted for by expansion into the new north. In three census districts alone there has been an expansion of 77,000. To the south of the St. Lawrence there has been an expansion into new territory eastwards of over 95,000. In older Quebec there has been, therefore, a rural loss of 100,000.

Ontario's total rural loss since Confederation is 111,000. But she has now a rural population of 148,000 in Muskoka, Algoma, and the newer north, where then there were but 12,000 souls all told. The rural decline in older Ontario is, therefore, 248,000. Her urban growth meanwhile was over 1,000,000.

It must be remembered that the rural loss is not measured by diminution alone, but by diminution plus natural increases cancelled. The natural increase of the rural population of all eastern Canada since Confederation would, at a rate of but one per cent. per annum, have amounted to 1,418,000. This has been entirely cancelled, and we have diminution instead. But the urban population, whose natural increase would have been but 354,000, has actually increased two millions.

In this brief outline of facts we have dealt not with impressive, though legitimate instances, but with the general trend of population upon the broadest scale. Upon such inductions the conclusive proof of rural depletion rests. And this movement is most rapid in Canada. We lead the world in urbanization of population. In the United States during the past decade the proportion of urban to total population rose 5 and a fraction per

cent.; in Canada 8 per cent. In the United States the city grew three times as fast as the country, in Canada four times as fast.

This general movement of population forms the groundwork of the rural problem. At great cost the country is building the city. Each person costs his community an average of \$2,000 to bring up to maturity. Upon the 1,600 whose going diminished the rural population of Lisgar in Manitoba during last decade, Lisgar had lavished \$3,200,000. Upon the 2,250 whose going cancelled the natural increase Lisgar had lavished \$4,500,000. Upon the 97,000 whose going decreased the rural population of older Ontario, and upon the additional 152,000 whose going cancelled the natural increase, rural Ontario had spent \$500,000,000. This drain, a clear gift of the country to the city, is universal.

Nor is this all. Each farm sold in the course of the rural exodus is bought with country, not city, capital; the capital realized by the sale goes to the city. Bruce County lost 1,064 farm households during the decade. The heads of these households were farmers, not laborers; owners, not tenants. They left without successors; their acres were incorporated into adjacent farms. An unrecorded but greater number sold to young men who replaced them upon their farms. Can we place the average value of farm, of stock, and equipment as sold at as low a figure as \$5,000? At these figures some \$10,000,000 of capital was thus withdrawn from the county in the decade.

Yet again, the share in the patrimony paid off by the son remaining upon the farm to the brothers and sisters who go to the city is a serious drain, withdrawing probably from one-third to one-half of farm values in each generation.

But the monetary tribute is the least part of the contribution. The country has surrendered to the city a multitude of occupations which once gave it social wealth. Countryside craftsmen disappeared as factory-made products claimed the field. Countryside commerce is waning before the mail-order system. This loss confined the choice of occupations in the country to one, that of agriculture. It has reduced social groups to the uniformity of a single class.

The social loss to farmers themselves is greater still. Unrest has robbed farm life of poise and permanency.

But above all other demands stands this, that the country is being requisitioned to supply the city with its life-blood. In the past, eight-tenths of the leaders in city life have come from country homes. Not any of our cities in all of their history have given Canada such intellectual leaders as has the one county of Pictou. Scan the roster of our college presidents since Dawson's

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day in proof. What such a drain eventually means New England shows. Dr. Wilbert L. Anderson says "The superior class, of which exceptional ability was bred, is shattered in the country, and but a remnant of its excellence is left." But now not leadership alone is sought, but sturdy strength for every service as well. The city is the graveyard of physique, and cannot maintain itself unless replenished. This call the stalwart country, the cradle of physique, cannot but hear. She is giving her all, and has ceased to grow. We have no sturdier stock in Canada than is found in Huron, Bruce, and Grey, in Ontario. Their sons have proved at once our hardiest pioneers, and our staunch captains of industry. To maintain and increase such national services Huron in the past 10 years parted with 17 per cent. of her people besides giving all her increase; Bruce with 18 per cent.; Grey with 20, and Pictou with 26 per cent.

There can be but one outcome from such a series of drains upon the country—the impoverishment of all rural life. Impoverishment is shown by the abandoned dwelling. My home township of Edwardsburg closed 14 per cent. of its farm homes in the decade. And this is neither exceptional nor extreme. Ashfield, in Huron, closed 15 per cent.; Egremont, in Grey, 16 per cent.; Darling, in Lanark, 17 per cent.; Abinger, in Addington, 18 per cent.; Cavan, in Durham, 19 per cent., and Normanby, in Grey, 20 per cent.

But the abandoned dwelling is a lesser evil than the depleted household. In 1901 the average number of persons to the household throughout Canada was 5.16. In my home county of Grenville, typical of rural life, it was then 4.42. By 1911 the average for Canada had fallen to 4.84. But in Grenville it had fallen to 4.07. Nor is this exceptional, nor extreme. Middlesex North, had but 3.8, Prince Edward 3.8, Norfolk 3.7. Yet Toronto has 5 to the household, Halifax and Winnipeg 5.3, Montreal 5.4. The low average for the country is not race suicide; it is class suicide. There are not, to any serious extent, childless homes; they are homes whose children have gone. Were the children born in any community 15 per cent. less in number than the parents, for that is what 3.7 is equivalent to, that community would be doomed. But is it well where, in a community of over 20,000 persons such as normal Norfolk, the children remaining in the community are 15 per cent. less than the parents? Is not the class doomed?

Impoverishment is seen in the lessened proportion of women in the country. The excess of men over women in Ontario's rural population is 85,900. In the cities there are 102 women to 100

men; in the country 116 men to 100 women. Women are even more dissatisfied with farm life than men.

The school suffers. In my home township there is a school with but a single pupil on the roll. Last year the school was not opened, the trustees paying \$300 to have the solitary pupil conveyed daily to the next district school and taught there. Yet fifty years ago that school had an attendance of 45. When the English schools of the eastern townships of Quebec were inspected in 1912 there was an average attendance of less than five in more than half their number. There were sixty-two schools in Manitoba with an aggregate enrollment of 315 or five to the school. In Ontario there were 110 schools with an average attendance for the year of less than five.

Social life suffers. This loss is felt from the beginning of life, and throughout its course, and in all its elements. For the children in the school districts just described, games are an impossibility; for play-groups must be of an age. Now if the children of a district cannot have games when gathered for school, where shall they find play? And play is essential to a child. The sports of youth, those feats of strength and tests of skill native to the country, the plowing match, the quilting bee, are dying out. The singing-school, the spelling match, which once made the schoolhouse a social centre, have passed away. Instead, country youths look for a day in the neighboring town, where they pay their entrance fee to see the commercialized spectacle of sport. In mature life, when often the parents are left alone on the farm, the hunger for companionship is seen. One woman, in answering a "questionnaire," quotes in passionate protest the words of Cowper:

O solitude! where are the charms
Which sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms
Than reign in this desolate place!

Church life suffers. Services cannot be thronged as once they were. The great religious bodies cannot depend upon the support of their rural congregations for their world-wide work as once they could, and did. The dearth of candidates for the ministry is due to causes operative in the country, whence the ministry has ever been recruited. Country congregations are bled to the white by the loss of trained workers. These enrich the city; the country charge must rear all its members and train all its workers.

But we have as yet touched only upon the surface currents, upon the losses caused by the movement itself, not upon the

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deeper lying forces which cause the movement, and the unsatisfactory life due to them. But to envisage the situation we must give these chief place.

The industrial revolution is the occasion, but not the cause, of the problem. That revolution caused the flow of population only so far as that movement is beneficent. Its extreme measure and its injurious character have other causes. For though the coming of the factory-system swept the country free of all callings but farming, it gave such economic betterment to farmers as would of itself have given farm life such social advance as to have offset the departure of traders and artisans; and though the use of machinery and power on the farm set some free to leave, yet the growing city market offset this, and lightened toil and added leisure should have made farm life still more desirable. The new order is a boon to the farmer.

Economic injustice is the first of the underlying causes of the problem.

Our fiscal system operates to the farmer's injury. The industrial city claims that it cannot live without a direct impost upon the country. By the incidence of the protective tariff, declared to be essential to the standing of industry, one-tenth of the farmer's income is transferred to city pockets.

Our system of taxation contributes. One effect of that system is to raise the price of land in city and country. The burden of the price of city land—already some three million dollars an acre in the heart of our cities—is passed back from hand to hand by means of the overhead charge in business until it falls upon the first producer, of which class the farmer is chief. Other improvements secured in country life, the productivity secured by better husbandry; better roads, better streets, are all capitalized into rising prices of land. Now rising price of land without rise of income, is a handicap to the country. It makes purchase difficult to the young farmer, tempts owners to sell, fosters landlordism, and increases rents to the tenant farmer. This cause of depletion is most fully at work where others are absent—in the most fertile districts.

Economic opportunity is denied the farmer. Adequate credit is not afforded him. Though the farmer is the safest of private borrowers, he pays, as the report of the Saskatchewan Commission on Agriculture Credit shows, from 10 to 14 per cent. interest, while good commercial paper is discounted at 6 per cent. But in Germany, with adequate agricultural credit, farmers pay only 4.4, and in France only 4.3 per cent. Nor is such credit a bagatelle in national prosperity. The farmers of Saskatchewan alone are

paying interest on \$140,000,000 of borrowed capital. We shall hear presently from Mr. Desjardins of a splendid agency of credit in Quebec.

Through such drains the farmer's income suffers. We have as yet no detailed information regarding the comparative income of different classes in Canada. But the United States census has given out tabulated returns. The average net income of all farmers in the United States is \$640; the average labor income, when 5 per cent. has been credited to investment, is \$318. Farmers form just one half the population, and hold just one-fourth of the national wealth. That is, each person engaged in agriculture holds, on the average, just one-third as much wealth as the average held by each person engaged in other pursuits. When we remember the higher cost of living in Canada and the more rapid urbanization we may infer with certainty that the situation is still more acute in Canada.

But other information is at hand here. First-hand investigations show that in general farmers receive little return from capital investment. Ownership of land affords only opportunity to gain a laborer's livelihood.

This condition is serious, fundamentally so. The rewards of capital, when its risks also are considered, must be fairly equal in all lines of industry, if each industry is to survive. Nor is farm investment a bagatelle. The investment of Ontario farmers alone was in 1912 greater by a quarter million dollars than the money on deposit in the banks of all Canada.

This income situation is one of the fundamental causes of the exodus and of the problem. The smaller income of the country retards rural progress. The larger city income attracts men. Thus we reach the first of three fundamental propositions.

A Satisfactory Farm Life must then, first of all, be based upon Economic Justice and Opportunity.

It is the function of government to secure economic justice. In part of Western Canada a truer system of taxation has been adopted. But in order that government may function properly, there is need of wise and strong public opinion aggressively demanding greater justice. The problem at this point becomes one of how to secure such a public opinion. In regard to credit also the first necessity is legislation authorizing some such agency as Mr. Desjardins shall tell us of as authorized in Quebec.

Other factors enter as fully as the economic one. Such handicaps bear upon all alike, yet the situation is not homogeneous. We have localities where it assumes the tragic form revealed by a recent report of the commission of conservation dealing with the

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Trent Watershed, where in 1911, one hundred and ninety-five farms were sold for non-payment of taxes at an average price of six cents an acre. Attempted tillage of land unfit for husbandry accounts for the situation. We have fine old homesteads thrown on the market; and other farmsteads marked by constant improvement. Exhaustion or conservation of fertility accounts for the contrast. We have rich plow lands reverting to pasture, while reclaimed swamp brings \$500 an acre. Utilization for fittest use, or its absence, points out the reasons. We have farms of high productivity secured through rotation, fields in clean tilth, grain of high grade, herds attaining new records of performance, contrasting with farms where antiquated methods crush with cruel yoke. Scientific agriculture and haphazard routine account for the disparity. We have neighborhoods where modern methods secure markets, and we have localities where production is allowed to go to waste after it has been secured. Business efficiency is the key to the situation.

While agriculture is progressive, it is not so progressive as other industries. Especially has there not been keeping pace with leading farmers by the mass of their fellows as there has been keeping pace with the foremost shops in other industries. And this condition is the second fundamental cause of the problem. Man must progress, and therefore must find some field for satisfactory achievement. Thus we reach our second principle:

A Satisfactory Farm Life must be not only based on Economic Justice and Opportunity, but must also be built up in Industrial Business Efficiency.

The problem at this point becomes twofold, the securing of industrial efficiency through agricultural education, and of business efficiency through co-operation. Agricultural education of the most thorough kind is afforded a limited number through our agricultural colleges, and effective guidance is afforded to many through the various extensive agencies; the problem now is to afford it to all. The plan for a most effective general agency is available in that splendid document, the recommendations of the Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education regarding rural education for Canada.

The first requisite for co-operation is legislation authorizing the formation and defining the powers of co-operative societies. At present the only legal form of organization is upon a joint stock basis. The other factor in the problem is the replacing of the individualistic spirit by the co-operative spirit.

Yet a third set of factors enters as fully into the situation. The San Joachim Delta in California affords an instance of agri-

cultural science in the most advanced form applied over a wide area with marked financial success. But conditions of rural life so unsatisfactory are perhaps not to be found elsewhere upon this continent. Land is owned in large estates, sublet to tenants on yearly lease. An American farmer and an American gang take charge the year the soil is under alfalfa or barley; Swedes or Danes succeed when the fields are in beet root; Italians follow where onions are grown; and Japanese or Chinese while potatoes are cultivated. The dwellings consequently are shelter huts, not homes, and school and church are unknown. The delta is a mine of agricultural and financial wealth, but the blight of famine has fallen on its social and spiritual life.

Agricultural science will doubtless at no distant time be generally applied; there are two possibilities before us in regard to its adoption—that it shall follow the lines of organization adopted in applying mechanical and chemical science to industry—the great business in the capitalists' hands employing many wage-earners; or follow the lines of co-operation, retaining the control of the tools of agriculture in the hands of all. The individualistic spirit of the farmer has so far been the salvation of farm life from the chaos of the modern industrial world. But not that spirit but co-operation alone can henceforth withstand commercialism.

The number of the people in the country will doubtless yet be determined absolutely by economic considerations; the grade to which these people shall belong, will be determined by social considerations. That number, now too small—for Canada should certainly supply her own needs in butter and meat, now being sent by New Zealand—will rise or fall according as economic conditions shall be more or less just. But the quality of her people in the country, and even their national stock, will depend upon whether she adopts the methods of San Joachim cropping, or those of normal rural living.

There is, therefore, an imperative call for a home life in the country with relations between father and children, between farmer and employed help, between woman and farm life, adapted to the new market farming as fully as the older home life was adapted to the older subsistence farming.

There is an imperative call for education in the country which shall not only train the youth for the occupation of agriculture, but which shall hold them with magnetic interest in the schools until trained for life as well as for occupation in the country—an education such as is planned in the recent report on Industrial Training and Technical Education.

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There is an imperative call for healthful recreations and means of social intercourse springing directly out of the new and better agriculture and the new co-operative life.

And there is an imperative call for the Church to fulfil its function in rural life, not merely in providing a social centre and introducing approved Y.M.C.A. methods, but in solving the problem directly by teaching that conservation is a moral task, sounding a clear note against exploitation as essentially immoral; by dealing with the question of character that lies behind lack of co-operation and of even scientific cultivation; and by leading the farmer to enter upon the responsibilities of the new world-environment with a new sense of worth and service rendered. And thus we reach our final principle:

A Satisfactory Rural Life must be not only based on Economic Justice and built up in Industrial Efficiency, but its Satisfactions also must be Adequate and Intrinsic.

Never again can we have the old farms of worth restored, the satisfactions arising out of the household sufficient unto itself and the local economic life. What is needed is a rural reconstruction whose formative processes themselves shall afford at once the economic opportunities, the social satisfaction, and the ethical disciplines of a new and better form life.

The problem at this point becomes four-fold; of securing first, community ideals and solidarity, so that all helpful agencies in the country shall unite in one common cause. The country community is but ropes of sand where it should be chains of steel. City life has something of unity and of local character. "City by city they hail, hast aught to match with mine?"

It is a problem, too, of securing the joy and pride of labor. All good work the world has seen has thrilled with this. Country life is not for all. Of the youths growing up in a country community one is markedly mechanical in his tastes. He understands mechanism at a glance, and moves among machinery as its conscious king. Another is as mercantile in his aptitudes, at home amid the forms and calculations of business, finding the wine of life in mastering and wielding the laws of trade. For such the arena of life lies elsewhere. But for those who are to dwell in the country, whose task is to furnish men's daily bread, there must be found in fertile field and blooded stock not only their price in gold, but the artist's creative joy and the reward of the scientist "Where some new plant swims into his ken."

It is a problem of the appreciation of country values. Of these the beauty of nature is one; privacy and freedom of life another; environment essentially creative another. Such values

are countless, wide as human life itself and varied as its needs. Yet few of the free-born heirs of the country are awake to the charm of the fields. Few, until their rude awakening in the city, realize the creative freedom of the country. The country needs a vision of its own felicity.

It is a problem, lastly, of realizing the dignity of service. The physician is expected to put service above fees. The soldier serves for a livelihood, and is expected to lay down his life at need. The farmer's post is a kindred one. He is to supply daily bread for his fellow-men. He must not fail them. A generous livelihood he should have out of nature's bounty as its response to his own faithful toil, but the remainder, ample as his devotion can make it, should be service to his fellow-men. The man who lived by this rule would remain in the country, at his beloved occupation, for all incentives which now call men away would be gone. Were it once present, there would be no rural problems, and this ideal is part of the vision of the kingdom.

The future of agriculture is secure. That of rural life must be made secure. Now more than ever before the country proclaims its provincial wealth:

Dowered I stand in each ample land, as I make my plans for a
 day
 When men shall not rape my riches and curse me and go away;
 Planning for men who shall bless me, for women esteeming me
 good,
 For children loving my borders, for helpful brotherhood,
 For the joy of gracious living and fame as a flag unfurled
 As I pour the tide of my riches in the eager lap of the world.

We, therefore, who dwell in the country call upon the city to make of itself the garden city, sanitary, just, and beneficent, a nursery of men and possessions, where men shall not wither away but replenish the earth, so that the city shall no longer requisition our sons and daughters, but give unto the country even as the country gives unto her.

And we call upon the state to do clean justice and afford ample opportunity to all; to direct education to the ends and satisfactions of life in the country; to lay no burden upon production, but to appraise the share in production due to society as a partner with land, labor, and capital, a share found alike in the price of land, the wages of labor, and the interest of capital, and to hand over to society her own ample means for all her tasks.

And we call upon the Church to fulfil her function as the

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Institute of the Kingdom—the organization pledged to one special purpose, the establishment of the Kingdom of God in human society,—to go into all the world of human relationships and disciple all nations, all communities, all corporations of men, teaching men so institutionalized to become learners at the feet of Jesus concerning the will of God.

And we call upon ourselves to gain efficiency, to master opportunity, to practice brotherhood; to learn the joy of labor, to appreciate country values, and to live in the spirit of service, for in these our life consists.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE— WHAT IT IS DOING TO SOLVE THE RURAL PROBLEM.

PROF. J. B. REYNOLDS, B.A., ONTARIO AGRICULTURAL
COLLEGE, GUELPH.

The supreme problem affecting the rural situation in Canada to-day is: how to make farm life in Canada satisfying, in measures of happiness and prosperity, to a people of standard character. All questions of economics, of sociology, of education and religion, are secondary to the main question of a rural life that is satisfying to a people of standard taste and standard intelligence.

At present, something is wrong with the general conditions surrounding farm life. If it were not so, we should hear less of rural depopulation, and less of the high cost of living. If it were not so, this conference on the problem of country life would probably not be in session. And whatever is amiss, it is something which the utmost efficiency and intelligence of the individual farmer is unable to cope with. Nothing can be done for inefficient and unintelligent farmers. Having eyes, they see not, and having ears, they hear not. But all the farmers of Canada are not inefficient, nor are the majority of them so. And yet the rural problem remains, and intensifies. It is to do what the individual farmer, however capable in himself, cannot do to make his circumstances attractive and satisfying, that the departments of agriculture in Canada have been called into being.

Every province of Canada has its Department of Agriculture, presided over, with one exception, by a responsible Minister. The work of the department in Prince Edward Island is directed by a commissioner. In addition, there is a department for the Dominion, with several branches of investigation in particular lines, such as live stock, dairying, fruit-growing, seeds, and marketing. The field assigned to the Provincial departments is chiefly that of education. The field for the Dominion department is chiefly that of investigation and demonstration. All of the Provincial departments are similarly organized. It will be sufficient here to indicate general methods and results.

Efforts for the bettering of rural conditions and for the maintenance of a desired standard of farm life have been mainly in

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three directions: first, the removal of obstacles; secondly, the increase of individual efficiency; thirdly, the increase of community efficiency. The ideal result of all these efforts is not to make rural life easy, but to make it noble. All obstacles need not be smoothed away, but enough of them to make conquest possible. It is not effort and struggle that deprive farm life of satisfaction, but continual and ignominious defeat. A sense of mastery is necessary to any degree of satisfaction, and to the growth of noble character.

The chief external obstacles confronting the Canadian farmer to-day are scarcity of labor, lack of capital, bad roads, and natural pests such as weeds and crop diseases.

The labor problem is inherent in the present unfavorable conditions of farm life. The same repulsions that are driving farmers away from their farms are keeping laborers away. The Dominion and Provincial Governments by their immigration policy are doing perhaps all that can be done by way of direct aid in this matter. The Ontario Bureau of Colonization in 1911 sent 2,536 immigrants to Ontario farms. But it is one thing to bring a capable agricultural immigrant to Canada, and it is quite another thing to place him permanently as laborer on a Canadian farm. Sooner or later, he is likely to feel the lure of better-paid employment in the cities, or the more attractive lure of Western lands. Our departments of agriculture have perhaps done more indirectly than directly in solving the labor problem on the farm. Farmers are being urgently advised to provide homes for married men, and so to plan their work as to find profitable employment for men the year round. The keeping of live stock, for dairy and meat production, in sufficient numbers to justify retaining hired help winter as well as summer, is the best solution of this problem for the general farmer.

The expense of hauling produce to market over the generally bad roads of the country, results in a widespread reduction of the farmer's legitimate profits. At certain times of the year many country roads are almost impassable. Obviously, since the building and maintenance of roads is a municipal rather than a provincial affair, the governments are limited to direct grants of money for road-building, and to the collecting and giving out of information respecting the best methods of road-building. Radical improvement in this direction is urgently necessary. Municipal officers and path-masters are badly in need of instruction on road problems. It is gratifying to read the following note in the speech from the Throne at the recent assembling of the Ontario Legis-

lature: "In accordance with the announcement made at the last meeting of the Legislature, a Commission on Roads and Highways has been appointed, and has begun the preliminary work for a scheme of road improvement throughout the province."

Many farmers would gladly follow the advice of the agricultural authorities by improving their buildings and increasing their possessions in live stock, but they lack capital. A manufacturing concern about to be established in a town secures at the outset all sorts of direct benefits from the town in bonuses, free sites, and exemption from taxation. For capital, it invites the public to co-operate by investing in the concern with the prospect of dividends. Joint-stock companies for manufacturing agricultural products are not in favor. If a farmer wants capital to extend his business, he must become personally responsible for both principal and dividend, and must pledge his past gains and his future prospects in a mortgage bearing current rates of interest. He enjoys neither the advantage of the company promoter, who invites his shareholders to share both profits and losses, nor that of the railway company in its sale of stocks and debentures, and in government guarantees which enable the company to borrow money at low rates of interest. In most of the countries of Europe, systems of agricultural credit have been adopted, whereby enterprising farmers can borrow money for legitimate expansion of their business at low rates of interest and on easy terms of repayment. Here again, governments can do little but aid in organizing, and safeguarding the conditions of loans. This question will be examined again under the head of developing the community efficiency.

The natural enemies of agriculture—the diseases of the soil, of economic plants, and of domestic animals—have so increased in number and virulence that eternal vigilance is the lowest possible price of safety. The twitch grass and the perennial sow-thistle, the wild oat and the wild tare; the scab, the scale, the aphid and the codling moth; the rust, the smut, and the weevil; all these are familiar names to the Canadian farmer and fruit-grower. From the nature of the difficulty, the individual farmer is helpless to combat these enemies. Even if he had skill to discover by his own investigation effectual checks for them, his substance would be spent in costly experiment, and in the meantime wasted by losses. Obviously, it is the business of the state to discover checks for the natural enemies of agriculture. And if our departments of agriculture had done nothing but engage men of scientific training and habit of mind, and set them the problem of devising means

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of combating the natural enemies of the farmer; if our departments of agriculture had done nothing more than this, their existence would be amply justified. There is nothing of more material interest and importance in modern history than the story of the economic successes of science applied to agriculture. Science hath her victories, no less renowned than those of war. Modern science, like religion, has her pioneers, her prophets, and her martyrs. Science knows no international boundaries. What Germany, France, Great Britain, the United States, or Canada has discovered to benefit agriculture, is ungrudgingly made known to the wide world. The net result is, that the efficient and capable farmer to-day has at his command weapons with which he can wage successful warfare against the natural enemies that beset him. He knows the value of the rotation of crops, and the place of clover in that rotation, with its unique power of gathering the free nitrogen of the air to enrich the soil. By means of the Babcock test and the milk scale, he can improve his herd by selection, so that each cow in his herd yields him from five to ten times the profit secured by his inefficient neighbor. While his incapable neighbor is feeding to the pigs the product of his orchard, the efficient farmer, by judicious pruning, spraying and cultivating, grows apples that command the highest price in the market. In these and a hundred other ways the modern farmer may benefit by the research of the scientist.

The particular means by which the departments of agriculture secure these benefits to the farmer, and thus increase his individual efficiency, are experimental farms and stations, demonstration farms, and agricultural colleges. The Dominion Department has established a chain of experimental and demonstration farms from east to west over the Dominion. The dual purpose of these stations is to test varieties of grains, grasses and fruits, and methods of tillage, in particular localities, and to demonstrate locally results with those varieties and methods found to be suited to local conditions. The purpose of the colleges is mainly to instruct young farmers in the science of agriculture, and incidentally to train men who will in turn become teachers or demonstrators.

The efficiency of agricultural colleges in training young men for the actual business of farming is sometimes, even yet, called in question. It is claimed that education, even at an agricultural college, spoils a young man for the manual labor that is demanded of the average Canadian farmer. It is claimed that what he sees and learns while at college, opens his eyes to the disabilities of

farming as it is in Canada, and turns his attention to occupations more attractive. It is claimed that the acquaintance with books, the laboratory habit, the passion for investigation which he acquires at an agricultural college, come finally to interest his mind more than the slow and laborious results of actual farming. It is further claimed that the trained agricultural scientist, even if he turns farmer, is not so likely to win success in the actual fight with nature as his less instructed, but more experienced, brother.

It must be confessed that there is some truth in these claims, but while admitting a measure of truth in the claims, it is all the more important to make just inferences. A possible inference is that there is something wrong with the system of education, or with the atmosphere surrounding a college, that unfits a young man for practical farming. Another inference is that there is something wrong with the conditions of farming, if a young man specially trained to farm finds the prospect unattractive. It would be absurd, in this age and in this country, to deny the right of the farmer, as an individual, to a sound education. Here, however, it is not with a general education, but with vocational training, that we are dealing. It is a strange situation, indeed, if vocational training unfits a man for his vocation. It is, moreover, an impossible situation. Shall we leave the splendid results of agricultural science to be put into practice by ignorant and untrained minds? Who is so fitted to profit by these results as the man who has himself some acquaintance with agricultural science? Though every Canadian farmer, unless he is so rich that he is farming for a pastime, must himself labor with his hands, how is that labor to be dignified and fittingly rewarded? It is the intelligence of the directing mind that ennobles the labor of the performing hand. And it is the intelligence of the directing mind that ensures the reward for that labor. With that finical distaste for labor which some callow youths acquire at college, we have no patience. "We must all toil," says Carlyle, "or steal, howsoever we name our stealing." Whatever it is which makes farming unattractive to the man with the right vocational training, it ought not to be the labor involved. The untrained and unskilled man might be repelled by the labor because his labor is to him both uninteresting and unprofitable. But the man rightly trained, and our agricultural colleges, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary, are equipped with the means for furnishing that training, is trained exactly to make his labor both interesting and profitable. And, in spite of partial failures heretofore, the solution of the

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problem depends in great part upon continuing vocational training of farmers through our agricultural colleges.

An interesting phase of college extension is the work of the district representatives in Ontario. In thirty-seven counties of Ontario, thirty-seven graduates of the Provincial college are proclaiming directly to the farmers of Ontario the gospel of improved agriculture. These men find their way to the confidence of the farmers, secure for them the best information possible about seeds, cultivation, drainage, pruning and spraying, and management and feeding of stock. They take off their coats and put on overalls and prune the farmer's trees. They furnish detailed plans for draining his fields. They lease orchards and demonstrate the cost and the proceeds in managing an orchard scientifically. They organize Farmers' Clubs, and egg-gathering circles and thus foster the spirit of co-operation. They open offices where farmers are invited to come for special information and confidential talks. In short, they bring within the reach of busy farmers the most approved science and art of agriculture.

It is obvious, to anyone who understands the situation, that however efficient the individual farmer may be, he is only a unit, and an ineffective unit, in dealing with many of the conditions with which he is confronted. The problems of labor, of securing supplies cheaply, of securing capital cheaply, the problem of marketing, and above all the social problem—all these depend for their solution upon corporate action. It is a deplorable fact that the community spirit is feeble in many rural sections of Canada. Each farmer does his buying and his selling, and manages the work of his farm without giving or receiving much assistance. Moreover, as a result of the rural depopulation, and the centralizing of industries away from country villages, the social life in the country has been impoverished. The country village near which the writer was born, boasted, thirty-five years ago, a carpenter, a blacksmith, two shoemakers, a general merchant, and a number of day laborers. At the present moment, none of these occupations is represented in that village. This change has resulted not only in the lessening of local conveniences, but also in a depleting of variety in social types. It is hopeless to expect a return to former conditions in this respect. The industrial arts, and their artisans, have forever vanished from our villages. These social and economic losses may, in part, be made up by the co-operative spirit. What may be done, or is being done, by the departments of agriculture is briefly indicated as follows: (1) Establishing a system of agricultural credit; (2) establishing a department

of co-operation and marketing; (3) organizing Farmers' Clubs and Women's Institutes.

First mortgages on farm lands, in Eastern Canada at least, enjoy the unique distinction of being classed as safe investments bearing a high rate of interest. The safety of the investment lies in the stability of land values. The high rate of interest is due to the fact that the borrower acts singly and without the effect of corporate machinery. If, suppose, a community of farmers, each wishing to borrow money for legitimate expansion of his business, should pledge the collective value of their free holdings as security for each and every sum borrowed, there would thus exist an unimpeachable security for all money borrowed. The community of borrowers may be organized by Act of Parliament into a chartered company competent to issue bonds and debentures, and to appoint valutors on whose appraisings loans may be made to members. This is part of the Raiffeisen system of People's Banks, which has worked wonders in encouraging enterprise and self-help among the poorer people in Germany and France and elsewhere.

The Ontario Department of Agriculture last year sent a representative to Europe, in company with a commission from the United States, for the purpose of investigating European systems of agricultural credit. If the Government will report upon the system of credit most adaptable to the conditions of this country, and will enact legislation that will make the system feasible, it may be said that the Government's function in this matter will have reached its limit. It is not necessary nor advisable that the Government should either lend money directly to the farmers, or guarantee the bonds of the borrowing companies. In one instance at least such a company in Germany declined the government's guarantee, on the plea that they did not wish the security of their financial standing shaken by being involved with a political organization. And the securities of some of these borrowing companies are quoted at a higher rate than government securities.

Some of the farmer's friends—and, if one may judge from the quantity of advice that is being handed out to him from all quarters, the farmer has many friends—some of these friends are advising him to spend his savings in improving his farm property and extending his business, instead of depositing those savings in the bank to draw three per cent. per annum. The advice is good, but it does not go far enough. He should also be advised and encouraged to borrow, if necessary, for the same good purpose. But the present rate of interest is too high for the farmer in average

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conditions to pay a dividend. The only remedy is to enable him, as is being done in Europe, to borrow at a lower rate.

The spirit of co-operation is feeble in Canada. Experience in Europe has shown that farmers as a rule will co-operate only under the pressure of necessity. That point has not yet been reached in Canada, though, so far as marketing is concerned, we are rapidly approaching it. In the meantime, the Ontario Department of Agriculture has organized a Co-operation and Marketing Branch. Under the guidance of this Branch, an educative campaign may be started, and the spirit of co-operation be developed in rural communities.

Two agencies more or less under the direction or encouragement of our Departments of Agriculture have great possibilities in the bettering of rural conditions. I refer to Farmers' Clubs and Women's Institutes. The Farmers' Club is an effective economic and educational instrument. It is economic because it affords the means for the working out of practical schemes of co-operation suited to the locality. It is educational because of the debates conducted under its auspices. The Women's Institute, which at the present time is more immediately under the direction of a Branch of the Department of Agriculture, has been from the beginning educational and social in its direction. Its motto, "For Home and Country," indicates its bias. The women of the Institutes have found their opportunity in the home life and in the life of the child. No greater interests can absorb the attention. To safeguard and enrich and ennoble the great social unit—the family circle—and to train mind, and will, and conscience in growing boys and girls so as to insure the right character-material for nation-building—in accepting these as their peculiar province our Canadian women have yielded obedience to the highest imperatives.

THE CHURCH AND THE RURAL PROBLEM.

REV. S. F. SHARP, B.A.

Professor Ottley, in "A Short History of the Hebrews," tells how the limestone hills of Judea—the sparseness of grit, hence the call to arduous toil—had much to do in shaping the character of Israel, in endowing the Jew with his race characteristics and developing a patriotism unsurpassed. "The Song of the Soil" is heard upon almost every page of the Old Testament. Is there a sweeter song, for the gleaner in yonder harvest field, the beautiful Ruth, becomes the ancestress of our Lord? The Church of the first three centuries stood for the creation of a Christian social order. As we behold these little groups of early Christians we must acknowledge their whole life was Christianized. The trouble with the Church to-day is, we have drifted away from the propaganda of the early Church. It is as Professor Rauschenbusch says: "The Christianizing of the Social Order," page 78, "The Church is only an agency to create the Kingdom of God, but practically it came to regard itself as the Kingdom." We even exalt the Church above the Kingdom. The prerogative of the Church is to preach religion, but religion touches all life. Paul says, in his salutation of peace: "And may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire." All acknowledge that to-day the Church is the greatest organizing centre. The Church and Sunday School are life's greatest organizing forces—evidenced in every rural survey. The reason is because the Church teaches religion. This is her especial work. The Government cannot do it, nor even the press, though it may presume to do something. There is no other agency can preach, but the Church.

But is there a rural problem? We remember that in the decade 1901-1911 of the millions flocking to Canadian shores 62.25 per cent. remained in the towns and cities, especially in the large centres, while but 17.16 per cent. settled in the open country. Do you wonder that there were thousands crying for bread during the present winter? Moreover, the population of Canada is about equally divided between the cities and the country. Marvellous has been the exodus from the soil. Take the County of Middlesex, with its beautiful City of London. During the years 1907-1911 the rural parts of this county lost twelve thousand of its people,

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while London gained during the same period eight thousand. Moreover, of fifteen staple productions there was a falling off of eleven. We pray "Give us this day our daily bread," but how is bread going to be given us? Professor McGiffert, in the "Apostolic Age," tells how one of the mightiest contributing forces leading to the fall of Rome was "the growing tendency toward the urban life, and the increasing depopulation of the rural districts."

The Church stands for the regeneration of all life. She ever lifts up her voice against all sin. And what is sin? Is it not "Any want of conformity unto or transgression of the law of God"? Not only the sin of not worshipping God in His holy sanctuary, but in the breaking of the great economic and social laws, with which God has endowed life. There is the sin of the exploitation of the soil for selfish gain. This is evident in soil depletion. You see this in old Manitoba, where you find an average of sixteen bushels of wheat to the acre—where there used to be forty-five. How true it is is stated by Professor Davenport—that in the Western States the soil was robbed in one generation of more fertility than it took nature one thousand years to give. In every bushel of wheat there is found four pounds of nitrogen—worth fifteen cents per pound. Moreover, if this depleting of the soil were to continue the people coming after us must starve. In a MSS. sent me by Dr. Wilson, the most recent survey made by the American Presbyterian Church of Southeastern Ohio, a farm rented for seventeen years was sold for fifteen dollars per acre because of soil depletion. Bordering upon Huron is a large tract, with no rotation of crops, but in pasturage. The result is a breeding ground for larvae. Thus the destructive June bugs. One of my friends buried several pails of them, found in his garden alone. How about loving your neighbor? Are there no morals wrapt up in this?

Adaptation to New Age.—The watchword of the Church has been "Laissez faire"—let them alone. They will right themselves in their own time. It is strange that we do not practise this in other departments of the Church's work. Harold Begbie pictures to us how the Salvation Army lassie goes to the slum districts, enters the vile hovels, throws open the windows, ministers to the sick, then with her scrubbing brush cleanses the room of its filth. The regeneration of environment must follow, or be simultaneous with the regenerating of the human heart. In the foreign field the Church creates a new Christian social order. Was it not through the digging of a well that the patriarch, Dr. John G. Paton, was able to reach the abject heathen of the New Hebrides?

Did not the celebrated Dr. Jessup use his kit of carpenter's tools as a means for opening Syria to his wonderful ministry of preaching the Gospel? The American Presbyterian Church has its college for the teaching of agriculture at Allahabad, India, hence relief from famines—thus the saving of body and soul. I knew a young man, wonderfully used of God among railroad men. He gets into touch with them as few can. He himself lied to get his papers as an engineer, declaring he was twenty-one when he was not. Then before full age he ran the fastest train that had ever run over the road at my own home. Do you wonder he can lead these men to the Master of us all? He thinks the thoughts of these men. Thus there is brotherhood. Herein the Church fails in her work in the country. Almost any minister will do for the country.

A minister writes me of his old home, Prince Edward County, that historic county nestling among the lakes, the place peopled by those noble pioneers whose lives spelled sacrifice—the United Empire Loyalists. Twenty years ago in one circuit there was a superintendent and his assistant, while to-day the same field is reduced to the status of a student charge. He declares the Church is obsolete in her methods. In the survey of Southeastern Ohio, previous to this survey seventy-two per cent. of the churches had conducted revival services, but the survey reveals that seventy-two per cent. of the same country churches are either in decadence or standing still. The Church has centralized in the towns and cities, giving them of her best to the neglect of the open country. I would have every country minister take a course of study at an agricultural college to fit him better for his work.

Socialization of the Church.—The Church must provide recreation for its people. One of the great forces working for the depopulation of the country is the greater opportunity for pleasure in the towns and cities. Then the Church seemingly has placed her ban upon amusement. In the survey of Ohio this was made manifest. One man said that when he had been converted the Lord saved him from fares, festivals and ice cream suppers. "Baseball is of hell!" exclaimed another. If so, why? Because the Church has been negative in her criticisms, failing to give something in the place of that which she condemns. We found in our Huron County survey that there was a tremendous lack of social life, and this to my thinking was serious, for while the Church rejoiced that the young people did not dance nor play cards, yet there were other growing evils, because nothing of a pure character in amusement had been provided.

One of our big Presbyterian men—whose great heart and

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body are given up to this great work—told us at our first Presbytery meeting for the study of the social problems—that it was through the playing of football he learned self-control. Yes, and I feel the ethics which have made his life so effective.

Someone has said the minister's work is souls, not soils. Yes, but look at the facts. In Huron County there are 974 more males than females in the rural portion, while in the towns there are 1,345 more females than males. Professor Rauschenbusch tells us the home is the most Christianized order of all society. "Today the Christianized family is being attacked by new disintegrating forces against which it is all the more defenceless because it now rests so exclusively in the finer and more fragile moral instincts"—page 136. "Unless these destructive forces are checked in this generation, the institution of the family will have been Christianized only to perish like a flower in full bloom bitten by the frost." How are you going to bring together these divergent forces evidenced to form families? The fact is fewer girls, because we have not done our duty by the girls. If such continues you will have no girls at all.

Christianization of Society.—The Decalogue teaches two lessons—our duty towards God and our duty to our neighbor. Hence it is summed up in the Golden Rule—"Thou shalt love the Lord—and thy neighbor—even as thyself." Your neighbor is the person next or nearest to you. This spells brotherhood. Thus the Church of the first three centuries was characterized, for they called each other brothers. This present age of competition and exploitation, the passion for gain through unearned increment—I mean this age when capitalism is supreme—are all contrary to the ethical teachings of the Golden Rule. Capitalism means the acquisition of gain at the expense of my fellows, even in matters of food and drink. One of my own farmers left one hundred barrels of apples upon his trees in 1912 because they would not pay for the picking. Many of these were snow apples number one in quality. When he went to the city, bruised snow apples were sold in front of his home for \$2.00 per barrel. Consider, it only took twenty-six cents to take a barrel to the city. Butter, which we use in Exeter, costing us twenty-six and one-half cents, costs the person in Toronto thirty-five cents for the same identical article. But you could ship fifty pounds of it for sixty cents. Do you wonder at the high cost of living, and the growing hunger of the people? A change can only be wrought through co-operation, which is brotherhood. I hear you ask, what has the Church to do with co-operative societies? I would answer, everything. I went and studied conditions

in a certain county where there is the best co-operative fruit association in Canada, a county where intensive methods of farming are working revolutions. My cousin took me to a farm of 400 acres for which he had offered \$15,500, but was refused, for they wanted \$17,000. The next year this same farm was sold for \$37,000. Why not? Because \$12,000 worth of apples alone had been sold off it. But what has that to do with the Church? It has this much. One man alone gave \$1,800 for missions. This last year the same church closed with \$800 in the treasury. Immediately \$300 was further voted for missions. In the recent Ohio survey it is pointed out how that in three townships, where a farmers' co-operative society is in operation, the growth of the churches is clearly seen, a cleavage being evident with the surrounding townships. Did you not see Bulletin 192 of the Ontario Department of Agriculture, where the moral aspect of co-operation is set forth? This is from Prussia: "The idle man becomes industrious, the spendthrift thrifty, the drunkard reforms his ways and becomes sober, the tavern-hunter forsakes the inn." How true that religion and prosperity go hand in hand! It is thus Professor George Adam Smith interprets Joel 2:28 concerning the pouring out of God's Holy Spirit, thus inspiring the young with visions and the old with dreams. Earthly prosperity and spiritual revival move together.

Idealization of the Country.—I agree with President L. H. Bailey of Cornell, when he predicts the ushering in of a new era, not through organization only, but mostly through the idealization of the country, when the real facts of life in the open country in comparison with the life of the city are fully known—then these will be passed on from one to another. But there is the place for sentiment itself. It means a real love for the country, because is it not God's holy earth? Does your work not lie, where poetry is ever evident, in the glow of both the rising and the setting sun, while above you are seen the fleecy clouds of heaven? The air is melodious with the sweet carols of the birds. You hear music in the whispering winds. The cause of this awful drift has been because the life of town and city has been idealized as surpassing the country, and the whole life of the city has been organized up to the highest standard possible. Yes, and the Church has championed the cause of the city. The Church has followed the crowds to the neglect of those left. The men who minister in our cities are rated higher than those in the country, even though men in the country may have had the highest rating in college classes. This is true many times because the man of the city can everlast-

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ingly talk, even though his mental machinery may be idle. The minister is in the country because he could not get out of it. The reports of advancements through the Laymen's Missionary Movement are generally written from the standpoint of a city or town church. You must note these churches are in strategic centres. They could not help but grow because of members received by certificates from country churches. How many reports have you seen written regarding a country church, though it has been the centre giving to the city its leaders in every walk of life? Even our Church colleges grant to the ministers of the city their coveted doctorates, while men of the country, with deeper scholarships—men who have braved the winters' storms for thirty-five or forty years—men who have inspired virile young men with the noblest heroism in achievement—men of God, who are the backbone of the commonwealth, yes veritable bishops of Christ's Church—are passed over. However, such degrees are not necessary for effective work in the country, but seem to be necessary in the city. Some men need all these honors in order to keep their places, which is not a necessity in the country. The city must perish if it were not for the new life infused from the country. "The Presbyterian" is authority for a statement that old London did not possess one prominent man who had an ancestry of four generations in his city. But it is also true you get not only the best, but the poorest as well. One of our own local papers gave in its last issue the names of some Canadian leaders from old Huron. I noted the names of Sir John Willison, translated from the editorship of "The Toronto Globe" to that of "The News," and Dr. J. A. Macdonald—the virile champion, yes, the Chrysostom of International Peace.

Then there is better health and vigor to be gained in the country. Take an equal group of young men from city and country alike—mark your goal in the far distance. The young men from the city in the beginning sprint will outdistance the young men from the country, but the country young men will be at the goal, awaiting the coming of the young men from the city. The country manhood possesses a greater endurance. Professor Gillette gives tested statistics revealing that the brain average of country children is above that of city children. Then the moral standard of the country is above and beyond that of the city. There are statistics to prove this. All must make known the truth, that for real living the country surpasses the city. But we must really love the country, champion its cause—yes, we must give it our best. There must come to all of you whose early child-

hood was in the country, the sweetest memories of those days. There seems to be a mystic touch found in that country home, which is not discovered in any other centre. Think of those pleasant Sabbath days of the long ago and their quietness—their thrill—your happy family gatherings around the festal board, the excellent ideals of life imparted, the closing of those happy Sabbaths in sweet singing of songs, which still whisper courage in times of need. You learned life's most treasured lessons in that country home. The call to the life of hardest toil, but richest service, comes to-day from the country to the young minister of our Church. I do not mean the going for a few years—thus the using of the country as a stepping stone—but the call is to make the country your life's work—your determination that you will solve its problems for God and for humanity. But the call is to give your lives in sacrifice, just as it has come to young men enrolled in the students' volunteer movement for the world's evangelization. Your reward will be in untold opportunities. St. Francis of Assisi, who wedded Lady Poverty, became an ideal of the common people, and a very incarnation of Christian democracy. We hear it said that ministers will not serve the open country unless large salaries are offered. We are told that ministers should have at least fourteen hundred dollars. Yes, this may be true, but before that day is ushered in men must give themselves in preparing for that day. Such must come because ministers have proved worth while and have given the solution to perplexing problems which have staggered men.

Let us sing "the song of the soil," for it is the song of the truest patriotism—the song of a greater, richer and happier Canada—the land of the Maple Leaf—the song of John the seer in Apocalyptic vision—"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away," for does not such not mean the coming of His Kingdom—when He shall be crowned Lord of all?

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THE SCHOOL AND THE RURAL PROBLEM.

REV. HUGH DOBSON, B.A., OF REGINA.

The serious elements in the rural conditions throughout Canada arise very largely out of the depletion of the country and the trend cityward of the best elements of rural population. Two sets of causes, economic and social, are at work producing this result. The economic causes are (1) the use of improved machinery in consequence of which fewer people are required to raise a given amount of food; (2) the advancement of science, which still further lowers the required population necessary to raise a given amount of food; and (3) the more rapid accumulation of wealth in the city, the thought of which is a lure to many who revolt against conditions of drudgery which have in the past been part of farm life. Abnormal speculation has led to the exodus of many enterprising farmers whose places have been taken by renters, usually on short term leases, and these renters have from economic causes had little community feeling, thus adding to the problem of the district into which they come. Social conditions have their share of responsibility. Many parents leave rural districts for the educational advantages of the city for their families and many young people, often the most ambitious and energetic, under the spell of the amusements and attractions of the city, with its varied human interest, find country life too dull and void of opportunity for them.

Resulting directly and indirectly from these economic and social impulses, we have depleted soil, covered with weeds, inefficient schools, the decreasing influence of the country church, and a somewhat low standard of living in the country home, with a most marked lack of "community sense," which would go so far to redeem the home, the church, the school, and the soil.

The question I am asked to answer is, what can the school do to better these conditions?

The first suggestion I have to offer is the consolidation of rural schools. Several advantages would result where consolidation is brought about under right conditions, growing out of the conviction on the part of the community that education is worth while and that a better quality is well worth paying for.

The advantages of consolidation may be summarized as follows:

(a) A better and steadier attendance due to more regular conveyance of pupils to school.

(b) Better grading of the school with expert teachers in each grade. The very small attendance in nearly all rural schools prevents expert grade work.

(c) With the larger attendance of pupils three, four, or more, teachers would be required. This would provide a fellowship among the teachers under the leadership of one at least of expert standing acting as principal. Better teaching and more contented teachers would result.

(d) Greater permanency of teachers. So many teachers stay only from three months to a year in a school and move on. They get their experience by experimentation in their green and salad days as teachers of country youth. No wonder country boys do not find the present educational process a particularly delightful one. To secure still greater permanency the principal might be provided with a comfortable residence adjacent to the school grounds.

May I quote two sentences from the report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education that has recently presented its invaluable report, through the Department of Labor, at Ottawa?

Part I, pp. 40 and 41: "If a good farmer properly trained and qualified could at the same time be a teacher of a rural school, particularly the rural high school, his efficiency as a teacher and his force and influence as a leader in the locality would be increased rather than diminished. Whatever would help towards the permanency of his tenure and service as a teacher in a locality would be advantageous." "The permanency of the service of teachers in Germany impressed the Commission as one of the strongest factors in what has brought about the efficiency of their (rural) schools."

(e) A thoroughly graded school with experts in each grade would make possible the adaptation of the school curricula to the needs of country youth. Agriculture, tool work, household science and music, especially chorus singing, should be taught in every rural school and they should be taught in an experimental way. Rural school grounds should cover ten to twenty-five acres of land. Here should be planted trees for picnic groves. The school might thus become the recreational centre for the whole community. Here, too, each pupil ought to have a garden plot in which he might learn in a practical way the value of seed testing and seed selection, plant breeding, and conservation of the best elements

of the soil by modern methods of soil cultivation and rotation of crops. A minimum of book work in the school and a maximum of self-expression and practical experimentation will best train the child to desire and to secure the best from literature later on.

Much emphasis should be placed in the school upon house-keeping and this, too, should be taught in a practical way. In Prussia, which is not so large as some of our provinces, there are fifty stationary housekeeping schools, forty-one itinerant house-keeping schools, and three thousand seven hundred and eighty-one rural continuation schools where housekeeping is taught. The Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education suggests the following as a programme which might be conducted through our school system in Canada—with our rural school as centre of operation:

“Outline of Work for a County.—The matters of first importance to be provided for in Canada at the present time are:

1. “Visits of inspection, instruction and advice to the individual farmers on their own places.
2. “Holding field meetings with farmers in connection with field crops, fruit culture, live stock, etc.
3. “Interesting the rural teachers in rural elementary education, so conducted as to serve agricultural and rural life.
4. “Arranging for and taking part in courses of instruction in elementary agriculture and school gardening for rural teachers at convenient centres.
5. “Arranging annual gatherings and exhibitions to illustrate the year’s work and progress in agricultural education.
6. “Arranging for short courses of from two to four days’ duration at convenient centres throughout the country or district.
7. “Arranging for longer courses of systematic instruction during four months of winter. These may take the form of the Irish short courses, being held two half days a week at each place, classes at three centres being carried on each week.
8. “Arranging and giving lectures to farmers’ clubs, farmers’ institutes, and other local organizations.
9. “Advising by correspondence and reporting on specimens of insect pests, soils, etc., sent in for examination.
10. “Distributing bulletins and other printed matter from the Departments of Agriculture and Education.”

This class of work, provided through the rural school as a centre, will greatly interest youth in the work of the farm and of the farm home. Continuation work (high school) could be carried on in a consolidated school, making it possible for any youth to

prepare for teaching or for university matriculation without leaving home.

The school can help to solve the rural problem by the development of a strong "community sense." This may be accomplished through the school, used as a social centre for the whole community. In the long winter evenings, musical concerts, dramatic entertainments, addresses, debates, motion pictures, university or Agricultural College extension lectures and public discussions on all questions relating to the life of the people, may be provided. Medical inspection in the country is quite as necessary as in the city, and the school may become the centre for health propagandism. The community library and reading room should be in the school, and should provide the best literature and the most recent information on all science relating to farm development. The school might be decorated with prize work of pupils, collections of plants and insects, pictures of birds, copies of the masterpieces in painting and modelling, all of which help to create better ideals. Everything possible should be done to bring the parents and the ratepayers into vital contact with the ideals, the actual work, and the methods of the school.

The little red school house of bygone days in Canada did a great work and served its generation, but another generation has come with different problems and mightier tasks, and the little, ill-ventilated, ill-equipped, one-roomed, poorly-staffed country school ought to exist nowhere.

It is true that this idea of a rural school will mean some added expense, but what we get now isn't worth what we pay for it, and what we would get under such a system with better qualified teachers adapted to rural work would be worth more than it would cost, even if that meant doubly increased rates.

This reminds me of a story I heard recently. A young man and young woman were seated in a Pullman car as it was passing through one of the long tunnels in the mountains. What happened in the darkness may not be related, but when the train emerged from the tunnel she was tucking in her hairpins, while her face was suffused with blushes. To avoid the embarrassment of the light and the attention of the fellow-passengers, she remarked that it was reported that the tunnel had cost five million dollars. The young man, whose mind was not dwelling at that moment on the cost of tunnels, absentmindedly, but emphatically, replied: "I don't care if it cost ten million, it was worth it." If the right kind of rural school will help in any large way to solve the rural problem, even though it costs more than our present school, it is well worth it.

CO-OPERATION AMONG FARMERS.

M. ALPHONSE DESJARDINS, FOUNDER OF THE CANADIAN CO-OPERATIVE PARISH BANKS SYSTEM; PRESIDENT AND MANAGER OF "LA CAISSE POPULAIRE DE LEVIS," LEVIS, PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

"Co-operation Among Farmers"—such is the title to be found in the programme of this Congress. This implies a much wider field than I would care to approach on account of the limited time at my disposal. Co-operation might, and perhaps I would be justified to say should, be applied to almost all the productive and distributive activities of the farmers. It can be applied in several ways with great benefit to the exploitation of the soil, and the mere mention of the various objects that can be covered by that special form of association would give an idea of the wide range implied in the title referred to. In Europe co-operation is taken advantage of to improve the farming of the land, to the insurance of the buildings, of the animals, the purchase of seeds and of all the necessaries of life under the best possible conditions of price and quality. It is also utilized for the distribution of the wealth produced to the purchasers, that is, the consuming public: and in some countries, like Germany, Austria, France and Italy, co-operative societies are largely organized to provide the necessary capital for the most advantageous exploitation of the farming industry.

As I have had the opportunity for the last twenty-five years to acquire some knowledge both by study and by practical working particularly of the last mentioned co-operative societies, I will confine my remarks to that subject.

The importance of putting at the disposal of agriculture the all-powerful help of capital is recognized by all and there are but few who dare to entertain any doubt as to its usefulness in that special field. Capital is just as necessary to the farmer as it is to the manufacturer and the commercial man. As a matter of fact, the farmer is a manufacturer and a dealer. He produces and sells his products. He, therefore, requires, as well as the manufacturer and the ordinary dealer, the necessary capital to tide him over certain difficult periods that are sure to arise in his calling; he requires capital to improve his land, his buildings, his implements, his stock. He must have capital to enable him to wait better prices for his products and not to be obliged to put

upon the market his products at a season when there is, for one reason or another, abundance of similar products, which brings inevitably a ruinous lowering of prices, which contingency benefits the middleman, not the consumer. For all these purposes, capital is needed.

In the financial organization that prevails now in Canada, can it be said that the farmers have at their disposal an institution having for its sole object to provide them with the necessary credit or capital that their industry requires? I shall not surprise any one, I am sure, in stating that there is none. It may be said that banks do lend sometimes to farmers, but those large institutions have been organized with a view to satisfy the requirements of manufacturing industries and commerce, and never to help financially the farming industry. In a general way it may be contended that to some extent they do harm to that industry by collecting deposits throughout the country through their rural branches, and sending those deposits to the big centres where the main offices are situated, such capital being there utilized for speculative purposes, to finance industries and commerce, not to help the farmers.

Speaking of credit for the farmers a distinction must be borne in mind. There are two sorts of credit: one is called long time credit, that is credit that should be available for improvements on the farm, the complete return of which cannot be expected before many years. There is also another kind of credit, called "short time credit." This one is required by the farmer to tide him over a difficult period, or to enable him to wait better prices, to buy a horse or a cow or some agricultural implements, or for some other wants of a similar character. Both of these credits are available in most European countries through special societies working among the farming community. In order to shorten my remarks I will limit them to the organization of the short time credit institutions, although the same institutions can, in my mind, be worked out, in due time, to give long time credit as well, when the accumulation of deposits has reached a sufficiently large sum to enable the institution to utilize at least part of such accumulation without real danger. Experience in the European Raiffeisen banks has shown the soundness of that view.

In studying the economic side of the agricultural problem here, I could not help but to be struck with the absence of any financial organization to provide the farmers with the necessary credit, and after having studied carefully what had been done in the old world and the peculiar conditions of our own country, I became convinced that credit societies could be advantageously organized in our

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midst and safely worked with benefit to the farmers. I started the first co-operative and savings society in Levis in 1900, under the name of "La Caisse Populaire" and included the farming community in the immediate neighborhood of that town, in order to make an experiment both among an urban and agricultural population. Later on, after what I considered a complete success, I extended the same system to purely farming communities and everywhere, as I will show later on by quoting a few instances, the success has been as striking as it had been in my own pioneer society.

Some principles have to be rigidly observed to insure the success of such a society.

Here are the leading principles laid down by those who have initiated that credit system in Europe and which I have adopted in introducing the same system in Canada with, however, a very important change that I will mention later on.

It is to be noted that such a society is not an aggregation of mere capital, like the joint stock company, but an association of individuals who put their savings into a common fund and who can borrow from that fund with the approval of the officers appointed to supervise the granting of loans and upon furnishing reliable securities, both moral and material. Being an association of persons, the voting power is based upon the individual, not upon the shares, therefore, the one man one vote system prevails, no matter what number of shares is held.

In the next place, the area within which the society operates must be a very narrow one, not extending beyond, say a parish, a township, or a town, not a large one, so that every member of the society should be known to the other and likely be known by the officers. This insures the safety of the society and of the loans granted.

The capital should be withdrawable upon a short notice, because the individuals who are likely to become members cannot afford, like a capitalist, to immobilize their small savings in unwithdrawable or only transferable shares, like those of a joint stock company or a bank. To adopt the unwithdrawable share capital system would, in a large degree, prevent a great many individuals from joining the society because they would not care, or dare, to invest their small savings in such a society, whilst they would readily join one where the capital is withdrawable upon a short notice, making their holdings available whenever they may happen to want them.

The liability is limited to the amount of the shares subscribed. Here lies the main difference from the European societies of the same

type. In Europe the unlimited and joined liability of the shareholders prevails to a very large extent, although the number of the societies limiting the liability of their shareholders is growing yearly, the experiment of Signor Luzzatti in Italy having demonstrated that the unlimited liability system was not required as was believed at the start.

In Canada, I have adopted a still more flexible liability in taking the regime of the New England States Saving Banks, where there is no capital and no financial liability on the part of the founders or promoters of this type of banks. The prosperity of these banks induced me to believe that the same system would prove as successful in Canada if it was applied to those co-operative local credit societies.

The borrowers must be members of the society, and no one is admitted if he is not considered honest and upright. Money is no object and cannot insure the admission of any one who does not possess such moral qualifications.

It goes without saying that all the officers must be residents of the locality where the society is working.

The funds are provided by the savings of the members, for such a society encourages thrift and providence, in fact, its two main objects are to instil thrifty habits and to provide loans for productive purposes. I say advisedly "productive purposes," because the borrower must state for what purpose he borrows, and if the purpose is not considered a good one by the officers, the loan is refused, no matter what the guarantee offered.

This system contemplates putting at the disposal of the laboring and agricultural classes the savings made by those very classes, instead of being collected and thrown by millions into the channel of trade and industry as is done now to the great disadvantage of the humble classes of the population, who are being thereby deprived of a most important part of the benefit of their own savings.

The foregoing gives a general but substantial outline of this new system of banking. Let us see now the results that it has so far achieved in Canada. There are in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario 139 of such co-operative credit societies. I will not, of course, quote every one of them, nor a large number; I will content myself with a very few examples, believing that this will be sufficient to give a fair idea of the beneficial working of the system.

I will quote first the pioneer society of Levis, which is now in its 14th year of existence. On the 15th of February last its total assets were \$268,815, of which \$240,778 were loaned out. The total amount loaned out since its inception reached then \$1,267,146, and

the amount reimbursed \$1,026,367. The total number of loans was 6,650. What is more remarkable is the fact that not one cent has yet been lost. The shareholders receive 5 per cent. on their \$5.00 share, and 4 per cent. on their deposits. The expenses for thirteen years and two months amounted to the trifling sum of \$4,872.00. The reserve funds have now reached a total of \$16,200. This society is in a position to take care of all the financial needs of the farming community included in its territorial unit.

St. Maurice, near Three Rivers, in the county of Champlain, with a population of 1,500, is a purely agricultural parish. Its credit society was organized in August, 1909, and on the 31st of January, 1914, its general assets were \$49,271, out of which \$45,468 were loaned out. The total loans aggregated \$135,465. Total expenses, \$1,330. Reserve fund, \$2,629.

Another instance is that of St. Paul, in the county of Montmagny, a small agricultural parish, with a population of about 1,400.

Its society was organized in June, 1912, and sixteen months afterwards, on the 31st of January, 1914, it had already \$16,243 of assets; loaned out, \$13,759, and the loans totalled \$21,770. All those loans were granted to farmers in the locality.

There are 120 of these co-operative parish banks in the Province of Quebec, and 19 in Ontario, although there is no law in the latter province to foster these societies. In none have I heard that one cent had been lost through bad or doubtful loans.

Quebec has a most liberal law since 1906: this accounts for the expansion of this system in that province. A somewhat similar law should be passed by the Federal Parliament.

In connection with the expansion of this system, I must state that for almost ten years I refused positively to organize such societies elsewhere, before I had made a complete experiment of this system at Levis. The success in Levis having been even more thorough than I ever expected, I began to organize such societies wherever I was invited to do so.

It might not be out of place to add that all that has been achieved without one cent of subsidy or help from any government, but through the mere attractiveness of the organization and its beneficial results. That shows what can be done by self-help and association.

In concluding, may I be permitted to add that instead of the un-Christian doctrine of "struggle for life," let us have "union for life," as the foundation stone of the prosperity and grandeur of our agricultural classes.

DISCUSSION.

DR. J. W. ROBERTSON, speaking from his experience as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, referred to what he had seen in Denmark, which at present is next to England in wealth per capita. Rural life there is made so interesting and profitable that agricultural workers naturally stay on the land, and the movement of the majority of the people of that country is towards co-operation and good will. He spoke of the importance of educational systems which would prepare for agriculture and would give pupils a love for the land. He urged that men of brains and ability should be trained for farm life in order to develop the products of the soil and thus help to make Canada one of the wealthiest countries in the world.

MR. H. B. COWAN (Peterborough) said that he had lived on the farm which his grandfather owned in 1819, and which had ever since been in possession of the family. He had given long study to the problem of rural life. His opinion was that most churches and schools are not remedies, but palliatives, for the evils complained of. He referred to the social life of the community in his boyhood days, referring to the attendance of young men at glee clubs and temperance societies, the latter having had a membership of 90 in his younger days. There was also a croquet club and a baseball club for young boys and girls. He spoke of the decreased school attendance in the country, stating that distance is one of the causes, as well as poor qualifications of rural teachers, who have not the same interest in their pupils as city teachers. He had met many boys who had passed the entrance examination in rural schools and they admitted that they had never read a whole book. He thought there were too many female school teachers in rural schools, stating that when his father was a boy the teacher was a man, and the difference in the effect upon the boys in the school was quite noticeable. It should be remembered that the farmer under present conditions must himself be both laborer and manager, and consequently he has no reserve of time or energy for the social life that was common in earlier days when labor was cheaper and more abundant.

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SOCIAL SERVICE AS A LIFE WORK
THE NEW STATE AND THE NEW
CHURCH

Social Service as a Life Work

PROF. CRAHAM TAYLOR

The New State and the New Church

REV. C. W. GORDON

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SOCIAL SERVICE AS A LIFE WORK.

PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, LL.D., OF CHICAGO.

The hopefullest signs on the horizon, to me, are that life's work in almost every direction is becoming more social, and that on this account the social service to which some of us are devoting our lives is of secondary and yet vital importance. At present, much more for the future, those of us who are closest to the ground realize that the main advances towards the Kingdom of God on earth are not to be made directly at the initiative, or even by the sustained efforts, of professional social workers in or outside of the church. The great progress is going to be made by business men, commercial men, labor leaders, doctors, lawyers, public officials who have caught the social vision, who are possessed by the social purpose, and in whose hearts is the spirit of self-denial for public service. They are the men and the women who are going to maintain the sustained advance movements all along the line.

But just on that account there is an increasing need for carefully selected, divinely called women and men of high calibre, of university discipline, and of life's deepest purpose, to devote their lives to public welfare work in every community. They should be such men and women as would have an even chance with those now making money, if they allowed themselves to get into the scramble. I would not have any of you think, because I have given the primacy to those in the ordinary occupations of life, that those women and men of high calibre and deep purpose who are devoting themselves at enormous self-sacrifice to the public weal are not on an equality with the acquisitive people. If some of us stood alongside of some of you we, too, could make money, but we don't want to. We have got another end at stake, and we are glad that somebody else is making the money, only we want them to turn it over to public use a good deal faster than they are doing now. If they do not they will have no peace all their lives, for they will be afraid to live, or die, either, if they don't die poorer and quit living quite so rich as they are.

Now, I want to play up some people who have this social vision and impulse in the various occupations of life, together with the need they have for the help of social workers, and the help they are getting from those who are giving their lives to social service.

Start with the manufacturers. Until comparatively recently

manufacturers have had a great deal more knowledge of materials—brick and mortar, steel and iron, machinery and raw products—than they had of the human elements of their plant. They have forgotten the man behind the machine. They have forgotten that efficiency depends upon health, and health depends upon morals, and morals depend upon a human standard of living and leisure for pleasure and recreation and home life. But they are waking up, thank God; they are getting human—they really are. On my way here I stopped at Detroit and went through those great works of the Ford Motor Company. I never saw such business economy, such occupancy of floor space, such marvellous marshalling of forces—material, physical, intellectual, and muscular. It is wonderful. In the organization of that industry you see the castings come in from the foundries; you see them polished, perforated, the threads put in and the castings washed and then put together. Down the line it comes to a man who stands there and does the work while that thing is passing or he does not do it at all. If he stops it everybody is stopped for about half a mile, for the thing is moving, and the man has got to keep the pace. I asked my guide, "Surely the rusher is not the pace-setter, is he?" He replied, "No, it is the average man." I should think it might be the average man, otherwise they would have to have all rushers. Now, it may be that the minimum wage of \$5 a day—brought up to that amazing scale by the sharing of a bonus from the profits—is to quicken the pace and increase the product, for there are 45,000 applications for places there, banked up in their mailing file. I prefer to think that Mr. Ford had some idea of the deadening monotony of that infinitesimal subdivision of labor and the lack of any chance of learning the whole process, each worker being like a rivet or a cog, doing that one thing that he can do with incredible speed and passing it on to others. I am told that there are many men there who do not know even what part of the machine they are working on. How can they have any interest in the finished product? I prefer to think, then, that the \$5 a day rate is compensatory for that monotony. If people are to be made machines that way there ought to be some compensation for it, something to look forward to outside the shop. With the perfection of the tool-making machines, and the machines that make machines, there is less and less requirement for high mechanical skill. In that great factory any man of average intelligence can learn to do what is required along that line in just a few months. Now that is what we are coming to. Nobody can help it. I am not saying it is Mr. Ford's fault, nor anybody else's. It is the system, in the grind of which human life

is being ground. It is certainly necessary to reckon with the human side of this situation, and I think it is being done there and many a place elsewhere.

I want to describe a scene where the vision has dawned upon a great business. A few years ago the West Side Baseball Park in Chicago was filled by as pathetic a multitude as I have seen in that city. There was a titanic strike on in the wholesale clothing trade; some 11,000 people of one firm were out, and that ball ground, in the chill wintry wind, was just filled with men, women and children, mothers with babies nursing at the breast. They had been out sixteen weeks. Some of us had put together and got up a milk fund to keep the little babies from starving to death. There they were, holding their final meeting. A referendum vote was being taken on a peace pact. The ballots came in ratifying it. A lot of fanatics, headed by a priest who made some of the Poles swear on the crucifix that they never would accept that peace pact, tried to break it up, when in Hod Carriers' Hall a young Jew rose, the leader of the strike, twenty-three years of age, and he said—as these fanatics raged around him like howling dervishes—“You may take my life, but you never shall repudiate the pact of peace which you have ratified.” There he stood, as noble a figure as ever you laid your eyes on.

Three years passed. What came out of that heroic strike? The conversion of the firm. At a dinner given to the leader of the strike a representative of the firm said that he had received these orders after the strike: “Our business is built up by the loyalty of our patrons; our patronage is possible only because of the loyalty of our employees; go out and get that loyalty.” That was the order of Hart, Schaffner & Marx, to a social worker, a professor in the Northwestern University. None of the firm was able to do that sort of thing, so they got a social worker, a college professor; and that college professor sat alongside this strike leader who was having this farewell dinner given him, and who was to go to New York at the head of sewing trade people to prevent the abolition of the protocol of the “preferential” union shop in New York. I never heard such a tribute or series of tributes in my life as were given to that young Jew. Twenty-two shop chairmen got up, some of them men with grey hair, and called this young man “Our little father.” Only a self-effacing public-spirited, sacrificial man, could have refused to take the credit they gave him, saying at the end, “I am not the man you have been talking about; you have been talking about the personification of our ideals of industrial democracy.” I had never been in an atmosphere so charged with reli-

gious idealism, with all that the Christian faith itself stands for, sacrifice, the strong bearing the burden of the weak. Splendid was the protest against war and the plea for peace and progress. The Radicals, too, had the grace to say, "We hated you, Sidney Hillman, but you made us love you; we were wrong; we were too hot-headed; when we were so, you cooled us off, and when we got asleep you woke us up." They were the men to whom he said, "Take my life"; and here they were crowning his life. It was a most thrilling occasion.

Now, that is what comes out of getting a little social vision and a little social idealism, and having a few social workers to carry it out. This is what happened. These shop meetings are absolutely democratic. Their chairmen are elected by all the workers in the shop. If the least worker has a grievance, up it goes to the chairman. The chairman takes it to the deputy of the workers on the trade board. On that board there is a representative of the firm. In between them sits as judge on that board a sturdy, independent, just man, whom I had the privilege of helping to train for the ministry—and this larger ministry in which he now serves the whole great cause. If either side appeals from his decision, up goes the question to the arbitration board. The final decision is handed down by representatives of the firm and employees, and a cool-headed genius at arbitration, whose word is law. Here then, so far at least, is industrial democracy. The working people have at least something to say about the conditions under which they work and live the most of their lives. Tell me, you business men, what business have you to say that people who spend most of their lives in your employ shall have nothing to say about the conditions of your employment? Tell me, now, haven't they the right to say something about it? Would you exchange places with them? We have all got to come to that sort of thing. Got to?—we ought to want to.

Doctors can be in business for themselves like anybody else. If so, they would prefer that a whole lot of us would be sick so that they could help us get well, and the everyday practitioner, outside of the public health officers, are very sensitive about prevention, and the things that keep folks out of their hands. Now, say what they will, the practice of medicine and hygiene is going to be along the lines that your Controller represents. They are going to control the conditions that produce disease or wealth. We are going to take that control over more and more as a public function. We are going to stamp out occupational diseases. We are going to safeguard dangerous machinery; and I am glad to have had my term of service on a commission which put upon the statutes

of Illinois one of the best safe-guarding laws that ever has been enacted, and also to have been on the Mining Commission of the State which made it impossible ever to have another Cherry Mine disaster. That one disaster ought to be enough for all time, when two hundred and eighty-nine men lay dead in that grewsome hole around the edge of which I hovered for those awful days. If some folks do not devote their time to these things they won't be done; and on the other hand, if a few of us devoting our time to them, are not backed up by the heads of public health departments and the laws of the State and the people who are in charge of mines and shops it will amount to little or nothing. What is the use of having any ethics or religion unless you can translate them into terms of living and working conditions. Much of the best and costliest work of the hospitals is undone by turning out patients before they are half convalescent. The conserving work of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, with its corps of social nurses following up the convalescents and keeping them from going down again and coming back to be a charge on the State, demonstrates its economic and social value. There the doctor works right along with the social worker. The social worker could not do very much, even though a trained nurse, if it were not for the doctors' and employers' sanctions and standards.

You can be in the law for yourself, pit brother against brother and raise the devil generally, or you can have some public conscience about it. There certainly needs to be more social vision among the lawyers, especially along legislative lines, along the line of the simplification and unification and standardizing of methods of procedure, especially in the States. And somehow or other, when a lawyer gets on the bench he should have a little less consciousness of his omniscience. There is no movement that is quite so fine anywhere as the humanizing of the courts. For instance, the judge of the Juvenile Court at Chicago refused to have the circuit judges re-assign him to that position unless he could have a woman's assistance in hearing the cases of delinquent girls. So they appointed a trained woman lawyer, who had been the public guardian of 9,000 little wards of the County Court, as assistant to the judge of the Juvenile Court. She hears all cases of delinquent girls in the privacy of the chambers of the judge, with no one present except the child, the parents and the witnesses. As chief probation officer of the Juvenile Court, there is another social worker trained by social settlement work, a man with vision, a man with ability, with high ideality. The able and good judge himself could not do the work of that court without such a man and woman as assistants.

In the Court of Domestic Relations, where all the strata of society are cloven to the bottom, a college woman trained in social work meets every distracted woman that comes into court. A day nursery and a rest room with rocking chairs are humanely considered essential equipments of this Court of Domestic Relations and of the Juvenile Court. Somebody said that if the Sphinx could answer a question this one should be put to it: "Is the universe friendly?" Another might well be added: "Are the courts and the law friendly?" The law ought to be the best friend of us all. The courts that are nearest to the people should be the very best and most human, and yet the firmest. This can be the fact only where and when there is social vision of what law is for. Like the Divine Law, it ought to be "the steady pressure of the Divine love."

Co-operation of private citizens with public officials, and public agencies with voluntary agencies, is essential to public welfare. Public agencies cannot succeed if voluntary agencies fail. Voluntary agencies, including the churches, are sure to fail if public agencies do not succeed. There ought to be a clearing house, without any approach to an organic relation between the two. The church, most of all voluntary agencies, needs the social vision. The minister needs to be a social worker, and to have social workers as his assistants, and business and working folks in his parish with social vision in their ordinary occupation. How are we to get social workers? The universities are doing something to train them. I think the initiative ought to be given away back in the grade schools. In the Sunday Schools it ought to be carried on. Academic social training should be included in the departments of political science and ethics in our universities. But for the leaders of the leaders there need to be technical schools. So much faster were workers in the settlements taken away than could be trained up just by practice, that the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy arose and grew. Now we have about 200 students, mostly graduates from other universities all over the country, including Canada, who are there to get the technique added to their academic training. We have never yet been able to catch up with the demand for workers thus technically and practically trained. The demands for their work are varied and attractive. Women have new careers open to them, and the best social workers on this continent are women and not men. It is partly because women have not the same chance to make money that we men have. A higher calibre of woman will devote herself to this work at less sacrifice, really, than a man on the money side; but highly equipped men are in demand for "a man's job."

Now, what comes of it all? The new reform administration in New York City is the most conspicuous example of what has come up and may come. The Comptroller of the Finances is a man from the Municipal Bureau of Research, a voluntary agency; the man in charge of the great charities of New York City was in charge of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor; the Commissioner of Corrections is Catherine Bement Davis, a social settlement worker, who was in charge of the Bedford Reformatory, and is now in charge of all the prisons of the city; the Department of Civil Service is under the charge of a Russian Jew, who as an immigrant boy began to rise by enlisting in social work; the Commissioner of Police is a University man. The first city of the United States has a Social Service administration.

When we see such opportunities to turn ideals into reality, creeds into deeds, letters into life, we can hardly fail to seize them. That is what this great Congress is for. I congratulate you on having it. It is a great thing; it will help us all. You have done well not to make it too ecclesiastical. You have done well to have the trades and labor assemblies and the women's organizations represented, and some of the public officials present. You have done well to hold the Congress in the Capital City, right close up against the Government. Now if you can only get together—the capital and the churches, the sanctuaries and the business marts, the labor unions and women's clubs—and all under this glorious idealism, which after all is the most practical thing in the world, then it seems to me that the Church will be an integral part of the on-going community and the community will be contributory to the Kingdom of the Father.

THE NEW STATE AND THE NEW CHURCH.

REV. C. W. GORDON, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C.

This is the age of new and rapid movements. Science has developed a new method. Commerce is new in the magnitude of its sweep as in method of operation. In the political world a new movement swings around moral issues. In the industrial world there is a new challenge both from employer and employee as to the fact of possession in regard to capital and labor. In religion there is a new movement in which the emphasis rests not so much upon creed as upon conduct, not so much upon orthodoxy as upon utility.

Rapid these movements are too. The new world was one hundred and sixteen years old before a colony obtained a foothold. Christianity was forced to wait two hundred years before it had won its right to exist. But now an empire, as witness Japan, is founded in a day, and a nation, as witness China, is born in a night, and in China a new industrial democracy is rapidly emerging into light.

Among the new movements in our western world two arrest the eye. One in the State, the rise of Industrial Democracy with its extreme right, Socialism. The other in the Church, the development of the Social Conscience manifesting itself in Social Service. Both these movements are hopeful, full of promise, but also full of danger.

Our Christian civilization rests upon three great entities, three great organisms—the Family, the State, the Church, mutually related, each necessary to the others for its highest development and well-being. The failure of one involves the failure of all.

The Family is the primary unit, fundamental in nature, an organism whose life-bond is love.

The State, the larger unit, is like the Family fundamental in nature and like the Family an organism, and its bond is mutual self-interest as expressing itself in law. It differs from the Family in this, that it embraces all men. No man can escape from its bond. Even the outlaw is, ipso facto, held by its grip.

The Church, an organism in the last analysis, is a voluntary institution, differentiated from the Family and the State by this

fact that relation to it is established by an exercise of choice, and by this more potential fact that within its sweep it embraces not only time but eternity, not only earth but Heaven, the things seen and the things unseen, the duty of life here and the destiny of life hereafter. The bond that holds the Church together has a two-fold strand, faith and love.

At present we confine ourselves to the discussion of the State and the Church, and we propose to show wherein both have failed to fulfil their functions, and also how the new movement within each gives promise of a better day.

First, the State. The State, to adopt Aristotle's definition, is an institution in which humanity is organized for the highest good of all. The definition is worthy of consideration. It asserts first that the State is an organism—an organism as opposed to a mere aggregation of units—that it is a thing with life in it, that its members are held together by bonds that are vital; and second that all these members exist all of them for the highest good of all, not all for the highest good of one, nor all for the highest good of a few, but all for the highest good of all.

The functions of the State are many. Among them we select two, first, to afford protection, secondly, to furnish opportunity of highest development.

First, to afford protection. (a) To protect itself against foes without. The history of States is largely a record of attempts, more or less successful, to perform this function, and every State for longer or shorter periods has been able to protect its members against the aggressions of foreign foes, but every State has paid the price. And what a price! Rivers of treasure, rivers of tears, rivers of blood, till it is a matter of grave question whether the thing protected is worth the price paid, whether after all the State has not failed in one of its primary functions.

(b) Protection against foes within, the protection of the weak against the strong, of the foolish against the wise, of the unprivileged against the privileged, of the unfortunate against the fortunate, the protection of the community against the individual, the protection of the individual against the community. The strong arm upon which the State has relied to secure this protection is the arm of law and, letting our eye run over the sphere within which the State has sought to exercise this function, we cannot escape the conviction that in this function, too, the State has failed, and terribly, and it is to this failure that we more particularly direct attention. The failure of the State to eliminate war as a method of protection is signal and ghastly. Let others deal with that. But the failure of the State to secure

protection for itself, for the community, for the individual, within it, is equally terrible and equally fraught with misery to the race.

Does anyone challenge the statement that the State has failed? The reply is, alas, ready to hand and written all over the face of our civilization. The great evils of our society are the indictment of the State. The fact that poverty and luxury exist in the same organism is sufficient indication that the State is failing to function aright, that in the richest nation in the world eight millions of its fifty millions live in poverty and twenty millions below the line of comfort, that in the greatest city the world has ever seen one million eight hundred thousand live in starvation and a million more upon its ragged edge, that in the world's wealthiest and greatest republic one-tenth of its people live on the starvation line and one-tenth of the citizens of its greatest city are buried in paupers' graves, that in this same republic one per cent. of its families own ninety-nine per cent. of its wealth, and that the State has hitherto been powerless to correct this evil—all this is surely sufficient ground for the indictment of the State as an institution unworthy to be entrusted with the well-being of humanity.

The existence of Poverty in the presence of Luxury demonstrates the utter failure of the State to protect itself from foes within. But Poverty is only one of the many instances of failure on the part of the State.

There is Crime. The mere fact of Crime is a challenge to the State. Why is Crime? Original Sin does not wholly account for it. How much is due to the conditions of life under which the criminal must live and work, must find his home and rear his family, must find his fun and enjoy his friendship? Crime, Modern Crime, is a result of Modern Civilization, Industrial Injustice and Industrial Unreliability and Incompetence, Unsanitary Housing and Child Neglect, Commercialized Amusements and those social pest houses, the Bar Rooms. These are some of the causes of Crime. These are evils existing in the State and tolerated by the State, and for these, therefore, and for the Crime that is their result, the State must assume responsibility.

And further, what has the State to say in regard to the Criminal. Only one word. Pursue and punish him, curse him, catch him, brand him, imprison him—every word a confession of terror and of failure. In short the State creates the conditions that create criminals, then hunts the Criminal to his wretched doom.

Passing by the great Industrial Inequalities, and the Domes-

tic Barbarities, we just pause to note by way of additional example the stupendous folly of one of the most fruitful causes of Crime, the Liquor Shop, responsible for 80 to 90 per cent. of the criminals. This fecund mother of all the vices, the Bar Room, is protected, yea licensed, by the State. What a ghastly and incongruous folly. How woefully has the State failed to protect the poor, the worker, the child, the weakling, the intemperate, the defective from the foes that prey and fatten upon them. These are but instances of how the State has failed and there are many others.

Now let us enquire why? The deep-seated cause of failure is in a fundamental treachery to the two basic principles upon which the State is founded, namely, that the State is organized, first, for the good of all; secondly, for the highest good of all.

Let us consider the first treachery. The ultimate unit of consideration on the part of the State is the Community itself. All other interests must be subordinated to its interests. Unhappily the Big Individual has caught the eye of the State and has insisted upon such legislation and such administration as would be for his profit, no matter at what cost to the Small Individual or to the Multitude of Small Individuals, or to the Community at large. So with the Big Business. So with the Big Corporation.

The converse is also true. The Many Individuals have combined and made a noise and arrested the eye of the State, often to be clubbed into quietude, always, however, to the injury of the great silent third partner, the Community. And the State has simply labored for peace, no matter at what cost.

The second great treachery is the treachery to the principle that the State is organized for the highest good of all. This is a recognition that man is more than an animal, has more than a body, needs more than bread, that whether he be the Millionaire or the Multitude the State is organized to see that his highest good is secured. Man is more important than money. Intelligence, not ignorance; worth, not wealth, these are the things of value—justice, truth, honor, purity, happiness, brotherhood. That these should be secured for the community and for every individual, this is the concern of the State.

In the New State all this will be changed. Community interest will be the prime consideration, and the State shall concern itself that no man or corporation, however big, shall spoil the good of the Community.

In the New State the thing of highest value will be man

himself, not mere things that he can wear and eat. Mankind itself will be the highest interest of the State.

Now we turn to the Church, and we ask what has the Church been doing all this time?

Against the Church, too, must lie the charge of failure, and for the same general reason, that the Church also has been guilty of fundamental treachery to its own basic principles.

What is the Church? It is an organization of all those who believe in God as mediated through Jesus Christ. The functions of the Church? Mainly two, first, to bear witness to God. The Church is the voluntary organization of all those who come to know God. The faculty of knowledge is faith and it is the Church's first business to show to the world the truth about God.

Now what exactly is the truth about God which the Church should set forth to men? That He is the Infinite and Eternal Creator, the Holy One, the Righteous, the Moral Governor of the Universe, the final Judge of all. Is that the conception? No. All that and infinitely more is true of God and yet gives no true picture of Him. The word that pictures Him is the word that Jesus used—Father. God as the Infinite, Eternal, Holy, Righteous Father of mankind, that is the picture which it is the Church's function to hold up to men. The word "Father" and all that is tender, compassionate, sympathetic, protective in it, must be found in any true witness to God. He is the Father of mankind, because vitally united with them. They are the same kindred. Against the Church here the charge of failure must lie, for somehow another notion has got abroad about God—God the Almighty, Terrible, the stern ruler of the Universe, exacting obedience and hard upon the trail of the wretched sinner, finally overhauling him and wreaking vengeance upon him. This is the travesty of Christian doctrine not uncommonly held by men. For this conception it is true the Church cannot be held responsible by reason of her theological teaching, but the notion somehow is abroad and the Church has failed to wipe it out. And how terribly untrue it is. The exclamation of the waif, battered in body and maimed in soul, picked off the street and taught of God through the loving ministry of a Christ-like worker "Gee, God must be an awful good man!" gives a notion of God much nearer the truth. In fact it is the best picture of God we have, a good man with goodness raised to the highest power. Had the Church given faithful and true witness to God before men then had men more easily been won to the ideal of righteousness and love. Righteousness is more attractive when it is the righteousness of a

Father. Injustice takes on a more terrible aspect when it is injustice to God's children.

The second function of the Church is to mediate God to man, that is, to bring God as set forth in Jesus Christ to bear upon man. And here again the Church has woefully failed.

The fundamental conception underlying this function of the Church is that the Church is a brotherhood, that all men by virtue of their relation to God are bound to each other. Not only are they one by virtue of a community in blood, but they are one by virtue of a community in the Eternal Spirit. The responsibility of the Church is the responsibility of brother to brother. That some men have not yet voluntarily associated themselves with the Church does not relieve the Church of this obligation, for it is not the will of the Father that one of these little ones should perish. There is a place in the Church for every child of man, for every child of God. The ignorant man, the weak man, the vicious man, all alike are children of God, and have a right to a place in the Brotherhood and a right to the care of the Brotherhood. Poverty is a crime against the Brotherhood, Vice an outrage against Brotherhood, and the failure of the Church lies right here. The Church has failed to conceive itself as that by which God is mediated to the world, as the almoner of God's infinite love and mercy to man. The Church has too often devoted its energies to the upbuilding of itself not in love, but in power, in influence, in numbers, in wealth. The Church has too often been more concerned for the correctness of its creed than for the Christliness of its conduct. The Church has too often been possessed of a passion for power rather than by a passion for men, all of which is a misrepresentation of, rather than a witness to, the Father infinite in love and mercy; so that men have gone soul-starving for God and for the love and sympathy of Brotherhood, which is the true mediation of God to man.

Thus we have the spectacle of a Church eagerly devoted to the hunting of heresy, but unmoved by the presence of stark and staring poverty, a Church shocked at an affront to the Bible, but unmoved by the horror of commercialized vice. For instance the Church is hardly aware, much less stirred to a passion for vengeance, that twenty-five thousand women in New York and twenty thousand in Chicago are necessary for the gratification of men's lusts in these Christian cities, and that sixty thousand women in Christian America must be offered up every year on this same horrible and hellish altar. How in the presence of this horror can the Church be said to mediate through the spirit of

Brotherhood the infinite love and mercy of the Father in Heaven? Is it any wonder the Socialist curses the Church?

We are emphasizing the failure of the Church, but let it not be thought that we assert that the Church is a failure. At her very worst the Church has ever been in the van leading the forces that make for Righteousness and Peace and Gladness. The challenge by a recent Socialist writer, that the Church has always been the foe of Liberty is contradicted by the history of every great struggle for the rights of men against tyranny, whether of King, or feudal lord. He who makes the charge has surely forgotten the names of Francis, Savonarola, Luther, Knox, Hampden, Cromwell, the Heroes of the Mayflower, Wilberforce, Shaftesbury and a host of others. Through its darkest ages the Church was ever the friend of the poor, the minister to the sick, the protector of the weak, the foster-mother of the sciences and the arts. Except in rare instances and for brief periods the Church more than any other organization has been the friend of the common people. But upon her splendid history there are those stains that mark her origin, for it is not to be forgotten the Church of God is composed of men, men with all the passions and prejudices, with all the limitations and ignorance of their time.

In the New Church Religion and Brotherhood will be synonymous terms and the burdens, the sorrows, the struggles, the shame, the sin, of mankind will be shared by all men. And thus Righteousness will prevail and Peace and Gladness, which make the Kingdom of Heaven. The Church that names the Cross Bearer will herself become a Cross Bearer, and, becoming a Cross Bearer, will win the world as He did who bore a Cross for men.

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COMMERCIALIZED VICE AND THE
WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	REV. W. T. HERRIDGE, D.D., LL.D.
<i>Cutting Down an Evil Tree</i>	-	REV. A. E. SMITH, B.D.
<i>Address by</i>	- -	H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT
<i>The Consequences of Prostitution</i>	-	DR. CHAS. J. HASTINGS
<i>Preventive Effort</i>	-	MRS. WILLOUGHBY CUMMINGS, D.C.L.
<i>Rescue Work for Girls</i>	-	MISS MARIE CHRISTINE RATTE
<i>Care of Convicted Criminals</i>	-	MARGARET PATTERSON, M.D.
<i>The International Treaty</i>	- -	COL. A. P. SHERWOOD
<i>The National Council of Women</i>	-	MRS. TORRINGTON
<i>Discussion</i>		

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CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

REV. W. T. HERRIDGE, D.D., LL.D.

In the very short time which is allowed for the chairman's address I shall leave it to the specialists who follow to deal with the subject immediately under consideration this afternoon, and venture to offer you a few general remarks which I hope may prove pertinent and useful. You recall that parable of our Lord's in which he says that when you make a feast you are not to ask your friends and relatives and rich neighbors, but the poor, the maimed, the halt, the blind, for they cannot recompense you. Our Lord did not intend to rebuke the assemblage, but gave an intimation which is both natural and stimulating. But what he sets forth is a view of hospitality which is provided by beneficence, and which still, even at the end of the centuries that are past, sounds somewhat startling. We occasionally go slumming, but we have not yet acquired a general habit of asking the slum to come to us. Imagine the sensation that would be produced if some fashionable drawing-room in Ottawa, under the patronage of a wealthy woman of fashion, was thrown open to the tag ends of Lower Town. There is no doubt we have a sense of the social application, and there are women in this assembly on whom it sits like a nightmare. They are asked here and they are asked there, and what are they going to do? They find it a social necessity to keep it up and give back a return entertainment. They make out elaborate lists of their guests. If they invited all to their homes they would join in a babel of afternoon tea. Now I have no wish to quarrel with the way in which women do things. What I expect you to prove in any case, and what I want to point out is this, that the current view of hospitality is inadequate. There are a great many people in a literal sense who cannot recompense those who give them entertainment, and those who give will, I trust, look upon the work as performed in the interests of social service, and that includes Christianity.

It is not to be denied that the Church is waking up more and more to a sense of practical duty. The Church is not a museum of curiosities or doctrines, it does not need the establishment of safeguards for the especial benefit of those who happen to be inside, but it is intended to be seen, to radiate a light, to have its efforts recognized, and consequently, as one of the speakers

said yesterday, to speak with an inspired voice. That same speaker is reported to have said that whilst it was easy to act as a minister of a church at six thousand dollars a year it requires a phenomenon of a man to act as minister of a church at six hundred a year. I want to say, after some thirty years' experience in one pastorate, that it requires as much courage, care, patience, and faith in God even, to minister to people who are not usually regarded as belonging to the proletariat. If you say that that man gets more out of it in dollars and cents, my answer is simply this, that if the receipt of money fetters a man's tongue so that it makes him faithless and cowardly, then he is no true disciple of Jesus Christ if he will not give up every cent of the money and live in a garret, if need be, in order that he may retain his Christian self-respect and the freedom of his soul.

Obviously, of course, it is our business to instruct the ignorant and to minister to the poor and those who have fallen by the way. We should be poor Christians and poor humans if we did not see this. But it is a mistake to think for a moment that those who appear to be most prosperous have no cross to lighten, no sorrows to assuage, and no sins to be forgiven. It is far harder to get through the barrier which these people raise, and minister to them, than it is to minister to the poor. And, after all, it is someone's business to serve them in the recognized Christian way. They have money, and many of them have too many luxuries, but they are not without their troubles, perplexities and sorrows. It is someone's duty to try and bring them into the fold. They cannot be allowed to go down to their graves without the light. To attend them is to realize a noble task. All honor to the man who does his duty well by a mission church at six hundred a year; but we must have the six thousand dollar man as well, and his task is no easier than that of the other. We all want to do service in the best kind of way, and service for Christ is not restricted to attendance upon the poor. That work is necessary, but the other is necessary also.

The best democrat is he who does not confine his service to any class. We do not want to see merchandise in human souls. Some may seem to grasp the world and love their neighbors, but the faithful minister knows that he has hard work before him in such cases. Anything that pertains to the humblest human life interests Christ. He gathered about him a motley company which perhaps some of us would not care to allow to gather about us, particularly when we hang out the selfish motto, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." When Christ

comes and says "Nay, nay, I will take the hindmost," he wants to speak to us in other lives that may have been misunderstood. He told the religious leaders of his day—and the words seemed very appropriate when quoted here this afternoon—that even the harlots can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. He deals with men as men. He elevates the character and secures social service of the highest kind. He may not think a great deal of doctrine, but he does think much of men. He desires to remove injustice, and to give every man a fair show to work out that which is best in him.

I tell you that what we want most of all is the revival of genuine Christianity amongst us. If we could get that, we should make great strides. I might tell you an anecdote which I told to my own people a short time ago. An old colored woman found her way into a fashionable church in the City of New York. Sitting in her seat before the service she grew restless, and kept ejaculating little phrases such as "Praise the Lord!" One of the immaculate ushers came up to her and said, "My good woman, you must keep quiet in this church." "Oh, my dear man," she answered, "I cannot keep quiet; I have got salvation!" To which he replied, "I cannot help that, madam, you did not get it here!" Isn't that the case with some of our own churches?—salvation is not to be found in their midst. What I want to know, and what I have a right to ask, is whether the churches are satisfied with that kind of work? Have we any churches of that kind in this city? The churches exist on service, and should not be particularly careful of the delicate sensibilities of the worshippers. The Church that is so careful is not alive.

One thing, at least, is certain: we cannot long maintain a dual policy; we cannot have more piety and more worldliness; we cannot continue a policy which has been described as ethical bi-metallism. Whatever else we may be, let us not be hypocrites. If we strive half as much for service as we do for self we shall progress. Let us at least have the courage of our convictions. Let us strive to show that our Christian manhood is strong and noble, and let us make use of all the earth contains for our own high discipline and for the welfare of the world.

CUTTING DOWN AN EVIL TREE.

REV. A. E. SMITH, BRANDON.

We are assembled this afternoon to carry forward a program which has been supplied by the National Council for the suppression of the white slave traffic. This committee, which is composed of elements from the great churches in this land and which has the endorsement and support of the associations that are making for a better day, is in earnest in this work. At the very commencement of my remarks I want to place before you a figure of speech used by the Saviour of all mankind when he said "An evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit." With the slightest reflection I am sure you will recognize the fact that while there are millions of trees on this earth there are not many evil trees. I venture to think there are few, if any, in this assembly this afternoon who have seen an ugly tree. We have some splendid ugly men and perhaps there are a few ugly women. It is, therefore, plain that in a great measure the Saviour when he said "An evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit" was thinking not merely of trees, but of a system of society which prevailed in his day and which I am afraid, to some extent at least, prevails in our day. The tree, the evil tree, has been for a long time spreading and has been for a long time bringing forth evil fruit. We have been for a long time tinkering at the ends of the branches and wondering what produced this evil fruit. The time has now come for us to get back to the tree and cut it out.

If I was asked to say to-day what is the great salient tide of progress I should say indeed that it is the healthy social discontent that prevails to-day. It is a fact that we are living in the midst of a great progressive revolution and the inevitable consequence must be a reconstruction of society upon a better basis. There is all the difference in the world between a reformer and a revolutionist. The reformer sets out to work at the ends of the branches, wondering to himself by what possibility that ugly fruit can have been produced. The revolutionist gets back to the tree with his axe and cuts down the tree, stopping any further malignant growth. You see in this illustration the remarkable differences between the reformer and the revolutionist. What we need is an epidemic revolution or what the chairman called a revival of Christianity. You can call it what you like as long as you will let us have it. We

want the revolution and still more we want the fruits of the revolution.

We are told that the day of miracles has gone by, but I ask you if the holding of this Congress is not itself a miracle? The way public opinion is ripening on this continent is a miracle. We are glad when we reflect upon the fact that we are living in a time of revolution, when the axe is being put to the root of the tree and when great changes are being wrought. Even the reformers are beginning to see that we cannot reform the present system any more than we can reform the evil tree. When you reflect upon the figure of speech that Jesus Christ used when he said that "An evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit" it is not an excessive interpretation to place upon the saying that revolution and not reform must be our policy. We must change our whole economic plans. We must not shrink from the logical consequences of our actions. We must face the fact that only by revolution can poverty be abolished, and we are going to abolish it. We are going no longer to tinker among the branches, but to get back to the tree. In this way only can our great problems be met and solved. We are tired of talking about the amelioration of poverty, we are going to talk about the abolition of poverty. We are not going to talk about the reform of our economic system. We are going to talk about the reform of that economic system by a better one.

We are going to talk more and more of human brotherhood and less of that doctrine of the survival of the fittest. We do not believe in the survival of the fittest. We do not believe in the brushing on one side of the weak and helpless. We believe in the bringing together of the whole human brotherhood, the strong helping forward those that are weak. We are for revolution, and revolution means not merely change but improvement. We do not believe in crushing those that are fallen, but in helping them to rise again. We believe in destruction truly, but we do not believe in destruction only. We believe also in construction and we are going forward to assist the forces that will reconstruct conditions on this earth and make them such that poverty will disappear. We have got to assist all the moral and religious forces for good, and whatever other propositions we may consider we must not forget these ones.

While we are doing this work we must not neglect the interchange with our comrades and friends abroad. We feel that the time has come when this white slave traffic must be overthrown. We recognize to the full the value of the work that was accomplished at the International Conference in Great Britain. We have still to do our part, we have still to recognize the evil fruit the evil tree

is bringing forth, we have to get back to the tree and stop the production of the evil fruit. We have to recognize the disgraceful conditions produced on this continent by systems which we have allowed to grow up in our midst. We have to restore to the people the freedom which they have allowed to be taken away from them.

We have to recognize the fact that behind this white slave traffic is the evil fruit of gain. It is primarily carried on, not for the purpose of evil, but for that of gain. Behind this gigantic evil is that of the love of money. If we can change our economic plans we can abolish the white slave traffic, and we are going to do it. We have had shocking illustrations of conditions in our various cities; we have had those awful revelations made by the Commission to consider this subject so far as it referred to the United States. We have had other investigations; and we have had shocking disclosures as to conditions prevailing in European countries. Behind it all is the great god of gain. Do we not want the revolutionist rather than the reformer here?

What use is it to give you the figures? The extent of the traffic is much greater than was realized by those who first made enquiries. The time has gone by for palliatives, the time has come for abolition. We may well shrink from the enormities of this traffic. In Chicago fifteen millions has been invested in this traffic. In New York the figures are appalling, yet the figures convey little to our minds. It is the men and the women we seek to save, it is the sapping of the national life we seek to stop. Is there not sufficient justification for the strongest steps possible to be taken in dealing with this traffic? Do we not find in it sufficient justification for some of the militant tactics resorted to by women in the old land? Do you not think that violent as has been their outbreaks, they were more than justified when the House of Lords turned down for the ninetieth time bills dealing with this white slave traffic? Can't you enter into the feelings of women who, after such treatment, smash some windows in Regent Street? Once more, in conclusion, let me beseech you that, while you are working with the branches, you do not forget that to do real and permanent good you must get back to the tree.

SPEECH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

REV. DR. HERRIDGE: In the name of this assembly I beg to offer to your Royal Highness a very hearty welcome. We rejoice to know that you take a deep personal interest in the cause we have met to discuss. That you have at heart the same interest that has moved us is a deep source of pleasure. Your attendance here this afternoon has given us all the greatest pleasure, and I have to ask your Royal Highness to address a few words to us.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT: I am indeed delighted to see such a very large attendance here this afternoon. It is a great pleasure to me to have been able to come to one of your meetings, and I rejoice to think you have come from all parts of the Dominion to discuss and devise measures in an endeavor to improve the social and economic condition of the whole Dominion. I can assure you that I am in deep sympathy with all your endeavors. I have read with much interest the very able remarks that have been addressed to you by those who are experts in their particular lines: and those not at one meeting, but at three meetings sometimes in a day. I can assure you of my hope and trust that in meeting here at this great conference you will do some real good, and I wish you every possible success.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF PROSTITUTION AND SUGGESTED REMEDIES.

DR. CHAS. J. HASTINGS, MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH, TORONTO.

In attempting to present to you the consequences of prostitution and suggestions for remedies, I shall have to limit myself to what seem to be the main factors, as anything like a complete presentation of even this phase of the problem would be encyclopedic in character.

It has been estimated that prostitution and the treatment of venereal disease cost the United States and Canada in 1913 three billion two hundred million dollars (1); and this does not cover the cost of the blind, insane or paralytic. The enormous medical, social and economic significance of venereal diseases which are the result of prostitution has never been properly appreciated by any nation. Every prostitute sooner or later becomes infected with venereal disease, and most of them within the first year.

Dr. Prince A. Morrow claimed that New York has from two hundred to three hundred thousand syphilitics—which is only five per cent.—a very conservative estimate. The terms pus tubes, ovaritis, salpingitis, cerebral hemorrhage, locomotor-ataxia, paresis or general paralysis of the insane, and other allied conditions, as Lydston says, sound well, and have concealed the skeleton in many a closet, but in the light of modern knowledge we know that at least 90 per cent. of the aforesaid conditions are the result of gonorrhoea and syphilis.

Dr. Howard Kelly, of Johns Hopkins (2) has pointed out that a large proportion of childless marriages are due to husbands being incapacitated from previous attacks of gonorrhoea. It is estimated that from 17 to 25 per cent. are due to this. To these may be added the enormous number of one-child families, in consequence of the wife becoming infected during her first pregnancy.

In 1901 the Committee of Seven appointed by the New York State Medical Society reported that one out of every five in New York City was infected with gonorrhoea or syphilis; and in a number of clinics observed by Birnhoff, 75 per cent. were found to be suffering from venereal disease.

Dr. Flora Pollock (3), in Dr. Kelly's clinic in Johns Hopkins, reports 200 cases of little girls suffering from gonorrhoea and syphilis. There are 500 of these little ones so infected in Baltimore every year.

The Chicago Vice Commission reported that 600 infected

children under 12 years passed through the wards of one Chicago hospital in 27 months.

The number of syphilitics in the United States is conservatively placed at two millions. This disease is not only a danger in itself, but it also causes a large number of diseases of the circulatory and nervous system, which result in chronic invalidism and death—and are consequently a great burden on the State. Extermination of social diseases would probably mean the elimination of at least one-half of our institutions for defectives. The loss of citizens to the state from the sterilizing influence of gonorrhoea upon the productive energy of the family, and the blighting, destructive effects of syphilis upon the offspring, are enormous.

In the opinion of every competent judge, social diseases constitute the most powerful of all factors in the degeneration and depopulation of the world.

Among the troops stationed in the Philippines (4) the venereal morbidity during the year 1904 was 297 per 1,000, largely exceeding the morbidity from malarial fever and diarrhoeal diseases. Twenty-two out of every thousand soldiers were constantly infective from venereal diseases—four times as many as any other disease.

In the statistics of the Navy Department during the same year, venereal disease was chargeable with a percentage of 25.2 of the total number of sick days in the hospital from all causes combined. In four years 949 men were discharged from the Navy for disability from venereal disease. The statistics of the English Army show that among the troops stationed in India, 537 per 1,000 were admitted to the hospital for venereal disease. Of the troops returning home to England after completing their time of service in India, 25 per cent. were found to be infected with syphilis.

Neiser (5), a distinguished German authority, states that in Germany fully 75 per cent. of the adult male population contracted gonorrhoea, and 15 per cent. have syphilis. On the basis of all available sources of information, Blaschko calculates that of the clerks and merchants in Berlin, 45 per cent. have had syphilis and 120 per cent. gonorrhoea; and in Breslau 77 per cent. have had syphilis and 200 per cent. gonorrhoea, or an average of two attacks.

What syphilis and gonorrhoea represent in the lower working efficiency of our population, to say nothing of the still more important subject of increased mortality, it is impossible to esti-

mate; but it would be difficult to over-emphasize the great danger to national efficiency from these diseases; and yet the feature which casts the most reflection upon our intelligence is that these diseases are preventible, and yet not prevented.

At the seventh meeting of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases, evidence was given by Dr. Mott (7), Pathologist to the London County Council Asylums, and a member of the commission, who dealt first with dementia paralytica, or general paralysis of the insane. He indicated the grounds on which it is held that syphilis is the essential cause of this disease, and that without syphilis there would be no general paralysis. Facts relating to general paralysis had, therefore, an important bearing on the commission's inquiry. Dr. Mott gave various statistics respecting cases of this disease dealt with in the County Council Asylums. From a comparison of the figures for the last fifteen years, during which the population of London has remained practically stationary he came to the conclusion that the admissions of cases of general paralysis were not diminishing, though he could not say that there was an increase. The figures showed that 8 per cent. of the total admissions from all causes, and 15½ per cent. of the male admissions, were general paralytics. The male cases of general paralysis of the insane considerably outnumbered the female, the ratio between them being rather more than 5 to 1. Tables of the numbers of cases of the disease from different districts of London indicated a higher incidence among males in the West End than the East End, while among females the higher incidence occurred in the East End.

On the subject of infant mortality, Dr. Mott stated that if the cause could be satisfactorily ascertained the statistics of infant mortality would give important indications of the prevalence of syphilis in the country. Among the serious effects were blindness, deafness, stunted growth, paralysis, dementia-paralytica, imbecility, fits and general debility. Two per cent. of all cases of general paralysis of the insane were juvenile cases, due to congenital syphilis. The percentage would be very much higher but for the fact that the majority of children whose brains become affected died in early life, or were born dead. Dr. Mott laid great stress on the desirability of a Wasserman test for every new-born infant when the parent had syphilis, or was suspected of syphilis, as it would then be possible to deal with latent diseases in the child. The essential point in the treatment of syphilis was to detect the organism at the earliest possible time, and to begin treatment immediately. He advocated very strongly

the provision of public laboratories, where Wasserman tests and bacteriological examinations could be carried out. It was also of the utmost importance that satisfactory education should be provided for medical students, so that they should thoroughly understand syphilis, and how to diagnose it in its early stages, so that all delay in dealing with the disease might be avoided.

It must be apparent then that in point of prevalence these diseases vastly overshadow all other infectious diseases, both acute and chronic combined. It is a conservative estimate to say that fully one-eighth of all human disease and suffering comes from this source. Moreover, the incidence of these diseases falls most heavily upon the young, during the most active and productive period of life.

It is a fact worthy of consideration that every year in the United States and Canada over 800,000 males reach the age of early maturity—that is, they approach the danger zone of initial debauch. It may be affirmed that under existing conditions at least 60 per cent. (8), or between 450,000 and 500,000, of these young men will some time during life become infected with venereal disease if the experience of the past is to be accepted as the criterion of the future. Twenty per cent. of these infections will occur before the 22nd year; 50 per cent. before the 25th year, and more than 80 per cent. before they pass their 30th year. These figures represent the venereal morbidity incident to the male product of a single year. Each succeeding group of males, after they pass their 16th year, furnishes its quota of victims, so that the total morbidity from this constantly accumulative growth forms an immense aggregate.

A still more lamentable feature of the consequence of these infections is that they are so often conveyed to the innocent members of society. There is abundant statistical evidence to show that 80 per cent. of the deaths from inflammatory diseases peculiar to women, 75 per cent. of all surgical operations performed on women, and over 60 per cent. of all the work done by specialists in diseases of women, are the result of gonorrhoeal infection. And in addition to this, 50 per cent. or more of these infected women are rendered absolutely and irremediably sterile, and many are condemned to life-long invalidism. Every year in this country thousands of pure women are infected in the relations of marriage, and in many instances their conceptional capacity destroyed, and aspirations which centre in motherhood and children are swept away, and the holy office of maternity is desecrated by bringing forth tainted, diseased and dead children; and the

women themselves, often ruined in health, are condemned to mutilation of their maternal organs to save their lives.

It is further estimated that 80 (9) per cent. of the ophthalmia which blots out the eyes of babies, and 20 to 25 per cent. of all blindness, is caused by gonorrhoeal infection, while syphilis is transmitted to the offspring in full virulence. Fortunately 60 to 80 per cent. of all children infected with this disease die before being born; but unfortunately many come into the world with the marks of death upon them. Those that finally survive it are the subjects of degenerated changes and organic defects which may be transmitted to the third generation.

From an economic standpoint, the fact that these diseases constitute the most potent factor in the causation of blindness, deaf-muteism, idiocy, insanity, paralysis, locomotor-ataxia, and other incapacitating and incurable affections, impose an enormous charge upon the state and community. Millions of dollars are contributed to the support of defectives, but not a dollar for the dissemination of the saving knowledge which might prevent them.

This is but a fractional portion of the evidence that might be produced along this line to show that prostitution or the great white plague is the direct cause of venereal disease or the "Great Black Plague."

WHAT ABOUT OUR CITIES?

To come nearer home, some valuable work has been done by Drs. Duncan Graham, Robert Mann, Strathy and Bates in Toronto. Numbers of Wasserman tests have been made in connection with the three leading hospitals in Toronto, between 1,000 and 1,500 in all, demonstrating an appalling number of positive re-actors. In some 500 tests made of cases that were, of course, suspected, 45 per cent. reacted. Of 225 consecutive cases seeking treatment in one of the Toronto hospitals, that had not previously been suspected, 43 per cent. gave a positive reaction, or in other words, manifested the presence of syphilis.

It is apparent, then, that Canada is not escaping, and where we think we are free from these diseases it is because we have not made investigations.

While the advances along the various lines of public health work for the past decade have been most commendable, yet the neglect to assume responsibility for venereal disease by the state or municipality is beyond comprehension. However, the duty has now become so apparent that every nation is called upon to face the facts that are too glaring to admit of any misconception.

This subject was discussed last year by the Royal Society of Medicine, at which it was stated that in London alone there were 40,000 new cases of syphilis, and in the United Kingdom 130,000, and oftentimes the victims are among doctors, nurses, dentists, students, mothers and children, innocently infected. Those whose duty it is to come into contact with these infections are sometimes called upon to pay the penalty of the wilful blindness that ignores its existence.

What, then, is the remedy? In the first place, the control of prostitution, which can only be done by the control of the conditions, and the remedying of the conditions which give rise to prostitution. The whole solution is found in the one word, which is the motto of departments of health, and that is "Prevention." However, up to the present all means used for the most part have been of little or no avail, and this is due, in a large measure at least, to the lack of proper organization and lack of knowledge which is essential for its proper solution. Society has been dealing with this problem in a similar way, and manifesting a similar judgment to that of the ostrich, which seeks safety by burying its head in the sand—hence it is that prostitution has existed, we might say, unabated, from approximately 1800 B. C. to the present time.

There is little evidence that any punishment has had any appreciable influence in diminishing the traffic. It is true that during these centuries sexual vice has varied from the grossest and most obscene immorality to a comparative decency. This variation has been governed in a great measure by the varying of the causes of prostitution, which points the way, in as much as the conditions or causes are controllable. Conditions to-day reveal the fact that notwithstanding the efforts that have been put forth for the past decades, or even the past centuries, prostitution in its various forms is practically as rampant to-day as it was a century ago.

It is unfortunate that most of those engaged in the effort to control these conditions have been practically without knowledge of the sexual physiology of man and woman, which is one of the most essential equipments for all endeavoring to solve the problem.

What we want is an educational campaign that will develop a better and nobler race of men, who will be masters of their passions instead of their servants, as in many cases they now are. Then and then only will man place woman back on the pedestal from which he has dragged her down. Women are entitled to all

the rights that man has, and in addition, the right of being protected by man.

It is most important, in the first place, to blot out forever the physiological fallacy of sexual necessity for man. This done, the state has no justification left for tolerating public provision for it.

That there are phases of this problem that have not been efficiently studied for want of the knowledge of sexual physiology is manifest from the following:

Dr. Davenport of the Carnegie Institute at Washington, in speaking of prostitution says: "It is usually accredited to extrinsic factors. Evidence is accumulating to show that the primary factor is an inherited predisposition towards an exceptionally active sexual life. The mercenary return is not an unwelcome accompaniment, and serves as an excuse to hide from the unanalytical inquirer the true weakness of the delinquent. Of 350 girls interrogated, there was but one in the life for economic reasons."

Abraham Flexner in his book just published on "Prostitution in Europe," having travelled through all the principal cities in England, Scotland, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Austria-Hungary, has made a careful study of all phases of the problem. The general European attitude is summed up by him as follows: "That the two participants in every immoral act are more and more coming to be viewed as of equal responsibility."

It is gratifying to know, however, that of the various advances in medical science, none is probably of more importance or more value than that of the possibilities of early diagnosis in the efficient treatment of these appalling diseases, as is well set forth in the following extracts from comments on the report of the committee appointed by the local government board in England: "A step which must ere long have great importance was taken by the local government board in instituting over a year ago an official inquiry into the problem of venereal disease in this country. The results of this inquiry are contained in Dr. R. W. Johnstone's report on this subject, issued early in August of the present year, with an introduction by the medical officer of the board.

"The timely issue of this report and recent events will doubtless lead to the general public facing more definitely the problem of the eradication of venereal disease. Signs are not wanting that public opinion is ripe for a frank discussion of the question.

That the medical profession is anxious for action is shown by the enthusiasm displayed at the important joint session of the sections of dermatology and forensic medicine at the recent International Congress of Medicine, and by the fact that the meeting passed resolutions advocating confidential notification of syphilis and systematic provision for the diagnosis and treatment of the disease. Further evidence is furnished by the promise of the government to institute special inquiry into the problem. We trust that this inquiry, while thorough, will not be unduly prolonged, as the main lines on which preventive medicine need to be applied to venereal diseases are well recognized, and only need the stamp of a commission's report to insure their incorporation into the public health administration of every country.

"The necessary lines of action are set out in Dr. Johnstone's report, the result of work carried on for more than a year in the midst of other official duties. This report presents in an interesting form the general position of the problem. Syphilis and gonorrhoea are alone dealt with as the more important venereal diseases. It is clear that no accurate idea can be formed at present of the extent to which these diseases prevail. Assuming the proportion of syphilis in London to be the same as that which has been advanced by Erb for Berlin, Dr. Johnstone estimates that 500,000 of the inhabitants of London are suffering from the disease.

"From the economic standpoint any measures which could be adopted for the early diagnosis and treatment of syphilis would be a source of immense saving to the nation, in ridding it of the deadweight of chronic invalidity which it now supports as a consequence of late and inadequate recognition and treatment of the disease.

"Our ideas with regard to syphilis have been revolutionized by the discovery of its causal spirochaete by Schaudinn in 1905, and of the complement-fixation test by Wassermann in 1906. Where formerly the disease dragged on into the secondary stage before it was recognized with certainty, the diagnosis can now be made by Wassermann reaction as early as five to eight weeks from the onset.

"But not only early diagnosis but also rapid cure or at least the cessation of symptoms for prolonged periods has also become a reality. Ehrlich's discovery of the almost magical influence of salvarsan on syphilis has given a means whereby the most infective period of the disease can be greatly shortened, and the disease itself not improbably cured.

"Moreover, the period of treatment, formerly extending over two or three years, has now been very materially reduced by the use of salversan, even though it is considered advisable by some to follow up the latter with a course of mercury, or alternating the interventus injection of salversan with the intermuscular injection of mercury.

"It is evident that some general scheme is needed whereby a co-ordinated system will be established for the early diagnosis and treatment of venereal disease. In the matter of diagnosis there is a great opportunity for sanitary authorities throughout the country to co-operate in this work with general hospitals. Many county and county borough councils have established laboratories at which a variety of diagnostic bacteriological work is done. It would be comparatively simple to extend the scope of this work to include microscopic test for syphilis and gonorrhoea, and the Wasserman test for syphilis. Should any doubt arise as to the powers of county councils to undertake this class of work, recourse may be had to Clause 2 of the Public Health (Prevention and Treatment of Disease) Act, 1913, which gives the local government board power, with the consent of the council, to constitute a county council an authority for executing regulations, made under Sec. 130 of the Public Health Act, 1875, with a view to preventing the spread of epidemic, endemic or infectious disease."

As regards the provision of hospital accommodation for the early treatment of syphilis it would seem possible, in Dr. Newsholme's words "that the subsidization of accommodation in general hospitals, where modern methods of treatment could be insured, would be more successful than the erection of special hospitals." The stigma attaching to attendance at such a hospital would thus be avoided. It should be remembered that such provision of systematic early treatment would, in due course, liberate for other purposes many hospital beds at present occupied for comparatively prolonged periods by patients suffering from the after-effects of syphilis untreated or badly treated in the past.

A need has sometimes been expressed for powers of compulsory detention of the lowest class of venereal patients. The fact, however, that the infectivity of syphilis can be removed in two or three days by the administration of salversan reduces the urgency of this problem to a minimum, and such powers need not be called for until it has been shown that voluntary offers of treatment do not suffice as a preventive measure.

It is satisfactory to realize that this important problem seems at last seriously to be coming to the fore, and we would make

a plea to sanitary authorities and their officers to consider earnestly in what ways and to what extent they can take their share in this new development of public health.

As Flexner has expressed it "Civilization has stripped for a life and death contest with tuberculosis, alcohol and other plagues." It is on the verge of a similar struggle with the crasser forms of commercialized vice. Sooner or later it must fling down the gauntlet to the whole horrible thing. This will be the real contest that will tax the courage, the self-denial, the faith and the resources of humanity to their utmost.

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PREVENTIVE EFFORT.

MRS. WILLOUGHBY CUMMINGS, D.C.L.

It was my very great privilege last July to represent the whole Dominion of Canada, at the request of the Government of Canada, conveyed to me by the Prime Minister, as a delegate to the fifth international congress for the suppression of the white slave traffic, held in London, England. On that great occasion, no less than twenty-four nations were represented. I was amongst the number of Canadian delegates, several of whom represented the National Council of Women of Canada, including Mrs. Torrington, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Charles Green, of Ottawa, and others. The whole of the delegates made a magnificent gathering. As the chairman has stated, this is a meeting for the suppression of the white slave traffic, and I think I cannot do better than tell you something about that great London gathering.

Included, of course, among the representatives of the twenty-four nations, were those of the Dominion of Canada and of other parts of the British Empire. We did considerable work in the direction of redemptive effort, on which subject I am supposed to speak to you this afternoon. First, however, I should like to say a few words on general principles. We first of all do our very utmost to educate public opinion in our respective countries on the equal moral standard; secondly, we agree to try to educate public opinion in our own countries in favor of the abolition of the white slave traffic; and if we could do that, of course, the international traffic must fail. I think if you will try, you will find many men and women, even here in Ottawa, who don't understand just what we mean when we speak of the white slave traffic. They believe first that it does not exist, but if they admit its existence, they think we greatly exaggerate both its extent and importance. Now we must put this matter plainly, and if we do so we cannot fail to influence public opinion.

We learned one thing very clearly at that great conference, and that is the close co-operation between those who conduct the traffic in one country and those carrying it on in others. In this respect, at any rate, we want this close co-operation between those who make the laws and those who administer the laws. Furthermore, we want close co-operation between our voluntary

associations, our municipalities, and those engaged in education. We want also that eternal vigilance without which we cannot hope to gain success. There is much money with those who support and carry on this traffic; if we are to secure justice we must not rest for one moment.

In order that you may properly realize the extent and evil of this traffic, let me point out to you that the victims do not belong to any particular class in life. It may be my daughter or your daughter who may next be drawn within the meshes of this frightful traffic. If we could get the members of the general public to realize that, and the constant, ever present danger to their own children, we should speedily bring public opinion to our side. There are certain conditions which favor those who carry on the traffic. There are low wages, upon which young girls can scarcely exist, to say nothing of gaining any of the little luxuries of life. There is the excessive love of amusements, there is the want of moral training in the home. These are amongst the things that send many victims into the net. We must not only work against these influences, but we must also insist on sending men into the House of Commons who are in favor of making such laws as shall secure the suppression of bad amusements and the provision of healthy amusements, through the schools and in other ways. I am sure the members of this Congress will heartily welcome and endorse any social movement that will provide for the gathering of the young folks under proper supervision. In some way or other we must provide healthy amusement for these young people.

These questions are not merely national, they are international, and as we have international evils, we must have international remedies. No one country can secure these things by itself. All the work in each country will aid and influence the work in other countries. Should it not hearten us to remember that what we do in Canada will assist our sisters, not only in America, but in European countries as well? It is wonderful for us to be able to trace the almost world influence of the work of Mr. Comstock of New York. He did much to secure that American investigation which showed us conditions we could never have proved to exist otherwise. Although we might suspect, and be almost sure of their existence, we owe much to that investigation, and not only we in Canada, but those also who are engaged in the work in other countries.

Let me show you the effect of such enquiries by one illustration, and I will take it from South America. In 1912 in the

registered licensed houses in Buenos Ayres there were only 272 native women out of 1,414 registered women. Amongst them were 362 Russians, 177 Spanish, 341 French, showing you clearly the international nature of this traffic. Do not these figures prove the existence of such an international traffic? We want to show everywhere and everyone how far this traffic has gone before we can hope to suppress it. We do not want to see toleration or protection, but abolition.

The fact that we have the Premier and leader of the Opposition at this conference shows that we have the authorities on our side, and what we have now to do is to educate public opinion up to the point of taking drastic measures for dealing with this traffic. There are many practical details, such as the expatriation of these women, but they will have to be dealt with later. There are also many points of difference in the different countries. In France they register these women, and the delegates from that country were not only in favor of the system but wanted it endorsed. Of course from an international standpoint we could do nothing of the kind. What we did agree upon was that in cases where women were sent back to the country from which they came, the committees in those countries should receive them, look after them, and see that they get a chance to lead useful lives in the future. We also agreed to urge ship owners to provide on every passenger vessel a ship matron, whose particular duty it shall be to look after the young people. We were told that the traffic on these steamships is particularly dangerous and that the women who cross the ocean on them provide a rich harvest for those engaged in the traffic. Emigration agents said that the statements were ridiculous, but the evidence submitted to us was too strong for us not to be convinced of its absolute truth. By means of these steamships the traffic is carried on from one country to another, and if we could stop it there we should do a good deal to lessen the traffic.

Employment agencies also need much stronger supervision. We believe they are largely used by those engaged in the traffic, and one remedy would be the employment of Government agencies. We hope later on to have international bureaus prescribe a uniform set of rules for employment agencies. We had evidence that the harems of Constantinople and Alexandria are often supplied through employment agencies at Marseilles. You see how widespread are these abuses and how investigation shows this evil to be international in its character.

If we are, as we believe we are, destined to become a great

people, we must protect our girlhood and young womanhood. They are amongst the best assets of this glorious country. One little bit of evidence I would also like to point out to you, and that is the use and abuse made of the postoffice system. It was found out from a little investigation in Paris that 1,527 girls received 3,453 communications through branch postoffices. We were further told that massage establishments and electric baths are used as blinds for carrying on the traffic. Now we have some splendid massage establishments, against which there is not the slightest breath of suspicion; there are, however, doubtful establishments of this kind, and what we would urge is that all of them should be licensed and placed under public inspection. We were also recommended that in each country some one person should be appointed to watch the advertisements and investigate all suspicious advertisements and report the same immediately to the national committee. We believe that in Canada such an appointment would do good. We were also urged, although we did not need it, to advocate the employment of police women. We were told of most gratifying results that had followed such appointments in other countries. I am glad to be able to tell you that we were unanimous on the point of the equal moral standard, and I trust that in Canada we shall work for making that standard effective. We are securing a wonderful tourist traffic in Canada, but it is not entirely without its dangers and needs watching.

There are many other points, and all of them will be considered in time by the International Council of Women. Where we had differences they were largely owing to the different conditions in the different countries, and not one of them can be considered impossible of reconciliation. There are many hopeful features for our future work, and surely one of the best is that the workers of the different countries can join hands and efforts together and become a united force for good and advancement. We are engaged in the greatest of modern crusades, and, like the crusaders of old, we shall win great victory if we remain united and if we can move our whole force at once. The world has never seen a nobler or a greater crusade than that in which we are now engaged. The victims have long cried for help; much has been done, but little compared with the greatness of the traffic. Now with the united force covering twenty-four nations, we are pressing forward, a band of crusaders that will take no denial. The work must succeed, for God wills it.

RESCUE WORK FOR GIRLS.

MISS MARIE CHRISTINE RATTE, GENERAL SUPERVISOR OF
REDEMPITIVE WORK FOR GIRLS, THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH IN CANADA.

Some years ago I was asked by the Presbyterian Church to undertake rescue work for that church. I was asked to do that for the whole Dominion of Canada—a very large field to undertake. When I began my work I tried, being a French woman, to adopt some method. I began by a general investigation of conditions throughout the whole Dominion of Canada. I had read many things on the subject, but I wanted to see for myself before I decided exactly what to do. I have not time this afternoon to describe in detail the conditions that I found, things in Canada such as should shame our authorities, and growing abuses which stand in need of strong hands to remedy them. Growing boys and girls did not seem to value their virtue or honor, and sometimes would sell the same for as low a price as twenty-five cents.

Before I commenced I found that good rescue work had been done by devoted Christian men and women, who gave freely of their time and services, but who did it without method and whose work was therefore to some extent only of a temporary character. When I came to Ottawa, your beautiful Canadian capital, I found houses of shame existing under the shadow of the tower of the Parliament Buildings. In one house I found eighteen young girls, the youngest being only sixteen. I spoke to them and enquired into their cases, and I did the same at the house next door, where I found nine girls. I was told I was never to speak of this in the city of Ottawa, but I have done so to you this afternoon. As I told you before, I went through from coast to coast, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and there on that beautiful Pacific Coast I found houses of shame built in the style of hotels, and with surroundings such as prevented detection except by means of careful enquiries. Many young girls were directed there and were soon betrayed. I found other houses of shame in nearly every one of the small towns; indeed, I think not one was without its red-light district.

This redemptive work is hard and trying, and it is hard through the awful stories that we have to hear. I met one little girl and I asked her what she would like to be when she had grown up to womanhood. The little one replied quite artlessly, "I should

like to be a school teacher, but it is hard work. I think when I am big I shall go into the Row, for then I can have beautiful dresses, fine automobiles, drives and everything I want." That is the way children are brought up with false ideals. These are the little girls, the flowers of this land, under the British flag, and they are shown life under such falseness. I found living in the Rows several young girls, fifteen of them, and that in a town of less than four thousand people. I admit cheerfully and thankfully that a good deal of work was done by individuals before the Church started its campaign. In this travel I am telling you of I visited the prisons and the penitentiaries and saw in all of them boys and girls, young Canadians, who ought to have become good citizens. The girls had lost their honor, and in losing that had lost much to make life sweet to young womanhood.

The sights that I saw led me to think that something could be done in the way of preventive work as well as redemptive work. That is where the law ought to help us. Our laws in this country are very defective for the protection of young girls, and I think the government of this country ought not to invite young women to come to this country from other countries until they have made adequate laws for their protection. As it is they are spending time and money paying large salaries and agency fees, and when the poor girls come here the law does not provide as it should do for their protection. They leave their own country to come here, and in many cases the change would be for the better if they were properly protected. We have now in the rescue home in Toronto fourteen Scotch girls, most of whom have been domestic servants. I went to see all of them before I left to come to this conference, and one of them, a little Scotch girl, felt she could not tell what would become of her when I left. It is the domestic servants who are not protected—not even protected against their employers—for whom I plead. These girls come to this beautiful country pure and high-minded, and fall into the hands of brutes, not men. In such cases the law ought to give them ample protection. There must be something done to protect these girls, and I hope this conference will not be allowed to pass without making some protest in their favor.

This is a peculiar country and this is a peculiar time. It is a country which is looked upon at present by the whole world, and we ought to give evidence that we have the highest social ideals. We shall fail in making this country great in the future if we do not attend to the interests of our young people in the present. While there is so much to be done in the redemptive

work, it would after all be much better to do the preventive work and thus make the redemptive unnecessary. We must keep our homes pure and beautiful if we want our women to grow up the high-principled, beautiful creatures that will make this beautiful country the best in the world. These girls are worth the saving for their own sakes, and for the sake of the country as well.

It is high time the conscience of the country was aroused to the great dangers into which we have been allowed to drift. We can never be a great country if the physical qualities of our young people are allowed to be sapped. We call these girls prostitutes because we have allowed them to go down to that degree where they are despised by all. I used to think before I carried out my own enquiries that some of the stories told by the Salvation Army were exaggerated. I find, however, that it would be difficult indeed to exaggerate the extent of this social evil. During the last three years I have had five hundred of these girls pass through my hands, and it is only because one felt that the work was undertaken in the spirit of Christ and with the high ideals of social service that it was found possible to go through with it. One has always to remember, in dealing with these poor creatures, the words of the great Master himself: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more." It is in that spirit this great social and redemptive work is undertaken; and it is our law-makers who make our tasks more difficult. We have many women of high intelligence and great self-sacrifice assisting to carry on this work, and it is hard to find so many of their efforts thwarted and their work hindered by the defective laws.

There are, first, the feeble-minded, for whom we are looking to an ample protection from the law in future, in which case a great burden of work will be removed from us and the present condition of affairs remedied which is a disgrace to a Christian country. These poor unfortunate people have a strong claim on the law, and their case should receive speedy attention from the law-makers. Then we have those of weak wills, who have been led into the first false step, and for whom recovery is difficult and perhaps impossible, except through the medium of our redemptive homes. Thirdly, we have the organized system under which these miserable women, having been once betrayed, are kept in a state of abject subjection. There are none so bad that there is not some good in them if we could only discover the right spot. When I left Toronto a young girl came to see me off. She has promised to come to me some day, but she cannot make up her mind to leave her gay life at once. I asked her when we parted when she would

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come, and she gave me the usual reply—that she would come sometime, because she knew that I loved her. Yes, I believe I shall get her, because when one goes after a thing through love, as I mean to go after her, we generally obtain it; and in this case I do not mean to be balked. I have another case in my mind where a little girl is about to become a mother at thirteen. In our Winnipeg Rescue Home we have one girl of fourteen, two of fifteen, and several at sixteen, seventeen, eighteen and nineteen. Is it not terrible to think of such cases? And is it not time the law should give us all the aid possible? It can no longer be said that no one cares for these poor unfortunates; yet so much remains to be done. Their cry has been heard, but it has not been heeded to the extent it ought to have been.

This great social problem is still a crying evil in our midst. Look at the inequality between the sexes in this regard. In one Canadian town I have seen five girls walking down the streets leading their illegitimate children. Whenever did you see a man doing that? Never. We will work more and more, and we will demand with louder voices attention to this cause. We want to make this country bright and pure and good, and we can only do it by insuring those qualities to our young people. The other day a little girl came to me for admission to the home, and another girl said: "Oh, don't take her in; she sold me for ten dollars." I afterwards found upon enquiry it was only too true. We want to make such cases disappear from our midst. In the meantime, I ask for your prayers, your sympathy, and your help in carrying on this redemptive work, because it is the law of God, because it is the wish of the Saviour, Jesus Christ, and because the present condition of things is so hard upon the women.

THE CARE OF CONVICTED CRIMINALS.

(PROCURERS AND PROSTITUTES.)

MARGARET PATTERSON, M.D., TORONTO.

We have heard of "The Amendments to the Criminal Code," but those of us who attend the Police Court are still accustomed to hear most of these cases tried under the "Vagrancy Act," which allows the option of a fine. Evidently the amendments have not yet come into general use, for, with the exception of sentencing, things seem to move slowly in the courts.

I have been asked to speak to you on the care of "convicted criminals, (prostitutes and procurers)." It might be interesting to see how they are convicted. I will ask you to come with me to our "Women's Court" in Toronto. For the benefit of those who may not know it, let me tell you that Toronto now has "a separate court for women to which the male outside public are not admitted unless they can show just cause for being there." This court is not yet all that we hope to see it, but it is a step in the right direction and an earnest of the time when we shall have a night court for women with a woman on the bench.

It is an average morning in court when we make this imaginary visit, and we find that a house of ill-fame has been raided, a woman, three girls and three men found there; they all appear in court. The woman is called to answer a charge of keeper of house of ill-fame. The men who are there give evidence that they have paid her money for immoral purposes. She is convicted and probably sentenced to \$30.00 or 60 days. Often the fine is paid, but sometimes they "take time." One keeper told one of the court workers that she "took time" whenever she wanted to recruit her staff, as it was always easy to get a hold of some fresh, healthy girls who were in jail for shoplifting and other such charges. This is a favorite way of procuring girls, for the girls feel that, having been in prison, they will never again be able to get respectable employment, and many of them do not know where to find employment when they come out, and believe this life to be the last resource.

After the keeper of the house is sentenced the girls have to answer to the charge of "being inmates." Again the men give evidence that for a monetary consideration they have been allowed

to dishonor the girls. The girls are convicted and sentenced to \$20.00 or 30 days. One has the money and pays her fine, goes out to continue her life of shame until again hauled before the court. A few mornings ago a comparatively young looking woman was called to answer a charge of this kind. The lady beside me asked one of the court officials if it were her first offence and was told "not the first, the thirty-first."

The other girls do not pay their fines, so go to prison. Let us visit them there. We find them indiscriminately herded with other women of all ages and guilty of all manner of offences. They are dressed in the regulation garb of the prison; this, with its almost total absence of underclothing, of itself tends to degrade. They have no wholesome outdoor exercise, in fact very little fresh air. The occupations are heavy, monotonous, and unhealthy. Their whole surroundings are debasing. There is nothing to uplift. The conversation is unspeakably vile. One of the prisoners told me that it is a favorite amusement to tell the vilest things to those who are comparatively innocent and shrink from them. One old-timer who had some good left in her (and they all have) pointed to a new girl and said: "It was a shame to send that innocent lamb in here." Another said that she would not mind anything if only she could forget, and get away from the awful things she had to hear. What can we expect thirty days of such surroundings and associations to do, but to harden and corrupt? So they leave the prison a little worse than they came in, only to return again and again, and so the "wheels of justice" turn with sickening monotony.

What of the men? Oh! they gave crown evidence and so go free to continue their dastardly work. When will we have a proper system of treating both these morally, and usually physically, sick men and women, and a moral hospital to which they will all be sent on indeterminate sentence? When will these people be regarded as patients, and treated in a way that will lead to their moral recovery?

We must have the short term sentence and fining system abolished and no longer adhere to the old Mosaic law of "a tooth for a tooth," cease to punish vindictively, and try to reform and help back to normal these poor unfortunates. The curse of the short sentence and fining system cannot be estimated. The fining system is simply cheap license, the short sentence is a system of compulsory education in crime. In 1883 Dr. E. A. Meredith read a paper before the Canadian Institute "On the Condition of Our Common Jails," and in this he contended "that so far as regards

the suppression of vice and crime our common or county jails were little better than the abominable dens which Howard visited and denounced nearly a century and a half ago. The efforts of philanthropists and social reformers and others have had but little result. The jails have improved materially but not morally. The giant evil of Howard's time, the indiscriminate association of prisoners, is still permitted in many. In very few cases does a term in our common jail prove either deterrent or reformatory, but on the contrary, they are nurseries of crime, hotbeds of vice where criminals are manufactured at the cost of the country."

Dr. Gilmore, Warden of our Central Prison, says re the short sentence: "The short sentence rarely, if ever, prevents a second offence, and usually means the initiation to a life of crime, and is establishing a criminal class."

The police records show that the same people come before the court again and again, and each time more confirmed criminals than before, and how could it be otherwise, for it is the crime, not the criminal, that is considered in passing judgment. The sentence is given as a punishment, not as a means of reform. The prisoners themselves who wish to do better cry out against the short term sentence. One girl, serving her fourth short sentence, said: "If only they would send me down for two years, I might be able to do better when I got out." A short time ago we were endeavoring to get a girl of fifteen, who was leading a very immoral life, and leading many boys to ruin, into a reformatory. This girl was an illegitimate child, and the mother, who is now a reformed woman, wrote to thank us for trying to save her daughter, and said: "Please ask the judge to give her several years at least, for nothing else will save her. I know what a long sentence did for me. I had a number of short terms and came out worse than I went in, but when I got a two-year sentence and was compelled to lead a moral life for two years, I grew strong enough to resist temptation and came out a saved and sane woman." What could we expect from the present method of treating our criminals? The trouble with our present system is that we think only of the offence, and not of the offender. We deal with cases, forgetting that each case represents a human being with an immortal soul. These cases cannot be diagnosed and prescribed for at the rate of thirty per hour.

In the 8th Chapter of St. John's Gospel, we are given a sample case, and we see how the greatest Judge of all treated it, and we must pause to consider "that handwriting on the sand." The Judge was prepared for His work. He had come fortified by a

time of prayer. He did not consider the case hastily. He studied the patient, did not rely solely on the evidence given. He purified her surroundings and removed her accusers, forgave the sin, and sent her out, not to be a danger to society, but a useful Christian woman. There is no reason why we cannot do the same to-day if we get the right kind of people to deal with the offenders, and the proper kind of an institution to which to send them, and sentence them for treatment until such time as they are cured. Each individual case must be studied: treatment prescribed to fit its trouble. There should be a medical examination of each case; so often there are physical causes for their fall. Dr. Gilmore says the trouble is physical and mental in fifty per cent. of all cases that come under his observation. Dr. Dwyer, of Chicago, who has been appointed to examine all court cases, gives the percentage as high as eighty-seven per cent. The prison farm is an absolute necessity for both men and women. The cottage system of housing is the only reasonable one. There should be a reception cottage, to which each person is sent until the case is studied and diagnosed, then they should be sent to the cottage and the work that will be most beneficial to them. The employment should be varied, but always embracing a large share of work in "God's beautiful out-of-doors." There is an indefinable something in working with nature that has a purifying effect on the most degraded. Even systems vitiated by a city's worst vices become normal in the wholesome work of the farm. Then there must be education, and everyone must be taught not only to read and write, but to do something so well that they can easily earn a living by it when they are considered fit to leave the institutions. A girl should be taught all lines of housework, especially cooking and serving. She should be taught sewing and not only allowed but compelled to make for herself a good supply of clothing, which should be given to her when she goes out. She should also be given a small wage, so that she may not be sent into the world penniless. Positions should be found for all before they leave the institution, and all should be kept under observation by a sympathetic and experienced parole officer, who will be a real friend to them. Many a person has gone to ruin for lack of a friend or some one to take an interest in them. "The world knows of the battles that are lost, but no one knows of those that are won." The parole officers must be duly appointed salaried officials. Voluntary workers cannot satisfactorily do the work. Their work is too often spasmodic, they have no position in court, and are often looked upon with

disfavor. I have myself been accused of going there from "morbid curiosity."

In all these moral hospitals there should be a system of promotion for good behavior and efficiency in work. Every one should be kept busy and taught to look "not mournfully into the past," but to make the best of the present and prepare for the future. She is helped to do this by a proper understanding of the physiology and hygiene of her own body, and often she realizes for the first time that her body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and if that temple is defiled, God will destroy her.

All this is not theory, it is actual fact in some places. The Bedford farms in New York State, of which Dr. Katharine Davis had charge, have proven the good results of a sane and sympathetic method of treating our moral weaklings and have demonstrated that they grow morally strong under proper conditions.

I would beg of this conference to urge upon the Government the necessity of establishing prison farms for women, as well as men, as quickly as possible, and when these "moral hospitals" are ready to send all cases to them "for treatment until cured."

Just as the women are separated and treated, so should the men be. In cases of marked feeble-mindedness they should have the protection of the institution for life. Cases of natural viciousness in either sex should be given surgical treatment. It is the only kind or safe method. When we have thus treated our cases we are in a position to help them back to a moral life and send them out as did our Master, when He said: "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more."

THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY.

COL. A. P. SHERWOOD, COMMISSIONER DOMINION POLICE.

"We have found no evidence of the existence in the County of New York of any organization or organizations incorporated, or otherwise engaged as such, in the traffic of women for immoral purposes, nor have we found evidence of an organized traffic in women for immoral purposes, but that a trafficking in women does exist, and is carried on, by individuals acting for their own individual benefit, and that these persons are known to each other and are more or less informally associated."

Such was the finding of a specially selected Grand Jury in New York about four years ago after a very exhaustive enquiry, and such, I imagine, would apply to the conditions obtaining in some of the larger cities of this country. The nations of Europe for more than a quarter of a century, realizing the extent of the evil and its terrible results, endeavored to devise and put in operation a scheme for systematic supervision of places of embarkation and debarkation of passengers, so as to hinder the export and import of women and girls for immoral purposes. It became apparent that to accomplish anything of value in this regard, a Congress of Nations was necessary, and this was held in Paris in 1904, when the following countries were represented: Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland, and an agreement embracing nine articles was subscribed to, the principal features of which were promised amendments to the criminal laws of each country dealing with the subject; better supervision at seaports; gathering of information regarding the engaging of women and girls for immoral purposes, and the naming of an official by each to correspond direct with others similarly designated, and with the chief official, Mr. F. S. Bullock, representing Great Britain, who I may mention was largely instrumental in bringing about the conference, and who by his zeal, determination and tact succeeded in making it the great factor it has proved to be in coping with the evil. He died, I regret to say, after a very brief illness, on January 12th last, and I fear there will be difficulty in getting anyone so specially gifted to carry on the work. Other nations and colonies which subsequently became

parties to the convention were: Austria-Hungary, Brazil, Eritrea, Bahamas, Barbadoes, Australia, Bermuda, British Central Africa, British Guinea, British Honduras, Canada, Cyprus, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Malta, Mauritius, Nigeria, Orange River Colony, St. Helena, Sierra Leone, Somaliland, South Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia, Straits Settlements, Transvaal, Trinidad, Uganda, Hawaii, Windward Islands, United States, Basutoland, Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, East Africa Protectorate, New Zealand, Nyasaland, and Seychelles, so that practically the obligation and interest are now world-wide.

At the conference in Paris in 1910, "White Slave Traffic" was further defined and dealt with as follows:

(1) "Whoever, in order to gratify the passions of another person, has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age, for immoral purposes shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

(2) "Whoever, to gratify the passions of another person, has by fraud or by means of violence, threats, abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion, procured, enticed or led away a woman or girl over age, for immoral purposes, shall be punished, notwithstanding that the various acts constituting the offence may have been committed in different countries."

"It is evident that these definitions do not quite satisfactorily indicate the precise meaning that is implied in the term 'Traffic,' which signifies pecuniary advantage to the 'Trafficier,' and in America the term 'Commercialized Vice' is more commonly used, but this is scarcely a happy expression except in so far as it includes prostitution of all kinds when practised for purposes of gain. It is perhaps difficult to find any concise term which represents exactly the double signification of procurement, and pecuniary advantage to the procurer, which mark the essential features of the trade in women for immoral purposes, and it is, therefore, better to retain the well-understood term of 'White Slave Traffic.'

"It is well, however, to insist on these two features of the traffic, because there is a tendency, natural enough in this connection, to mix up the more prevalent and perhaps equally lamentable subject of prostitution, with the White Slave Traffic. The specially distinguishing mark is the procurement of girls for the gratification of the passions of others for the profit of the procurer, rather than the seduction of girls with the motive of gratifying personal lust and passion."

You will be interested now to know what Canada has done and is doing in furtherance of the obligation imposed by her adherence to the international agreement.

The criminal law was amended last year in many important particulars, notably the provision of whipping for a second offence in the case of any procurer or pimp and definition of what constitutes the latter, also, upon certain elementary facts being established, putting the burden of disproof on the individual arrested and the giving to a peace officer the right to arrest without warrant persons whom he has good reason to suspect have committed or are about to commit any of the so-called White Slave offences.

The responsibility for the enforcement of the criminal law under the B. N. A. Act lies with the provinces and municipalities, and with this, of course, the Dominion cannot and will not interfere, but inasmuch as the latter controls immigration, special effort is being put forth at seaports and interior points to prevent anything in the nature of traffic in women and girls for immoral purposes by urging extra effort on the part of immigration officials, and in this regard I may mention that earnest and energetic co-operation and assistance has been extended by all of these, stimulated by Mr. W. D. Scott, the Superintendent of Immigration and his efficient staff in Ottawa, whilst specially qualified persons have been employed to investigate suspicious cases and to prosecute where circumstances warrant. The active interest of the various police departments throughout the country has been aroused and stimulated by circulars and personal appeal at the chief constables' conventions with, I believe, excellent results. A vote of \$10,000 has been granted by Parliament to pay for extra help and provide funds for investigation of suspected cases of international origin, and we say to the immigration and police officials, and also to the officials of moral reform, travellers' aid and such like societies: "If you report reasonable ground for suspicion against any person or persons, funds and detectives will be provided to bring the guilt home."

A word more; for generations back an endeavor has been made to better moral conditions by legislative enactment and repressive enforcement, but very little has been accomplished, so the conclusion has been reached that the hope is in education and elevation, and surely that is sound. Speaking with the authority of experience, I look for great results to humanity in this regard from a movement of recent creation, that of the "Boy Scouts," which inculcates in the youth the qualities of reverence, self-discipline, self-sacrifice, self-reliance, patriotism, industry and such-

like character features that promise more for moral betterment hereafter than anything else conceivable, and as it is generally admitted that social vice is a man problem, not a woman one, it cannot but be believed that the manhood reached through such influence is destined to be one of lofty purpose and self-control, therefore, I ask of you with all the earnestness of which I am capable, to interest yourselves in the organization whenever and wherever you have an opportunity, in order that its usefulness may be extended and increased to more fully and quickly accomplish the results that will undoubtedly accrue from its development.

DISCUSSION.

MR. A. M. FRASER: As a delegate from the Social Service Council of Montreal, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing the warm thanks of the majority of the citizens of Winnipeg to Dr. Shearer, our energetic national secretary, for the great assistance he gave us three years ago in breaking up the segregated area in that city. Up to that time this area had existed practically under police protection. When Dr. Shearer discovered the existing state of things, he made the facts known. In clear and strong language he pointed out to the citizens of Winnipeg the existence of evils in their midst. Of course, his communications were subject to criticisms, and even denial. The then mayor of the city could not make up his mind whether he favored a segregated area or not. However, on investigation, Dr. Shearer's charges were fully proved, and the result was that the position of our secretary was entirely vindicated. The segregated area has been broken up and it has not again been re-established in our midst. This is one great result of the work of the Social Service Council, and while the citizens of Winnipeg are grateful for what was done for them through Dr. Shearer's efforts, I think the delegates to this conference should also be made aware of the fact that practical results, and not all theory, are the outcome of some of the council's work. I trust that this Congress may have equally good results in other directions, and if it does so in only one direction, it will do a good deal more than justify the efforts we have made in this new departure in the social history of Canada.

REV. MR. BULLOCK: I hold that this is not merely a woman's problem, but it is both a man's and a woman's problem. There is one point, however, to which I would like to take a strong exception. It was stated by Dr. Hastings that sixty per cent. of our young men are afflicted with social disease. I do not believe that

that is the case. The majority of our young men, the young boyhood and the young manhood of Canada, are enjoying vigorous young life, and I do not think it at all fair to them to state that sixty per cent. of their number are afflicted with social disease. That statement is surely excessive, and anyone who knows the physical characteristics of our young men would not take these specialist figures as at all conclusive. These excessive statements can do no good; rather do they throw us back, and instead of seeking a remedy, we are led to repudiate exaggerated statements. The hospital in question from which the figures were taken impugned only one class, and I desire to take exception, not only to the figures, but also to the statement that those figures concerned the poor. I believe that social disease prevails to a greater extent amongst young men who come from the higher, rather than the poorer, families. I do not wish also to see contrasts of this character made between the foreign-born and the native-born. I do not believe myself that there is a wide difference between the two as regards the prevalence of social disease among young men. While I do not at all wish to shirk the seriousness of this question, or to fail to face the issue, I do not think we should start by exaggerations or attempt to force the issue through any comparison between classes. We all know that the issue is serious enough. We all desire to face it in a spirit of thoughtfulness and consideration, and my protest only goes against exaggeration and against any panic legislation which might exaggerate instead of lessen the evil. Let us use care and discretion in these matters and then we may do some real service.

MR. BARKER (New Liskeard): I have been greatly attracted by the papers and discussion this afternoon, owing to the fact that I had the superintendence of a Rescue Home for eleven years in the old country. During those years a great many young people passed through my hands at the most critical times of their lives, and we had, I am glad to say, much success in our work. We did much of this rescue work in the suburbs of the city of Birmingham, and there must be now many hundreds of young lives who owe their moral salvation to that rescue work. I must always look back with great interest to the time I spent as head of that rescue home. I quite agree, after my personal experience, with much that has been said here. Of course, we came across some very painful cases indeed, and they did not all come from poor families. I agree that this question of nationalizing the work is most important, and if properly done, should prove highly effective. While I do not wish to enter into any question of percentages, we

can all agree that there is far too much of this social disease, and anything we can do to lessen it is most desirable. One great means is to secure good homes. In Canada your immigration problem presents one of the greatest difficulties. I did not come out to Canada because I wanted a job. I came out because I thought I could make better provision for my sons out here, and give them a better start than in the old land. I want to tell you, after a little more than twelve months' experience in Canada, that if you really want to do some good social service, you should go and compel your Government to call off all their agents in Great Britain for at least twelve months. They should not be allowed to bring any more people out here until they have provided some scheme of state unemployment insurance. I am sorry to have to tell you, but it is a fact, that I have met hundreds of young men who would go back to Great Britain at once if I would only loan them enough to pay their fare. Don't you think, while this state of things prevails, that it is time something was done in the way of social service? I have not one word to say against Canada as a country. We can make it one of the grandest countries in the world. We are now on the threshold of this work, and everything depends on us taking the right direction. Do not let prejudices stand in the way! Let us try and choose wisely! Let us remember some of the lessons of the old world. Let us apply some of these to our own circumstances, modify them as may be required, but do not let us go on imagining that we are superior to all others, and that we can accomplish great results, while failing to take the most elementary steps! Let us at any rate commence with some state insurance scheme! Let us never again be called upon to witness the spectacle of thousands of men out of work through no fault of their own, to face all the rigors and hardships of a Canadian winter! Let us act in what we believe to be the spirit of the Lord Jesus Himself, and if we can do that this discussion and this conference will not have been held in vain!

DR. HASTINGS: I desire the privilege of a further word in this discussion, particularly as some of the statements made by me have been challenged. The figures I have given have been proven by simple demonstration. There was not the slightest intention in any of the statements I have made, of casting the slightest reflection on the poor. All I stated was, as a simple matter of fact, that the figures given were taken from results in a certain hospital, the cases in which are generally drawn from a certain class in the community. I do not doubt for a single moment but that similar figures would be found to prevail amongst other

classes if the figures could be taken. I desire also to emphasize in the strongest possible way that the figures given were conservative figures, and that all explanations point to the fact that they would be very much exceeded if the truth were really known. There is no reason for doubt upon this head at all. What really is the fact is that for hundreds of years we have failed to face the problem that has been staring us in the fact. We have gone on trying to believe that it did not exist. It is entirely our own fault that this evil has gone on, but, owing to the extent to which it has gone, now, whether we like it or not, we are brought face to face with it. If we do not now make some effort to deal with it, we cannot expect otherwise than that it will get worse. We have figures from the reports of all the organizations both in Europe and America. These conditions have been investigated, and so far all trained observations go to show that the figures I have given are below the mark. I would have liked to make a better report, but if I had gone the full length truth would have allowed me, I should have had to make a worse one.

MR. HOWARD KELLY: I agree with Dr. Hastings that the figures he has quoted are conservative figures, and I am afraid when we get the reports for nineteen hundred and thirteen the figures will be even worse. We are all sorry to have to state these figures, and we all wish we could make out a better case. The purpose of this Congress, however, is to find out the facts and propose some remedies, and if we set out by denying the facts, we shall not get on far with our remedies. If we take the figures of Dr. Hastings and apply them to the whole country, then I am pretty sure we shall find that they are well within a conservative limit.

MRS. EDGAR: I don't think we ought to close the discussion this afternoon without one word being said as to the problem of the foreigner. That problem complicates all our social problems, and the Government ought to accept more responsibility than the members seem at present disposed to do. I do not think they should bring in any more emigrants until they have prepared the country by legislation to deal with some of the problems we have heard presented here this afternoon.



IMMIGRATION
HUMANIZING OF RELIGION

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	HON. W. J. ROCHE, M.D., M.P.
<i>Immigration From Europe</i>	-	W. W. LEE
<i>Immigration From the Orient</i>	-	H. H. STEVENS, M.P.
<i>Humanizing of Religion</i>	-	PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, LL.D.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

HON. W. J. ROCHE, M.D., M.P., MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

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The honor of presiding at this gathering has devolved upon your humble servant—an honor I greatly appreciate and a privilege I greatly prize, the more so because we have a most excellent programme of addresses this evening by gentlemen who, by reason of their ability and experience, will, I am sure, discharge their duties to the satisfaction of each and every one of you. This Social Service Council is engaged in a work that I am sure commends itself to all right-minded citizens. It has been well and truly said that a nation can have no better asset than the character of its people, and this Congress is engaged in the uplifting of humanity, in the establishing and development of character, in the stamping out of vice, and in the encouragement of virtue—principles that surely must meet with the approbation of citizens not only of Canada but of all civilized countries. I am afraid that in this somewhat too materialistic age we are all so busily engaged in looking after ourselves, pushing after the prizes of life, shoving aside everybody who is in our way or who is not strong enough to push us aside, that we thoughtlessly and heedlessly disregard the cry of distress, sometimes neglect the wants of the needy, nay, even at times omit many of the ordinary courtesies of life. Under such circumstances it is only fitting and proper that there should be special seasons, special occasions when the customs of society encourage unselfishness and charity, and when our more highly favored citizens may reach out the hand of aid to our less favored fellow-citizens and assist them in putting themselves on such a plane that they can aid themselves. I would commend to all those who are here and occupy a favored position in the world, the words of a noted philanthropist: "That we may strive, contend and battle for the fruits of ambition and power, but the true grasp of some Jonathan's hand and the healing of the wound of some stricken mother will send a richer thrill through our hearts and touch a deeper and a truer fountain than all the bowing heads and purchased cheers that line the pathway of the mighty."

IMMIGRATION FROM EUROPE.

W. W. LEE, IMMIGRATION SECRETARY, Y.M.C.A., NATIONAL COUNCIL.

If there is any truth in the statement that great minds think alike, my mind must surely be on a par with that of the previous speaker, for had he stolen my notes for the first half of his address he could not more concisely have expressed exactly my own opinion, and I feel like saying "Amen, amen," and sitting down. I believe he is correct when he says that the greatest problem we are facing to-day is the problem of immigration. Trace back to its source any great national problem that we have, and you will find its roots embedded in that very problem. I have not the time to-night to deal with the theory or the philosophy of immigration. Probably it is well; we are not faced to-night with theories, we are faced with facts; we are not faced with philosophies, we are faced with conditions, and with these we must deal.

I want at the outset to make these two statements that I believe are fundamentally true; the first is that this whole question of immigration to Canada is primarily and essentially an economic question, and as such must be dealt with. The second is almost as important, and that is, that this is an individual immigration, and therefore its solution, if solution there is, will also be individual.

Now, if you will take as axiomatic those two statements, may I develop four lines of thought regarding immigration from Continental Europe! First of all its volume and composition; secondly its causes and motives; thirdly its effects; and fourthly the church's attitude towards it. Somebody has epigrammatically said that there are three kinds of lies, black lies, white lies and statistics—and therefore I am not going to say very much to-night about statistics. But I do want you to bear these few in mind—that in 1904 just 35,000 immigrants from Continental Europe landed on Canadian shores; that in 1913, 133,000 landed; that by 1923, if that rate of progress keeps up, 687,000 will land every year.

After all, however, the significance of immigration is not its volume, but its proportion or ratio to the population that receives it; and that is where we in Canada to-day are living in a fool's paradise regarding this whole question. From the apathy of the

average man regarding it, one would imagine that you could well paraphrase that statement of our friend on the other side of the line who said, "There must be a special Providence looking after fools, children and the Dominion of Canada." We have thought for too long that the United States had a monopoly on the problem of immigration. As a matter of fact the United States never faced a problem that was one-third as great as the problem that we are facing to-day. Our immigration from Continental Europe in the last ten years equalled 7.7 per cent. of our present population. When the United States had double our population their same immigration only equalled 1.8 per cent. as compared to our 7.7.

Let us analyze that immigration just a shade further. Draw a line across Europe from the northeast corner to the southwest corner, and you have fairly divided the two main sources of our immigration, one of which we know as the old immigration from the Teutonic countries; the other the new, from the Slavic and the Latin countries. Economically speaking there can be no doubt that the immigrant from Southern Europe is inferior to the immigrant from Northern Europe—economically speaking only, I believe, and not in responsive development under a new environment. But this is an economic question; let us confine ourselves to that phase of it. During the past ten years 81 per cent. of that immigration has been drawn from Southern Europe, from the more backward countries, and only 19 per cent. from Northern Europe.

Let us make yet one more analysis of this immigration, and we find that in those ten years 79 per cent. of those immigrants have been male and only 21 per cent. female, leaving us the obvious deduction that there are to-day coming to Canadian shores a big majority of men who have left their wives and their families behind them, and who therefore have to make from their weekly pay envelope three provisions; first of all, provision for themselves and their own keep; then a provision for their wives and families in the old land; and thirdly, a provision either to bring those wives and families out, or to go back and join them. We do well to bear that fact in mind when we talk about the low standard of living that is common among these peoples. They are living under those conditions because they are compelled to live under them by the economic pressure which is brought to bear upon them.

We must necessarily look for the causes and motives of this immigration before we can adequately realize what its effect will be, and we will find back of it, in practically every case, the

eternal quest of mankind for food. The primary cause for this immigration is the desire on the part of the European to improve his economic condition. There is yet another factor that enters in here, and that is the factor that Mr. Stevens mentioned—the industrial expansion that Canada has seen, with its consequent demand for unskilled labor. And there is yet a third factor, and I am not sure that this third factor is not the strongest of all, and that is the artificial stimulus of immigration by the steamship and transportation companies. Those, I believe, are the three fundamental motives and causes for that immigration.

Now for its effects. We have not time to deal with this exhaustively at all, but I want to deal with three of them—the economic, the political and the social effects, for with those three you and I are directly concerned. The economic effect of the coming of immigrants from Southern Europe is probably felt most in its bearing upon the standard of living; for while we may deplore the fact, while we may deprecate it, there can be no question that this is true—that in our present condition the surest index of a nation's civilization is the standard of living of its industrial workers. Furthermore, there can be no question that the standard of living of the industrial workers in Canada is being lowered by enforced competition with the standard of living which is found among the average foreign-speaking immigrants from Southern Europe. You probably know as well as I do what that standard of living is. If I had the time or opportunity to-night I could take you in this city, and in practically every city in Canada, to places where you would find dozens, hundreds and thousands of men sleeping in rooms where each man has less than 100 cubic feet of air-space, while the law of good health says he should have at least 450 cubic feet. I know one boarding house—I was in it about three days ago and was in it three years ago—where, in one ten-roomed frame house there are living 156 laborers in two shifts, with the consequence that the beds are never cold. In one room in that house, by actual measurement eight feet high, twelve feet wide and thirteen feet long, there are living, eating, cooking and sleeping, two shifts of thirteen men each.

In the treatment of this phase of the immigration problem we are probably more contradictory as a nation than in any other thing. We welcome, we stimulate, we bonus immigration; and then we arouse public opinion to the point where it demands that these immigrants shall be inspected; where it demands that there shall be kept out of this country those who are suffering from certain diseases; and then we compel those who do come in here to live under conditions that produce those very diseases. I ask

you is it logical? Is it reasonable? Is there any sense in it? Is it not time that we took stock of causes and saw just where we stand on this question, and then saw to it that adequate housing provision was made for those peoples who do come to our shores and who do live in our cities? We have not time further to deal with that economic aspect.

Let us turn to the political effects of this immigration, and I want to enlarge upon what the previous speaker said in that connection. By its present effects our naturalization law is criminal. If it were not so serious it would be farcical, but it is criminal. As you know, by that naturalization law any man, after three years' residence in this country, has exactly the same right at the polls that you and I have. That is working a three-fold injustice; it is an injustice to the intelligent voter, because it gives the possibility of cancelling his vote; it is an injustice to the foreign citizen himself, because it lowers his conception of the value of our citizenship. I stood less than two months ago in one of our Ontario cities talking to a leading man of a foreign community, an intelligent Greek who has had a far better education than I have, and I said to him, "Of course, you have your naturalization papers?" And he laughed; he said, "My naturalization papers? No." I said, "Why? Do you not want to have some voice in the government of this country?" Then he turned around and he laughed as sarcastically as a man can laugh; he said, "Have a voice in the government of this country? Why, you people don't put any value on citizenship in your country. There is no use in my being naturalized. Just before election time you will go and naturalize 400 or 500 in a lump, and they will vote for the man that gives them the most whiskey." And that was true. Then in a third place it is an injustice where the balance of power is held in the hands of that lowered and ignorant electorate. That is an injustice to the community, and I believe the time is not far distant when public opinion is going to demand some amendment to that naturalization law—when public opinion will at least say this, that a man must be here five years in place of three—so that we will know that he has some desire to remain a citizen of this country, and in consequence that he shall have some knowledge at least of the language of his adopted country.

Let us turn now and see what the social effects of the coming of those peoples have been. And here, though I am loath to do it, I have to take issue with the previous speaker. You cannot prove to me in any way that the adult foreign-speaking immigrant in Canada has been any more criminal than the English-

speaking. As a matter of fact, in the past ten years, of indietable offences committed in Canada there have been 2 per cent. less committed by the foreign-speaking citizens in proportion to their numbers in a community. That is the fact, and we have to face it.

But wait; talk to the average man regarding immigration and he will say this, "We are not solving the problem with the adults, we are not assimilating those who are coming to us, but the hope lies in the children, we are making good citizens out of them." Are we? Wait again. In two provinces—the only two where there are available figures—in the past three years the children of foreign-speaking parents have been just 300 per cent. more criminal than the children of English-speaking parents. Those are hard, cold facts, and we have to face them—the parents 2 per cent. less criminal, the children three times more criminal. Why? Because you and I as individuals have taken the wrong attitude towards those parents; because we despise them, and the children have copied us. I walked down the streets of a large Canadian city two or three years ago with a little Jewish boy coming out of school, and if any boy was proud of the fact that he was born in Canada it was that boy. He told me how he was getting on, how much he was learning, and I said, "That is fine, sonny; has your father got any of that education that you are so proud of?" He looked up in my face with a sarcastic grin and he said, "Gee, he can hardly write his own name in English"; and if you had heard the tone of contempt in the boy's voice when he made that statement you would know that by our treatment of those parents we are doing no less than making criminals of their children; and making criminals of the children of those who come to our shores is mighty poor business for any civilization to be in.

What, then, should be the church's attitude towards this whole question? First, I believe this—a study and recognition of the religious background of these people in their own life; and that means that we have got to abandon our proselytizing propaganda. You may not agree with that, and I do not care whether you do or not, but that is my own conviction. The second thing we have to do is to see that social service precedes preaching. And the third thing we have got to do is to recognize what the immigrant's need is, and that need is probably condensed down threefold—first, the need of education—that is the greatest, and I can conceive of no higher form of Christian service than for young men and young women to take education to these potential citizens who are coming to our shores. The second thing that

immigration needs is a better social life, because the play instinct is the instinct that is common to all, it knows no barriers of race or creed. And the third thing that that immigration needs is a new interpretation of Christianity. Then, in the last analysis, what does it resolve itself into? Does it not resolve itself into this: that the great factor after all, is the Canadian; that we must raise our own standards to that point where they are worthy of emulation. And I want to leave, just as a closing thought, this: that the great problem of immigration from Continental Europe is not the immigrant, but the Canadian.

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IMMIGRATION FROM THE ORIENT.

H. H. STEVENS, M.P.

I am doubtful if this great association, this organization, would be in existence at all were it not for the fact of the large influx of foreigners into our country during the past few years. To my mind most of the problems on your programme, most of the problems which are demanding the attention of the people of Canada to-day, to a large extent at least, grow out of the fact that there has been a very large influx of foreigners into our country in recent years. This being the case, I hold that the immigration problem is one of the most important and significant problems which we are called upon to consider. The remarkable prosperity, I might almost say the feverish commercial activity, of recent years, and the anxiety of the people of Canada to stimulate immigration, has to a large extent blinded us to the possible results growing from, shall I say careless or unrestricted, immigration. I am not one of those who limit my consideration of this problem to the Asiatics. I have the reputation of knowing a little about that phase of the question, but I have studied the question of immigration from all its angles; I have observed and have had peculiar opportunities of observing the result of immigration in various parts of Canada, and I believe the time has arrived when the people of Canada should pause and very carefully consider the possible effect of immigration at the pace at which we have been receiving it during the past few years. When I draw your attention to the fact that upwards of 2,500,000 people have come to Canada in the last ten years, out of a total population in Canada of 7,500,000 or less, you will at once realize that it is indeed an important problem. I think during the past year almost half a million came in at the various portals of our great country, and it is only recently, only in the last few months, that the people of Canada as a whole have really turned their attention to the consideration of this great problem.

While it would be very interesting to deal with the problem in its various phases, I am limited largely to the one phase which directly affects the western part of Canada particularly; but I cannot let this opportunity pass without giving expression to my views in a general way. I hold that we have been in error in encouraging a large portion of the immigration which we have

encouraged from certain sections of Southern Europe. I do not desire to cast any reflection upon the nations of Southern Europe, but I do say that if you will analyze the criminal statistics of Canada you will find that a large proportion, altogether too large a proportion, of those found guilty of violent crimes, crimes against the person, come from that section. It does not necessarily follow that all the people from the countries to which I have referred in general are bad; I do not wish to convey that idea, but I do wish to impose this responsibility upon the people of Canada, that they should very carefully scrutinize immigration coming from that section. I believe that in encouraging immigration to Canada we should see to it that the immigrant who comes to our shore seeking admission and wishing to become a citizen and a resident of our country is a person who will assist in building up the high standards which we have set for the Canadian people; and if he is not capable of doing that, then I hold it is the duty of the people of Canada to call a halt to that type of immigrant.

Now, I shall pass on from that to a discussion of the particular topic assigned, Oriental Immigration. In the short time at my disposal it will be utterly impossible to treat this subject exhaustively, and I shall only give you some large fundamental principles and ask you to suspend your judgment until you have had an opportunity of carefully thinking over the whole problem; and I suggest these principles as a part of the paraphernalia which will enable you to reason out the problem for yourself. I do not ask you to accept my conclusions, but I do ask you to think the problem out. In my travels through the country I find that a great many of our people, especially from Eastern Canada, have already jumped at conclusions, and I also find that discussion of the question with them very frequently leads them to change their views.

Let me first lay down this principle—that immigration, to be successful, necessarily means capability of assimilation; in other words, that no man or woman coming to this country should be considered a desirable immigrant unless capable of being assimilated into the life—the national, social, moral, ethical, and industrial life of the country. I lay that down as the first and absolutely essential feature of the consideration of the whole problem of immigration, Oriental or otherwise. I consider it to be vital. If any class of immigrant is not capable of successful assimilation, that class will be a drag upon national life instead of having a vitalizing or assisting or uplifting effect.

The next principle I wish to lay down is this—that immigration into a country is a privilege extended to the prospective immi-

grant, and not a right to be demanded by him. In this regard a very great many people make a very serious mistake. They hold the idea that here we have a vast territory, that we have a country very sparsely settled, that all it wants is the hand of man. That is perfectly true, and no man is more keenly alive than myself to the great natural resources of Canada, or more fully appreciates their value. I have travelled across this country time and time again; I have been in the hinterland of the north; I have been all through large sections of our country; and the more I travel in it the more I realize that we have one of the finest territories that any people were ever given by a Divine Providence. But the fact remains that immigration into this country is a privilege that we extend, and the same rights I give to every country, whether it be the Orient or any other part of the world, and no man has the privilege to say that he has a right to come into this country contrary to our wish.

Let me illustrate that in another way. Last year we turned back from our shores over 4,000 immigrants from the British Isles, for various reasons. In our Immigration Act we laid down certain rules and regulations regarding people of unscud mind, people unscud in body, people who morally are not up to a certain standard, which we consider to be necessary no matter where they come from, and we say that such shall not enter this country. And yet we turned back very few Orientals; I wish you to bear that fact in mind; also this other fact of vital importance—that Oriental civilization is distinct in all its features from that civilization which we are pleased to call the Christian civilization of Europe, and which we hold finds its grandest exemplification in the British Empire. I take second place to no man in appreciating the splendid qualities in many of the Oriental races. I have seen them in their own land and in this and other lands, and in many respects they have fine qualities. A study of Orientalism, of their philosophy, of their religions, and so on, is one of the most interesting studies in which a scholar can indulge; in fact it has a peculiar attractiveness to the studious mind; but let me again point out that in all its essential features it is distinct in every regard from the civilization under which we live and which we cherish. It is up to us to decide between two things: Do we hold to the civilization under which we were born and brought up and of which we form a part, or are we prepared to give precedence to the civilization of the Orient? That question is before you and you must decide it.

And that brings me very rapidly to this point—that you are

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faced on the Pacific seaboard with 800,000,000 Orientals—60,000,000 in Japan, 400,000,000 in China, 340,000,000 in India—and throughout these three countries there is a strong tendency towards immigration to the American continent. In years gone by the peculiar life of the people kept them within their own territory. Our land was practically an unknown land, a closed book. To-day, as a result of commerce, the stirring-up of the peoples, and so on, our country is known to them, and so their eyes are on the North American Continent. They have a perfect right to look toward us, they have a perfect right to desire to come; but I say this—that half of the North American Continent, the Dominion of Canada, has been placed in our hands, and the responsibility for its development lies and rests entirely with us. If we fail to measure up to that responsibility, if we allow a civilization to get a foothold in our country which will undermine or set aside the civilization which has been established here and which it is our duty to maintain, then I say we shall be guilty of one of the greatest crimes that a nation can be guilty of; and I speak this in all sincerity.

Imagine for a minute the slightest movement of immigration from the Orient to this country. In the year 1907, in the course of a very few months, I think about 13,000 Orientals landed in Canada. Hurried legislation was passed which closed the door. Had that immigration continued till the present time at the rate at which it came for those few months there would have been a great many over 100,000. But cut it in half; make it 50,000; suppose in the last few years 50,000 Orientals had landed in British Columbia, what would have been the condition to-day? You would have had a solid mass of people, all thinking alike, all imbued with the same ideas, the same traditions, the same customs, habits, religion, morals and ethics, with one idea and one motive, viewing all questions from one angle; and that mass of people would have absolutely controlled to-day the affairs in British Columbia had they been accorded what we claim is the right of all people who come to our country—the right of citizenship.

Let me pause there and enunciate this other principle, which I overlooked a moment ago: If you allow a man to come into this country as an immigrant, if you extend to him that privilege, then you are bound to extend to him the other privilege, that of citizenship; and I believe that up to the present time we have held this privilege of citizenship altogether too lightly. We have allowed men to come into Canada and have naturalized them by the hundred, by the thousand, without the slightest examination as

to their fitness. Thousands of men to-day in Canada exercise the right of the franchise, especially in Western Canada, who have not the remotest idea of the civics of Canada, of our traditions, of our history, of our customs, of our ideas, who have no knowledge of democracy, who do not know what a vote is. What they know is that a certain man of their own race will come to them on polling day and say: "This bunch must go and vote, and when you go in there, mark your name against so and so"; and they know no more of what they are doing than the man in the moon. It is not only the danger of the ignorant person voting in that way, but that man's vote counts just as much as the vote of the president of this organization, or as that of the Premier of Canada, or as that of any other man, however high he may be in the offices of this country. Not only is that the case, but that method of voting has a corrupting influence upon our political life; and goodness knows political life is corrupt enough without introducing any features of that kind. It is no joke, friends. I want to say that a man who will enter political life in this country or any other country and keep his skirts clean is doing a whole lot; and I say further that my experience is that the majority of men in political life to-day, with all their failures and weaknesses, measure up very well with the rank and file of those who are not in political life. On that point I would say this further, that your politicians in your city councils, your provincial governments, your Dominion Parliament, are an exact reflex of the nation.

The point I wish to drive home is this: We are naturalizing hundreds of men to-day in this country who are totally unworthy of the right of the franchise. How can you expect men who have for generations been brought up in the Balkan States, or some other part of Southern Europe where democracy is an unknown factor in public life, to absorb in two or three years of isolated residence on the prairies sufficient of the spirit and the traditions of Canada to give an intelligent vote on any public question, when such voters cannot read your newspapers and do not understand your language or a thing about it? So I wish to repeat that when you admit immigrants to this country, you should remember that you are not only admitting that immigrant to the country to be another factor, another unit, another cog in the industrial wheel, but you are introducing a man whose vote will count on election day; and you cannot refrain from giving him that right in a reasonable course of time.

The next point I wish to make is that it is our duty to preserve the national type in Canada. In no country under the sun

have we a higher national type than exists to-day in Canada; and if I wanted to find a typical Canadian I would go to some of the older sections of Canada, and there I would find the very finest type of manhood that can be found on the face of the globe. I do not mean to say that in our great Pacific Province we have not a very fine type of man; we have, but we have a great cosmopolitan population which to a great extent lowers the average. On the prairies we have a sturdy race of men growing up; many of your sons and brothers have gone out there and are building up those great Prairie Provinces; but again you have the influence of the foreigner, which to a considerable extent reduces the average. But let me repeat that the real simon-pure Canadian life is the highest that I know of under the face of the sun; and it is that type that I wish jealously to guard, and which I hold it to be the duty of the people of Canada to guard and to cherish, and as far as possible to keep pure and free from taint from other peoples.

The thought will immediately rise in your minds that we cannot live like hermits; we must allow other peoples to come in. Many people hold the sentiment, with which I do not agree, that this is a great, broad country and we should be big enough to welcome to our shores all types of men. They go on to say that we are a virile race and can assimilate them. You can assimilate a certain quantity, you can absorb and you can lift up a certain quantity, but I want to tell you this, that in the matter of assimilation numbers count just as potently as brains count; and when I draw your attention once more to the 800,000,000 you are faced with the real practical side of this question. Last year you had upwards of 400,000 immigrants come into Eastern Canada through the eastern portals. If the restrictions upon our western portals to the Orient were removed it is quite reasonable to say that with the large population behind it the immigration coming that way would soon reach the same number as you have coming from the east. When you look at the question from that standpoint, and when you realize the possibility of numbers, you begin to understand the possibilities, and what we are faced with.

Now I must say a few words in a general way on the Oriental. The suggestion is often made: Do we not need the Chinese, the Japanese and the Hindu to do the rough work of the country? My immediate answer to that is this: The very moment that any nation introduces a system whereby one element is set aside as the men who will do the menial work, while the other element is set aside as the men who will do the higher and the nobler work in the community, just that minute the nation introduces the seeds of

decay. Just as sure as the sun shines history will prove it; and many of you who know history much better than I do know perfectly well that that is an absolute fact. We cannot afford to have in Canada a menial type, a menial element; we want the man who digs in the ditch to be a citizen of Canada. It may be a humble job; it may be that his task is not as important as that of a man in the higher walks of life, but it should not be any the less a credit to him if he does his task well. One of the mistakes we have made industrially in Canada within the last few years has been to introduce the American system of railway building, namely, the importation of hundreds of thousands of Dagoes to do the jobs along our railways in building them, then hurrying them off to do a job elsewhere, with the result that frequently we build a railway through an unknown and unsettled part of the community, and when the railway is built the Dagoes go away and you have the railway with not a single settler along the road. What we should have done was to have gone a little slower in the building of railways and brought in men who would dig the soil, do the shoveling, do the grading, and when this work was done they would be there as settlers and citizens in our community and in our country.

I cannot go into all phases of this question, but let me briefly give you the effect of Oriental immigration on the industrial life of British Columbia. When I went to British Columbia twenty years ago we had practically no Orientals in our industrial life. In our sawmill works we had all white men; to-day they are nearly all Orientals. Some men will say to you that the reason of this is that we cannot get white labor. I will tell you the reason, and you will immediately see the weight of it. Some of our mill owners did just as I suggested a moment ago—they cut off their white men in the more menial jobs, such as piling the lumber, taking refuse from the sawmills, and so on. It was not long before they found a great scarcity of young fellows to train up in the more skilled labor. Why? Because in place of a man with a family of boys and girls, intelligent white men, he had one Oriental, and he had cut off the very supply from which he could draw his labor for the more skilled work. It was not long before their machinists, the sawyers, the planer men, and so on, became scarce. Why? Because the supply had been cut off by the employment of that Oriental. I know, and every man who has studied the question knows, that the reason for the scarcity of white labor in British Columbia is because the Oriental was introduced in the way I have mentioned.

Another point often raised is that the Oriental makes a good

domestic servant. The same principle applies. Why was it we could not get a good domestic servant in British Columbia? Because families were wiped out and replaced by one Oriental, making it thereby necessary to use an Oriental, although I can say in all my experience in British Columbia I have never hired an Oriental once, but could always get a white man, and I believe with a little effort we could always have secured white labor.

Another important effect of this is seen in our fisheries, and I consider this one of the most deplorable facts in the national life of Canada. Fifteen years ago we had about 10,000 white fishermen on the Pacific Coast; and you will agree with me that the fishing population of any country is about the hardiest and best that you can have. Where will you find a finer fisher folk than those old men of the North Sea and along the shores of England, or down along the Atlantic Coast, in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and the New England States? Where will you find a higher national type than among the fisher folk? We had 10,000 of them that are now reduced to a few handfuls; and in their place we have 10,000 Japanese working. I care not how much we may admire the advancement of the Japanese people—and I do admire it and I know a great deal about them, and in many ways they are a splendid class of people—but I deplore the fact that this great fishing industry has been practically wholly handed over to an alien race, no matter how admirable they may be. Yet that is the condition of affairs, and it has had this further result; it was found they had no labor to do the packing of the fish in the canneries, and so on. Why? For exactly the same reason I pointed out in connection with our sawmills. In the eastern part of Canada, who packs and dries and cures your fish in the rush season?—the families of your fisher folk. In British Columbia there are no families of fisher folk; there is the Oriental in his place. The result was the reduction of labor and the introduction of Chinese into our canneries.

I shall confine the balance of my remarks to one phase of this question—the Hindu question. I shall ask and answer a very few questions, and leave it to you to work them out. I am asked the question why the Hindus, who are fellow-subjects, are not allowed to come into Canada. My answer to that is this—and I have never heard it successfully contraverted—they are British subjects in a sense; they are under the protection of the British crown; but they do not now, nor did they ever, enjoy the privileges of British citizenship. Only 16,000,000 of the population of 340,000,000 in India are under an elective form of government, and that 16,000,000 includes three of the largest cities

—Bombay, Rangoon and Calcutta—and half of their council is appointed by the government of India, so that practically there is no such thing as democratic government in India. I have nothing to say of home rule in India, and am not going to give any opinion regarding the system of government in India, but I submit as a fair proposition that the Hindu has no right to come to Canada and say, "We are subjects of the crown and we demand the same rights in Canada as you enjoy," until he has proven himself capable of exercising those rights in his own home country. That is a reasonable proposition.

You may admit that and still say, "I don't know how you are going to get over this question of his right to enter Canada." I submit to you the proposition I have already made, that there are 340,000,000 Hindus of a distinct type in civilization, ideas, traditions, customs, education, morals and everything else; 60,000,000 Anglo-Saxons scattered over the face of the globe; that is what the Empire is. Can you tell me what would happen? You know, and every man and woman knows, what would happen in a generation if 340,000,000 were put into an equal position to control the affairs of this Empire as against 60,000,000, when the two are absolutely distinct and separate in the very fundamentals of their ideas and their national life. I have simply to propound the proposition, and the answer is there, and you cannot get away from it. Whatever the sentiment may be, whatever the theory may be, you have got to work it out from the practical standpoint, and if you can get around that you have solved a problem that I have never heard a man get around.

You say, "Why not let the wives in?" The wife is not in question at all; the Hindus are not asking to have their wives in; they are seeking to stir up the sentiment of Canada to break the regulations so that they can bring in men by the hundreds; and this is being agitated by the Hindu colony on the Pacific Coast who are living by their wits and by exploiting their more ignorant fellow-countrymen coming to this country. That is the whole question; it is a mercenary and monetary question from the ground up.

But take the proposition on its face value—"Why not let the wives in?" I answer that, as I have answered it dozens of times before, by asking you the question, which wife? Because I want you to understand that polygamy is recognized as a part of the domestic system, as a domestic institution of India; and if a man comes to this government and says, "I want to bring in my wife," and he has five wives, what are you going to do? Are you going to let him bring in the five, or are you going to

let him bring in but one? If you let him bring in the one, what about the other four? Isn't it just as wrong to turn down the four as the one? If you admit the Hindu you must admit his institutions; you cannot separate the man from what he has been brought up to for fifty or sixty generations; you cannot say, "We will take you in, but leave all your past behind you." He brings in his institutions with him if he comes in.

But what about a child-wife? That is something that the Women's Council must be interested in. Twenty-five per cent. of the women in India die prematurely from physical diseases because of the system of child-wifery. There are 9,000,000 girl wives in India under fifteen years of age; 2,000,000 under eleven years of age.

These are the institutions and this is the system of domestic life that some of you are asking that we allow to be introduced into Canada. The Hindu says, "Oh, well, we will come to Canada and we will marry your women; we will assimilate; we are quite willing." Now I ask you in all seriousness, knowing as many of you must know, the system of life in the Orient in all its phases, are you prepared to intermarry? Are you prepared to give your sisters, your daughters, into marriage with these men? Some of you are women, and you know, every one of you, that you would sooner see them dead and in their graves. It is a serious problem. Sentiment constantly obtrudes itself upon us, but the practical side of the question is what we, as Canadians, are called upon to deal with.

I close with this word, that there is nothing in the line of personal feeling in my dealing with this subject; I have studied it for years; I have been in the middle of it, and in many ways the study of the Oriental life is an attractive study to me, but I realize that the assimilation of the Oriental is an utter impossibility, and I therefore reason that immigration should not be allowed if assimilation is an impossibility.

HUMANIZING OF RELIGION.

PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, LL.D., OF CHICAGO.

This occasion is one of many attesting the humanizing of religion, thereby attesting its divinity. It occurs to me to bring to you from across the frontier in the rear, where it has been my lot to live and labor for a good many years, some notes of good cheer and encouragement. When we get together and survey the things we ought to do and that still remain undone, sometimes it seems as though the world were growing worse, as though the odds were all against us, as though we would never catch up; and some might think there was no use in trying. But somehow, those of us who get closest to the hardest facts and stay longest up against them, have more good cheer than those who look at them only now and then. So my note will be optimistic. I bring it to you from where I have lived and worked—beyond the confines of the parish, outside of ecclesiastical boundaries, and outward bound in the great big world of human life. But it has been my privilege also to swing from that extreme to the inner circle of the Church, in one of whose theological seminaries I have long taught social economics. Thus I have had the unusual opportunity of swinging between the inner life of the Church and out beyond the confines of its parish lines.

First of all, I want to assure you that there is a great human basis for religion; that it is everywhere to be seen; that you can step right out of it and know that it is there, and therefore whatever Gospel you have, whatever Christ you have, you will find place enough for it out among the lives of your fellow-men. Now, there are two somewhat dramatic incidents which impressed this fact upon my mind, which I wish to touch upon. One was on the free floor at the Social Settlement where I have lived with my family for twenty years in one of the most cosmopolitan and largest of the family wards in Chicago, having about 70,000 people, where only four per cent. of the entire population is of native birth and parentage. On that free floor one night a man arose who had not been among us before and who never has been among us since. He came like an apparition, and like an apparition he departed. He enunciated what he called "The Philosophy of Power." He was on the "Cosmic Plane," as August Comte and Herbert Spencer and some of our other prophets called it. He

said: "The survival of the fittest is the law of nature, and competition is the law of trade; the strongest beast gets the biggest bone; might is the only right." Then, turning to the little Socialist who had opened the meeting, he said: "I am tired of hearing workmen told to abide by the Golden Rule; it is the dream of a Hebrew madman; he deserved to be crucified for it, and if he came to the earth again I would help nail him to the cross, that creeping Christ." Now, I had seen those men many a time undismayed when things that I thought ought to have shocked them did not; but this time they were shocked into silence. The Socialist arose, and walking over in the direction of the Philosophy of Power man, said: "I am no Christian, but that man over there has gone too far for me. Henry Drummond"—mentioning your great evangelist and ours—"has told us that there is a struggle for the life of others as well as the struggle for the life of self. He told us that in his story of the Evolution of a Mother. There is not a mother's son of you who was not born at the peril of another life, her life; we are all the offspring of sacrifice." Then, like little David before giant Goliath, he shook his fist in the big man's face and said: "Your evolution seems to have been arrested at the hyena stage." Turning with wondrous pathos and tears in his tone, he preached the Gospel after this fashion: "You know I am not a Christian; I don't go to church; but when a fellow thinks that it cost the life of the Carpenter of Nazareth to get the beast out of all of us, that is in that man over yonder, it fills a fellow's heart full of tears." Did I need to preach any Gospel that night? It was all there. And I have often thought how much more of a place there is for it in every human heart than we have faith enough in men to discover. What is the use of having faith in God if you have not faith enough in your fellow-men to apply what you know of God to the hearts of your fellows? And there are a whole lot of us who, in pleading the rights and claims of God, seem to be almost like prosecuting attorneys against our fellow-men, trying to build up God's character by tearing man's down—though God has told us He made man in His own image, to be restored to His likeness. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote in that wonderful book of hers, "The Minister's Wooing," that tremendous protest against a denaturalized religion, so divine that it has ceased to be human, and therefore lost all its divinity: "God sends us a soul-friend once in a lifetime, who loves us not because of what we are or have been, but because of what by God's great grace we may become." Soul-friends like the mother of St. Augustine, who dreamed that her son was a white-robed Chris-

tian saint ministering at the altar when he was a renegade on the coast of Africa; and the prayer of the dream-mother brought the renegade to be a father of the faith. Lord Byron is said to have lamented: "Men thought me to be so much worse than I am that I have come to be as bad as men thought me to be." So you can damn people into perdition, or you can hope them by the image of God that you discover in the souls of men—you can hope them back into the likeness of the Father.

Now shift the scene to a little mining village in Illinois. A telegram had come to me that the Cherry mine was on fire. I was on the Mining Commission of the State, and the Governor summoned me down there with my colleagues. When I got there the mine had been sealed, as they say, to smother the flame, to shut off the oxygen from feeding it. But what of the men, 400 of them down there? The helmet men from the Government rescue stations were there, the Mining Inspectors of the State, and this Commission. We took a vote, and it was decided to open the mine and go down. One of the men who had voted against it—and all the experts voted against it—began buckling on his oxygen helmet. He said: "It is not my judgment that it is time to open that mine, but if anybody goes down I am going." I saw a miner from La Salle, Ill., pacing up and down beside the mouth of the air-shaft, talking to himself. He said: "I have a brother down there; I am going down to get him out." Then, with an oath he swore at the "book miners." He said: "If those book miners would get out of the way we practical men would go down there and get out those men, and I will rally the miners from Spring Valley, and we will march on this place and take it." I said: "Hold on, young fellow, do you know that the last ten men that went down on that errand came up burned to a crisp? Have a care; let the book miner show his faith." Just then Williams came out with his oxygen helmet, and down that shaft he went. You could have heard a pin drop. After awhile we heard the tooting of his little automobile horn, which showed he had reached the bottom. Then we screamed down to him: "What is the matter? We don't hear you!" After awhile his signal to be lifted was faintly heard. Great beads of perspiration stood out all over him, and the grime of the terrible smoke-laden air was all over him. "Go down the main shaft," he said, "the fire is within a few feet of it." I saw a young Irish fireman walking down by the main shaft talking to himself. He said: "I have fought fire on top of the earth, but I have never been down in a mine before; guess its the same kind of fire down below as it is on top"—the poor fellow was trying to

screw up his courage to go down when that hose was called for. Finally the helmet man came out and called for the hose, and I saw the fireman, with no science behind him, with no oxygen helmet or anything else, prove the faith that was in him. He grabbed that old nozzle and said: "Here goes, anyway," and he put his leg on the other side of that bucket; and down those men went.

Just before that mine was sealed there was a man by the name of George Eddy sitting talking to his wife; he was one of the few trained miners who were there. He said: "Wife, there is something the matter with the mine; I guess I will go over and see what it is." He went down on the cage that brought up the miner who gave the alarm of fire. He found Walter Wait down below. "Walter, the mine is afire," he cried, "let us get the men out." They got seventy men out. Just as they were going to make the last run themselves to get on that cage they thought they heard voices behind them, and looking behind they saw the twinkling of little lights in the miners' caps. They ran back and found eighteen men there and said: "Now hurry for your lives"; and one of them hurried too much and went on about twenty-five feet ahead of the others and fell dead in the back damp. Then those two miners got before the other eighteen and drove them back. They were poor peasants from Belgium, with no experience in mining. By a "stoppage" of the passage they shut the black damp out. Said George Eddy, in telling me the story: "Did you ever sit down in the dark and wait to die?" I said: "No, George, I never did." "Well, its awful lonesome," he added. Just then the little baby crooned on the bed, and the mother said, as she sighed: "Oh, child, you are the only thing in the village that has been able to laugh these days." Well, George went on with his story. He said: "I found Walter Wait down there, and we made a stoppage, and we sat down, and Walter saw the lights going down and he knew that the black damp was creeping up, and he knew the men would notice it and get discouraged, and he said: 'Boys, let's blow our lights out, we may need them more later'—because he knew a certain percentage would put their lights out, and another percentage would put the life out." So they sat there in the dark, he knew not how long. After while a poor man in the back of the group began crying and saying he was thirsty and ill, he needed water. They got the water that seeped through the rock and gave him a little. Then they found another man moving around a little bit, and finally a big strong voice sang out that he did not think it was fair that the sick man should have the water; he was going to die anyhow, he said, and the strong ought to have the most. "No, no," said Walter Wait, "that is

not the way we do in this country; the weak shall have the best; the neediest shall have the most."

Think of that—down there, amidst the struggle for life in all the strength of the instinct for self-preservation! Hear the echo of the "Philosophy of Power" on the lower plane of the cosmic struggle. Hear, again, the voice on the moral plane, rising clear and Christian, demanding that the strong bear the burden of the weak. Down there in the dark, waiting to die, those plain men, none of them church members—see what they were capable of. They found the strong man stealing the weak man's water. I said: "Well, George, what did you do?" He said: "Oh, we are not squealing on each other, but he didn't do it again." I suppose they took an axe handle and beat some brotherhood into him; at any rate he quit the philosophy of power down there, and the philosophy of faith began. Afterwards their hearts began to sink and Walter said: "Now, boys, we are going to die; if any of us can pray we had better be about it." Then he thought that as some were Protestants and some were Catholics, and each would want to pray his own way, he said to the Catholics: "You go your way that want to pray, but don't go too far, we have got to stick together." After the Catholic men went off, the others said: "You pray, Walter." He said: "I don't know how to pray, but if I can't pray I can sing." And what do you think he sang?

Abide with me, fast falls the eventide;
When other helpers fail and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, O abide with me.

Then again they waited to die. After waiting eight days they made a hole in the stoppage and felt a draft of fresh air. "Boys," cried Wait, "they are coming to rescue us." The strongest of them crawled out of that hole and ran right into the hands of their rescuers. Every one of the twenty came up. Then we dragged 286 of the dead up, and there were 476 little fatherless children, clinging to the widows of those poor immigrants. It was a Gethsemane. But when I stood over the charred bodies of some of those dead rescuers in the little Cherry church I did not know whether they were church members or not, but I knew they were servants of God. I knew that they had shown the supreme test of faith. What could I say except the words that were used of Him who is our leader: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

So I think these two incidents prove that there is ground under our feet, and that if you lift up your foot to take the next step forward in the application of your divine Gospel you will find a

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human basis for it as intensively as you go far down. There it is, and I will warrant you if I could have fumbled around long enough in the soul of that "Philosophy of Power" man I would have found something there akin. For I believe, with Browning, in "the soul of God in things evil." Most evil, after all, is some form of perverted or counterfeited good. Now there is not only a human basis for religion recognized nowadays, as perhaps never before, but there is a human method in its application. I repudiate the charge that the "burden of souls" is not on as much as it used to be. It is on more than it used to be. I don't think it has ever been on the whole Church anyhow, and I don't believe it has ever been on the whole ministry either. We have not all been lovers of each others' souls. We have never had the sacrificial spirit of Christ, scarcely any of us, to put ourselves quite so far out as He did, to let our brother in. When we make up our minds to pay the cost of human redemption, humans will be redeemed. That is all. But we are not willing. I maintain that the burden of souls is on, and the discussions of this Congress prove that more people care in more ways for more of their fellow-men than ever before in the history of the world. We don't give ecclesiastical expression to it exclusively. We don't have only the anxious-bench and the altar-rail expression of it. I am not in any way saying aught against those expressions, because so good a philosopher as Prof. James insists upon it that after all there is a real scientific psychology in putting aspiration or resolution into an overt act. That is all right, but wherever we turn there is somebody with the sign of the cross standing athwart that way. It was Cardinal Manning who told Dr. Lunn that the man who cared most for his fellow-men of all whom he ever knew was—whom do you think? Any professional evangelist? Any minister of religion? No; you will be surprised at the name—it was William T. Stead. I never saw a man have a passion for the undermost man like William T. Stead. I knew he had his vagaries, but you couldn't have gone around Chicago with him, as I did, and seen him put his arms around the down-and-out man with the tenderness of Jesus himself, without thinking of Cardinal Manning's remark.

Meetings such as this Congress and such as the National Conference of Charities and Correction, over which I shall have the privilege of presiding next May in Memphis, constitute a new kind of Ecumenical Council such as the Old Church used to have. We go the early Church even one better, because on our Ecumenical Council there are Jews, and tested by the spirit and the fruits

thereof, some of the best Christians I know are Jews. There are Roman Catholic prelates on that platform with Protestant ministers of every denomination, Jewish Rabbis and ethical culturists, gathered and held together for human service. We can work together long before we can believe alike, or worship together, or belong to one Church organization. In the name of the suffering and dying Christ we certainly can do things together. And that is what we are here for—to learn how to do things together that need to be done. That is the method, the human method, of humanized religion.

And now there is a human resultant coming about. I do not predict, I simply report. I do not say that we can give up the tenets which have come down to us as a historical heritage; I do not think we ought to give up ecclesiastical organizations which have come down to us with the rich fruitage of the generations gone by. I would not have us all Quakers or all Ritualists; and I really believe that the difference between them is temperamental. There are temperamentally-born Quakers, and there are temperamentally-born Ritualists. Well, what is the use of quarreling with temperament? We don't know what it is, anyhow, but it is there, like an adamant wall. If anybody thinks it is not there, let him run his head up against it and he will see. It is there, and it will be there long after that head is not there. So we had better go on the principle of unity in differentiation, for there are diversities in operation, but the one and the same spirit. Life is the common denominator. The common denominator between religions is not creeds; changes come in creed, in ritual, in government, but life—the Christ life, the life of God in the soul of man—is a constant quantity. You can detect it anywhere. There it is; about the same in Abraham as it was in John—that essence of life, that friendship with God. It is, after all, about the same with Augustine as it was with Peter. Nationalities blend and boundary lines lie low before the majesty of that common denominator—common life. The common faith applied to the social conditions of the common life is the power of God unto salvation. Now, that resultant is going to bring about a great big co-operative federation. We are going to have a religion that will attest its divinity by the way it matches the humanity of the age—a religion big enough to cover the whole life, the full life of a whole man or woman, a religion big enough to cover the age in which we live, the world in which we work. It was Mrs. Humphrey Ward's "Robert Ellsmere" up in the gallery of St. Mary's at Oxford, looking down through the dim religious light, who said, murmur-

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ing to himself, "Religion has been cornered off into a little corner called the spiritual, past which the great world rushes unheeded and unheeding by." A pitiful plight that young fellow was in, with a religion smaller than his life, smaller than his age. It was not as big as he was. It was only "a little corner called the spiritual." I repudiate that definition of the spiritual. Spirituality is pervasive if it is anything; it is atmosphere; it is attitude; it is like the circulation of the blood—it is all over you if it is at all. And so it seems to me the resultant is going to make not one whit against the divinity of Christ or Christianity, but by the very fact that Jesus is more of a man than all the rest of us we have come to think that He must be more than a man. Most of us do; I do. But His perfect humanity is the greatest proof to me of His entire divinity. With the great and glorious humanizing of His faith we are getting the one great common denominator of His life, and we can thank God and take courage. To think this way used to be a lonesome by-way, but it has become a highway.

There is a brighter day dawning. Government is going to be humanized; is being humanized. Then we have a new world-view. Our cosmopolitan citizenship is giving it to us. Here is the race-life thundering at our doors, and here are some of us little souls who want to live on the mean little horizontal levels, and have everybody speak just the same language that we do, and have just the same number of chinks of metal in their pocket as we have, and wear just the same clothes as we do. Yet here we can choose our friends on the perpendicular instead of on the horizontal. We can have that variety, that larger share of the race-life that is like the atmospheric pressure, struggling to get in and make larger men and women of us. But that is only one side; that is the human side. And what is the divine side? Why, the divine side is that you have got to take your religion on the horizontal if you want to have it on the perpendicular; that it goes no higher up towards God on the perpendicular than it goes out toward fellow-men on the horizontal.

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POLITICAL PURITY

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	HERBERT B. AMES, M.P.
<i>Report of Committee on Political Purity</i>		REV. S. E. GRIGG, B.A.
<i>Political Corruption and the Cure</i>		PROF. W. W. ANDREWS, LL.D.
<i>Morality in the Field of Politics</i>	-	J. A. M. AIKINS, M.P.
<i>Relation of Political Institutions to Political Purity</i>	-	W. C. GOOD
<i>The Party System</i>	-	DR. ADAM SHORTT
<i>Discussion</i>		

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POLITICAL PURITY.

MR. HERBERT B. AMES, M.P., OF MONTREAL.

The topic this morning is one of the most important with which such a Congress as this could deal. The State can assist in many of the reforms suggested. While I would not attempt to give a scientific definition of politics, it seems to me that politics is that science which deals with the methods and the means by which agencies are brought into being that work for the common good. Under such a definition, if for example you took a legislature, it would be the study of that legislature as an agency that can work for the common good; and you would find a pertinent scope of inquiry in everything, from the point where the first ballot is cast to choose representatives, up to the time that the law is signed by the Governor, and to the last magistrate and the last official to whom is assigned the execution of those laws. Now, I think we all admit that the State is a great agency for good, but that we do not get the results from the State that we have a right to expect. There is no use in our discussing whether democracy is the best form of government. Democracy we have in this country, and it will remain in this country, and the country will grow more and not less democratic, as we know.

The question to consider is, how this democratic form of government may be made to produce the best results. And when you stop to think—and I think it is well to stop to think once in awhile of the ideal condition—you realize to what an extent a State that was honestly administered by capable men would be able to do evil that good may come out of it. I know that we find Congress. I do not believe in the doctrine that it is ever justifiable to do evil that good may come out of it. I know that we find in the political history of many a nation that corruption was used to secure the passage of bills that were in themselves a great boon and benefit to the country. I do not believe that is necessary; I do not believe it is right; I do not believe that in our Canadian history we should consider that. Men must look to higher and to better means of bringing about the purification of the State than that. I remember a few days ago talking with a prominent man, who had been a Cabinet Minister, on the reason why the members of a government, whether it might be civic or legislative or Dominion, were able to accomplish practically so little in the way

of good legislation; and he said: "Oh, if we could only have a Government that would not be constantly thinking of how important it was that they should get back again into power!" That was the whole burden of his thought; for he said: "Our time, the major portion of our time, is spent in considering how we can stay where we are; and were it possible for a Government to say they cared not a whit whether they stayed or not, such a Government would give Canada the best administration it might ever have." I wish it were possible for a Premier to say, when he came to a general election: "The record of my Government is before the people; we have honestly and faithfully tried to do our duty; if that does not meet with your approval, place someone else in charge; but if we have got to stay here by the utilization of corrupt means and corrupt methods we would prefer to go down and out." When that can be said, and when a Premier can say: "Only by clean methods will I hold power," and can also say: "And I will allow my opponents to fight the battles only in the same way"—when a Prime Minister can say that, then there will be lifted from the burden of Government that incubus which is at present much like grave clothes around a corpse, and that prevents legislation and its execution from the top to the very bottom.

Now, just in a word, let me make plain the thought I have in mind—and my remarks this morning are but of an introductory character with the view of seriously drawing your attention to the fact that in my opinion, at least, of all the subjects you have been dealing with, there is none more important than this which we have to-day. Even in this Canada of ours, this magnificent country with its great resources, and with its constitution which is the best epitome of liberty and thought that has come down through the centuries, there are conditions everywhere which call for amelioration. In the amelioration of those conditions the state is an instrument that could be most powerfully used, yet an instrument which to-day is utilized far, far below its capacity and far below its potentiality; and the question which arises is, why the state is not utilized to the full extent in correcting evils and improving conditions, when we as a people are anxious that it should be so used. And the answer, it seems to me, is that those who are chosen as representatives to place the functions of the state in motion depend for their position not so much upon the integrity and capacity which they show in the performance of that work as they do upon baser methods by which they endeavor to continue in their position. On the part of the men there is a failure to trust the people. They are not prepared to go into a contest without having their crutches on which they can get over

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the dirty places. And on the part of the people, in turn, they are not prepared to trust their legislators, because they hamper and trammel them by all sorts of restrictions, so that after they give them power everything is done to prevent them from exercising that power. Only when we can entirely remove from our Canadian public life—municipal, provincial, federal, all along the line—the power and the results that can be obtained by the baser methods of elections—and make our men free to act, can we have that actual basis between our people and those who elect them which is absolutely necessary if the state is to do its full duty in the performance of a great work which it can and should do.

So I direct your attention to this line of thought: how can the system of Government which prevails in Canada—which we do not criticize—be made to operate with such purity that it will produce representative men who can be trusted to give their time, their attention, their whole thought, to the amelioration of such conditions as have been spoken of here, and who will be judged as to their merits on the performance that they make along such lines? And with that thought in mind I think you will agree with me that this morning's deliberations and the subject that has been chosen is one that should and does take a large and important part in the work of this Social Congress.

SPECIAL REPORT ON POLITICAL PURITY.

BY THE COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL PURITY OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE COUNCIL OF CANADA.

The Committee on Political Purity of the Social Service Council of Canada very gladly welcome this opportunity of presenting an interim report, in order to introduce a subject of vital import, and to place before the Congress some facts and suggestions, which we hope may be of some practical value. Our discussion of this question of Political Purity comes at an exceedingly opportune time. Our country has just been startled by the most alarming revelations of political corruption. It is becoming increasingly evident that not only do many electors regard the sacred privilege of the franchise as a marketable commodity, but there are some men, who having been raised to positions of trust and power by the suffrage of the electors, have demeaned themselves, betrayed their friends, and disgraced their country by marketing their responsibilities and privileges. Particular and recent illustrations of these facts will occur to all, and need not be enumerated here.

Political corruption is a serious evil. It nullifies the will of the really intelligent and honest voters, and puts a dangerous power in the hands of men of the lowest moral stratum. It is indeed an evil which undermines the very foundations of democracy. We gladly believe that conditions are not as bad as represented by many, but on the other hand, there seems to be no reason to doubt that, to a greater or less degree, this monster has breathed out its blighting influence over all our political institutions. It is not confined to one political party, to a few provinces, or to certain classes in society. It appears in the form of personal bribery, the corrupting of our legislators, and the debauching of constituencies. It is practised by the partizan, strengthened from party funds, and employed by greedy corporations. And most unfortunate of all, this political chicanery and dishonesty is regarded by many as a necessity, and condoned with a tolerant humor.

Fortunately not these considerations alone make our discussion to-day a timely one. Recent scandals have to some extent aroused the national conscience. Some powerful utterances, delivered of late, have created a deep impression; and most hope-

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ful of all, this question is now before Parliament, and political men themselves, speaking generally, are earnestly desirous that effective remedies shall be found.

The Social Service Council of Canada, since its formation, has been deeply interested in this question of political purity. Year after year it has sounded a warning note and suggested remedies. A few months ago there came into the hands of our joint secretaries a signed statement from a member of Parliament, which put the whole matter in a light that demanded immediate and vigorous action. In order, therefore, to discover how general might be the conditions described in this statement, and to secure further information and valuable suggestions, the following letter, including the signed statement referred to, was sent out to a large number of our public men. In sending out this letter the secretaries themselves, of course, neither endorsed nor discredited the statements made by their informant. This letter reads as follows:

"The Social Service Council of Canada is taking up this question of political purity, and contemplates giving very serious attention to the matter, believing there is no more important question affecting the well-being of Canada. We have full confidence, moreover, which accounts for our addressing you, that you are as cordially desirous as ourselves of finding a way or ways by which bribery and other irregularities in elections can be suppressed or reduced to a minimum. We are of the opinion that men in public life are probably more anxious than many of the electors to have bribery done away with. The following are quotations from a statement signed by a member of Parliament, and given to us by him for use in our campaign against Political Impurity:

"50 per cent. of the electors in this constituency demand money or whiskey or both, in every election.

"70 per cent. to 80 per cent. expect it.

"It is more general now than ten years ago.

"It has grown with prosperity.

"A respectable well-to-do farmer with three sons, electors formerly of the other side of politics, sent for me, as he was thinking of leaving his party. He declared to me that this was his intention, expressed his admiration for my course in public life, and then calling me aside, demanded \$25 for the four votes. When I refused he offered three votes for \$15. This I also refused. He probably voted against me. He said he saw no reason, in view of the refusal of money, to change his politics.

"Another farmer of my own party indicated indirectly that he thought he was entitled to some 'consideration.' I said the

fact that he alleged that our party had "done nothing for him" was the best reason why he should support the party and me, their candidate. His young son, just 21, was present and finding I could make no impression on the father, nor get him to say that he would vote for me, I turned to the son, and appealed to him to support the party, as the young man's party, being the party of progress. The son made no statement, looked to his father for consent. The father said: "We might as well cut the business short. The man who gives my son a dollar in cash and a bottle of whiskey gets his vote."

"At the nomination convention I informed the electors present that unless I could have some clear assurance that they would run a clean election I would not accept the nomination. At my request they rose to their feet as one man, giving this assurance. I was informed afterwards that several of those who had risen stated that they were not in sympathy with the idea and there was no hope of success unless the usual bribery was resorted to."

"Will you be kind enough, at your earliest convenience, to give us your estimate of this statement, and its reliability or general application, from the viewpoint of your own experience and observation? It is not our intention to use the names of writers in connection with any of these statements, but we want to be assured the statements are reliable."

"Will you also kindly give us your estimate of the following suggested remedies?"

"1st. Proportional representation.

"2nd. Direct legislation.

"3rd. The appointment of a public prosecutor as responsible to Parliament, and independent of the government, as the auditor-general, whose obligatory duty it will be to prosecute all offences against our election laws.

4th. The public agreement of candidates and executives when an election is approaching to do everything in their power to prevent all forms of bribery or other irregularities and unfair methods in connection with the election.

"Very greatly appreciating your kind help in this matter, we are,

"Respectfully and sincerely yours,

"J. G. Shearer,

"T. Albert Moore,

"Joint Secretaries,

"The Social Service Council of Canada."

We desire to express our gratification that we have been hon-

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ored with so general a response, more than seventy replies having been received. Some of these letters come from men who hold very high positions in our national life, and, needless to say, contain very valuable material. These replies come from representatives of constituencies scattered from the extreme east to the farthest west. Some of the writers occupy positions in the Dominion Parliament, some in the Senate, and some serve in our Provincial Legislatures. Some belong to the parties which are now in power, while others are members of the parties in opposition, while both rural and urban constituencies are heard from.

An examination of these remarkable communications discloses the fact that the writers, with a few exceptions, are aware of the alarming extent of political dishonesty. One writer says "of course the constituencies vary, but I should think that in the average riding in Ontario there may be anywhere from 200 to 1,000 electors who are known by machine men to be corruptible, and whose votes are obtained only in this manner. They constitute a minority in many cases quite sufficient to turn the scale in any riding." Another remark that there is a "too widespread idea that the franchise is a possession which may be used for private gain, and that the public man is soliciting a favor for which a quid pro quo is required." One, unusually well-informed, declares that he has "No difficulty whatever in believing this statement (of the member quoted in the letter), and I think the same would apply to most constituencies in Canada. Few have any adequate idea of the degree of degradation and moral obliquity to which the electorate has sunk in this country." Others remark that this evil is the "greatest menace to our free institutions," the "curse of our democracy" and that "drastic treatment is necessary." Listen to this testimony: "Your quotations from a statement by a member of parliament do not exaggerate the conditions in many of the constituencies. There are some exceptions of course. As an outcome—and one of the phases of these sordid conditions—the search for a candidate who has a 'barrel' is more and more in evidence at every succeeding election, and the cynical assumption that this is the primary qualification gets countenance and support from men who are generally regarded as of the highest respectability. It is no uncommon thing to be told that 'Mr. Blank' (newly rich probably) is to be nominated for a certain constituency, and that being willing to spend his money freely his election is assured."

While, speaking generally, the writers regard the conditions described in the circular letter as extreme and unusual in degree, yet some fourteen per cent. corroborate the statement fully. Thirty-

eight per cent. admit that such conditions exist in a less exaggerated form, while some forty-eight per cent. say that only to a negligible degree does electoral corruption exist in their own constituencies. Let us admit that. Yet still we have one-half admitting a most serious condition of affairs. It is true that the known and admitted irregularities in many constituencies are much less prevalent than stated to be in the riding referred to in the circular. Yet even so, here are thirty or thirty-five men, who are best qualified to speak, admitting that at the very heart of the constituencies they represent is a cancerous growth that will yield to nothing less than the burning rays of the most heroic treatment. If this proportion correctly represents the conditions throughout our Dominion, there is surely enough brought to light to call for a most thorough-going investigation, and to demand immediate and statesmanlike action. Some attribute the increase of this evil to prosperity; some to the growing materialism of the age; others to the low standard of morals generally, one to the press, and one to the churches; but whatever the cause or causes, corruption in our elections and in the official life of our statesmen will poison the whole body politic, and every true, red-blooded Canadian should determine that, in these formative days of our national life, our politics shall be clean. One phase of the subject on which a very large number of our correspondents agree, is that the candidates themselves are very much to blame, claiming that only when a candidate is known to be willing to hand out the "boodle" will the voters have the temerity to approach him for a bribe. Your committee conceives, however, that a considerable part of the blame rests upon the party workers, who will sometimes use corrupt methods even when the candidate is a man of political integrity. Another important phase of the situation is emphasized by several correspondents, who point out that when a constituency has once been debauched, it is very difficult for generations afterwards to secure clean election methods therein. Thus the evil that men do lives after them.

Now in regard to remedies. Four were suggested in the circular. A comparatively small number of the writers give their estimate of the value of proportional representation, or direct legislation as a remedy. And of those who do, only ten favor the first and four the second. Further, some of the ten who favor proportional representation realize that it is too radical a change from which to expect an immediate and general remedy for the evil we are considering. In regard to the public voluntary agreement of the men of both parties concerned in an election contest,

the opinion is about equally divided as to its value as a remedy! The trouble seems to be a lack of confidence in the pledges of the men on the "other side." A much larger number favor the appointment of a public prosecutor independent of the government. Indeed only eleven express themselves as opposed to such an appointment. Many of the replies recognize that it would be difficult to secure a man of sufficient ability and probity, while others fear that after all he might not be entirely independent and free from partisanship. Other remedies suggested are:

First—Compulsory voting, which would "make the elector realize that as a voter he is called upon to perform a duty, and not merely enjoy a privilege." The penalty suggested for failure to vote is a loss of the franchise, at least temporarily. This, it is claimed, would help to stem the evil we are combatting, because a method frequently adopted is to bribe the voter to stay away from the poll.

Second—A publication of election accounts; that is, not only of the candidate's expenses, but of all the contributions which have been made to the party funds. As has been said, anyone has the right to contribute to the funds of his candidate or his party, but an honest contributor need not object to the amount, and how it was expended, being known. Along with this, the suggestion is made that all contributions to party funds or election expenses from corporations should be made illegal; and also such contributions from individuals who have any contract with the government. It would seem to your committee that such a publication of contributions and expenditure would be one of the strongest deterrents of political impurity.

Third—Another very valuable suggestion is that an amendment to the criminal code be made so that the giving or the taking of a bribe shall be made a criminal act, in this way punishment for such wrong-doing would become much more sure and prompt.

Fourth—The hope of many of our correspondents seems to be based on an education of the public to a high sense of the responsibilities involved in citizenship. In this sentiment we as a committee most heartily concur. There should be no two standards of morals—one for private life and one for political life. To quote: "Such education must commence in the home and be prosecuted throughout all the educational stages which the young citizen has to pass." In this educational effort our schools should undoubtedly play a large and important part. There should be a thorough course on citizenship with well-prepared text books. Some move we believe has been made along this line in one of our provinces. It is to be hoped that before very long

it will be impossible for a student to pass through our schools without being definitely instructed in the important claims of citizenship, and fitted to fulfil his duties as a full-fledged citizen. The press also can do a great deal along this line. Too often the facts in connection with political intrigue and dishonesty are published largely for party purposes. We gladly recognize that some of our papers are doing good service along this line, but we could hope that a very considerable improvement may soon be manifest, and that the tremendous influence of the press shall be wielded to strike effective blows at this national curse. The churches also have a peculiar responsibility resting upon them. Because of their numbers, prestige and distinctly religious viewpoint, the churches have a splendid opportunity for, and tremendous responsibility in, the development of a strong, pure, moral national character. We are glad to note that many preachers are now speaking out with no uncertain sound, and are both exposing the evil, and appealing for the application of Christian principles to all the activities in civic relationships.

We regret, however, that many of our correspondents are able, only too truly, to charge against some churches, and some Christian workers, the fact that they take advantage of an election contest, or of a member's position, to appeal for contributions towards Christian objects, or work. Some of our correspondents go so far as to describe this method as practically a "hold-up." Your committee feels that they cannot find terms strong enough to condemn such tactics on the part of those institutions and individuals who, above all others, should show an example of the highest ideal in political relationships. We would appeal to the members of Christian churches to make it impossible, as far as their influence goes, for any politician to throw this accusation truthfully in the face of our churches. There should be no financial appeal from a church, or for church work, made to a candidate during an election campaign, nor at any time, when it could in the slightest measure be interpreted as a "consideration" for political support.

In a positive way, the Christian people may do a great deal by having speakers at political meetings who should appeal to the best in the electors to prosecute an absolutely fair and clean campaign. Such action in one constituency is described by one of our correspondents who shows that splendid results were obtained.

In addition to these suggestions, your committee would call attention to the fact that the use of intoxicating liquor is very closely associated with political corruption. In every charge of

bribery and corruption, the whiskey bottle has prominence. We rejoice that in the Provinces of Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, the sale of intoxicants is illegal during the whole of every election day, whether federal, provincial or municipal; and recommend that efforts be made to secure such legislation in every province.

And further, it would appear to be imperative that we should have some change in regard to the enfranchisement of foreigners. Instead of a mere declaration of residence within Canada for three years we believe the law should be amended, requiring:

(a) Residence for five years, the applicant to produce the immigration certificate, or a duplicate thereof, received upon entry; and to furnish proof of his continued residence.

(b) Evidence of ability to read and write, and that he understands the non-purchasable nature of the franchise, and

(c) That the enfranchisement give British citizenship and not merely Canadian citizenship.

Your committee then would sum up by urging that the mistakes in our present law of manhood suffrage should be speedily remedied. We would also advocate strongly the appointment of a public prosecutor, as referred to above, who should be a man far removed from all partisanship, who would fearlessly administer the law for the sake of the moral health of the nation, preventing "saw-offs" and other schemes adopted to conceal wrong-doing. Along with this there should be such a change in the election laws and the criminal code that political wrong-doing may be swiftly and thoroughly, and without unnecessary expense, investigated, and the wrong-doer brought to justice. More attention than ever should be paid to the selection of clean, virile, men as candidates, who will not only refuse to use corrupt means themselves, but will refuse to be disgraced by the support of men who will barter their manhood for dollars and whiskey. We would also re-emphasize the appeal made by so many of our correspondents for the publication of all election accounts and contributions made to party funds, the prohibition of contributions to party funds from corporations, our condemnation of the spoils system, and of the wholesale bribery of constituencies by promises made by the present or prospective government. And, finally, we would appeal to the men of the press, to our leaders in educational work, and to all religious workers, to use every instrument within their power to smite to the death this undemocratic, polluting, and destructive foe; and develop a wholesome, sterling, national life that shall stand the test of time, and make for the highest

welfare of our children who shall come after us.

God give us men, a time like this demands

Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands.

Men whom the lust of lucre does not kill.

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy.

Men who possess opinions and a will.

Men who have honor, men who will not lie.

Men who can stand before a demagogue,

And condemn his treacherous flatteries without winking.

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog

In public duty and in private thinking.

S. Edward Grigg,

Chairman.

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POLITICAL CORRUPTION AND ITS CURE.

REV. W. W. ANDREWS, M.A., LL.D., REGINA.

Christ will never be king in this world, till his principles become supreme in its politics.

Through the growth of democracy the world of politics has come to be the field in which we all act in the interest of all. The sentiment and judgment of the people bubble up and take form in the legislative acts of Parliament. Parliament is the agent of final response to the life of the people. It registers in workable forms for stable social betterment the people's will. The people say "It ought to be." Law says "It shall be."

All the creators of public sentiment such as the school, the church, and the press are like the surveyors of a railroad who blaze out the way, setting up their stakes that others may follow them. Then the legislators are like the graders, and track-layers who follow the surveyed course and make it easy and necessary for the energies of the community to run smoothly along the predetermined path on the carefully laid rails of settled statute.

The world, therefore, can never be saved till politics are saved. The missionary, the evangelistic, the social and philanthropic activities of the people are largely nullified if politics be controlled by alien forces.

We have seen in our own day the enlargement of the functions of government. Beginning with the abolition of slavery, and later the work of the Lord Shaftesbury, followed by the introduction of socialistic legislation in Germany by Bismarck and in very recent times the humanitarian legislation standing to the credit of Lloyd George, the idea of the work of Parliament has been revolutionized. Now, as not before, it is accepted as the duty of Parliament and also of municipal councils to take into account life values. On the pillow of every Prime Minister, every legislator, city commissioner and councilman the scripture Christ read at Nazareth will yet be woven: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because He hath anointed me to speak good news to the poor: He hath sent me to heal the broken spirited: to speak freedom to the captives, etc." The programme of Christianity is coming to be the programme of Parliament. Therefore let us write it on every pulpit of our land that the world cannot be saved except

through its politics, municipal, national and international, and that our political duties are as sacred as any others.

Three conditions of our modern world are demanding of our average elector greater intelligence and social conscience, and are making corrupt methods in politics more dangerous than before.

The first is the triumphant march of democracy among the foremost nations and its imminent extensions. The ballot is being put into the hands of the common man. The fate of every country is passing into the hands of the average citizen. His responsibilities have enormously increased. Higher morality is a necessity. "We must educate our masters." We must save our rulers. There is no limit to the world-wide ruin evil influences financially strong might work if the electorate of several countries became corruptible. One is startled at the horror of what is possible in these days of international financial combinations, if the voters of the world grow venal.

We are seeing the range and power of democracy still further extended, by woman's suffrage and by direct legislation. Every extension of democracy increases its dangers. Not all women will use the vote well. Some will sell their votes. What then? As long as they possess intelligence and conscience, have rights to protect and judgments to record, we have no right to refuse them the ballot. It is merely the accident of our political history that men have the vote and not women (the reverse might have happened) and whether they use it ill or well, they have the same essential rights as men because they are integral parts of the body politic and stand on the same level of intelligence and conscience. National safety lies in the education of the women, as all other voters, intellectually and in social conscience for the exercise of their political duties.

Direct legislation, also that new rising star of democracy which promises so much in the way of developing a finer type of citizenship, opens up new dangers if the electorate grow corrupt. No one acquainted with Canadian institutions has proposed the recall for Canada, because of the ready way in which the popular will may make itself felt in our legislatures. But in the initiative and referendum, which permit any section of the people to agitate for a certain measure and then to secure its submission to the electorate, we have a means of educating the people on one thing and securing their unmistakable verdict on that one question. We shall avoid the uncertainty which results when a number of questions comprise the issue, as so often happens in our Dominion elections. The power of the people to challenge or petition any

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acts of the legislature within ninety days and reverse them by vote, will make for care in the making of laws and content with the laws when enacted. Yet, let corruption grow, let the moral quality of the electorate grow weak, then corrupt corporations may buy both legislators and electors and these new powers, the climax of democratic development, will all the sooner work democracy's ruin.

Another factor increasing the dangers of corruption in democracies results from the development of the means of travel, the telegraph and the daily press. Our lines go out to all the earth and every morning we glance over the items of a world-wide gossip. Much the same news is read and discussed throughout every continent the same day. Whether he will it or no, the average man is being forced to be a citizen of the world. There are comparatively few men anywhere who have not this week some opinions on President Wilson and Mexico, Home Rule and Naval Armaments, etc. Probably in every labor union of Canada and the United States opinions have been expressed in one way or another on the deportation of the labor leaders from South Africa. The world is a Venice with the oceans for streets.

All questions are becoming international. The question of Oriental emigration is emphatically such. How would Christ discuss our Chinese question? We are dealing with a race civilized before the Pharoahs reigned, the heaviest brained in the world. Two hundred Chinamen in Regina have supported two hundred of their fellows who have been out of work all winter. Would that seem a bad blood to mix with ours? When they do come and pay admission tax we should treat them fairly. Let us limit their number by treaty with China, but when we do allow them to enter we should encourage them to bring their wives and to make their homes among us. Only so many should enter as can be treated thus. These are samples of our problems. The common man has to hold the scales of justice in international affairs. He does not know the day when he may be asked to give a verdict on some matter which will affect human destinies on the other side of the earth. He is empanelled in the jury of the world. Thus it has come to be. Divine Providence has willed it so. Only social uplift can save the State.

The third factor which increases our danger is the rapid increase of the wealth of the world. Gladstone asserted that in one fifty years of his life more wealth had been created in a form which might be handed down to posterity than in all the preceding Christian centuries. The power of nine million of horses has been

captured for human service, and a million fingered intricacy of wonder-working inventions. Speaking of the great increase of our material resources through scientific invention, which has put our old political economy out of date, Prof. Patten in his "New Basis of Civilization" quotes the words of Krapotkin: "For the first time in the history of civilization, mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of the needs themselves. . . . We are thus placed in a position to entirely remodel the very basis and content of our civilization."

Poverty and war, heretofore necessities, have now become the crimes of civilization. It is no longer necessary to procure the well-being of the few by the degradation of the many. The great task of using and distributing these resources so that they shall be used for the purposes of conservation of men, and not of their destruction, for the life of all and not for the luxury of the few, for the activities of peace and not for the barbarities of war, is the task which the voters of each country must accomplish. So international business has become that no one country can settle all its own problems alone. The task before the electors of the nations is that of reorganizing the resources of the world. To what a height must their manhood rise if the work is to be well done. The vast increase of wealth, which science now promises to augment a hundred-fold, is dangling greater prizes before men, both in commerce and politics, to test their virtue. Let money become supreme and it requires no prophet to see that the world's civilization will sink like that of Nineveh, Rome, and Tyre.

Political corruption is a growing evil in many parts of Canada. It takes the following forms: First, bribing of electors; second, "graft" in public works and "rake-offs" in purchasing departments; third, tampering with aldermen and legislators by the representatives of great corporations with favors to ask.

The saddest and most disheartening aspect of the case is the jocularly which is sure to be evoked in many gatherings and even in Church courts when this matter is discussed. "It is part of the game." Graft in the public service reduced Russia and Spain to hollow shells which crumbled at the touch of war. When legislators are corrupt the bulwarks of safety are gone. When a voter sells his vote, he sells what he has no more right to barter than a woman her virtue. He dishonors and abdicates his citizenship and should forfeit it. The seducer of the poor man also should lose his franchise. The practice of bribery stains the honors of Parliament. It reduces the noble game of politics into a degrading struggle. The political party which wins an election thus

usurps a power and honors which do not belong to it. Bribery sows the seeds of anarchy in the State, for it creates an atmosphere of suspicion with regard to the results of elections, the acts of legislatures and, when widespread, even the decisions of the bench. It robs the incorruptible voter of his due influence in the government of his state and human interests are sure to suffer. It spells all sorts of disaster to the country. It is one of the few ways left in which a man (or party) may prove a traitor to his country, since it tampers with the sovereign power. It is the negation of free government. It spells all sorts of disaster. It sells the life of the nation.

THE CURE.

To the Church, as one of the supreme forces developing the social conscience we must look for help. It is the duty of the Church to awaken the conscience of citizenship and to prepare the men for worthy public service. The golden age can come only through golden men. Every pastor can teach the sacredness of our political duties and can exhort his people in their several political camps to be witnesses for Christ in keeping their own side free from corruption. The Church can do something to kill the false creeds of political action. "We have to do evil that good may come," "We must fight the devil with his own weapons," "All's fair in love and politics," and such like; for with these we make the law of God of none effect through our tradition.

The Church can keep herself clear from the subtle bribery of the subscription list and in quiet times may do much to create some new convictions on the subject. She should steadfastly look for the crown and completion of her own work in politics.

The public school may also do much. The patriotism, the reason why certain practices are evil in the public life, the call for service and the obligations of citizenship, the school may teach by both direct and indirect methods. If the spirit of true sportsmanship can be made supreme in the school games the chances are that the great games of life will be played worthily. The boys who of their own act can refuse to accept a game not fairly won, will not be likely to be guilty of dishonorable methods in the political game of their manhood. Many Waterloos have been won on the playground. In Saskatchewan a prayer for use in the schools on election day, as the supreme day of citizenship, has been proposed.

Legislators may among themselves by a "gentleman agreement" do much to brace weakening sentiment in this matter.

Candidates may pledge themselves to do all in their power to keep their workers free from violation of the law. They can enforce the law against their own men, who dishonor their side. There is public sentiment to enforce a good law, but at present it is discouraged by the baffling procedure of the courts and the law's delay. The prime necessity is a law so easily put into operation, and when once in action so inevitable and swift, that all will so well know there will be no swerving or delay till sentence is pronounced, that the men of each party will feel that "the other fellows will not dare risk it." If the summary procedure of criminal law can be made the rule in election trials, much will be done. One great hindrance to a better condition is the mutual distrust by the parties of each other, which the possibility of immediate action would do much to reduce.

A public prosecutor, or a commission of Judges of the Supreme Court, or a commission of special election judges in each constituency, sworn in before election day, to receive testimony and act accordingly, are some of the suggestions made.

What has proved a very effective plan is to form, from men of both parties, an independent Electoral Reform League, whose one business is to guard the purity of the election. A few level-headed and earnest men can redeem a constituency.

Let us, however, not forget that the chief responsibility in this matter must rest upon the Home, the School, the Church and the Press for the creation of the sentiment which will demand and use a better law and will produce the men who will keep politics pure.

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MORALITY IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS.

J. A. M. AIKINS, M.P.

The subject for consideration is political purity, or morality in the sphere of politics. Politics was properly defined by Mr. Ames. A question arises as to whether the people of a country can be raised to take sufficient interest in political matters to overcome a political power without the aid of corruption. Is corruption severable from the individual electorate? Read the pages of history and you will come to the conclusion that there never existed a nation in which the government was a democracy where there was not corruption and apathy. Read a little further and you will ascertain this also, that that apathy and that corruption was not the life of democracy, but was the death of democratic government. You will find that these two influences were the microbes which fed upon the body politic, and caused its dissolution. The statements that we hear from other countries are practically the same—that there does not exist to-day among the English-speaking nations a democracy in which there is not corruption.

Then what? Is our democracy going to fall? Is democracy going to be an impossibility? As I read the signs of the times, the world is not getting worse, but better.

You will find that in 1883 in England Sir William James, now Lord James, brought into the British Parliament an Act against corruption. It is also a splendid sign when such a man as Sir Edward Grey sold all his foreign investments so that when he accepted the position of Foreign Secretary, he might be free from any ulterior influence. Look at the country to the south of us: during all the disclosures there, there was not a Senator who stood up for corruption. All of which things are evidences in the right direction.

And now we come to our own country, Canada. We were almost startled at the report that has been made this morning, that there has been such corruption prevailing in the country; and indeed it is startling to find the apathy with which these recent disclosures of corruption in high places have been received by the people. Our government is a democratic government. We boast that it is of the people and by the people, and that it exists for the benefit of the people. It is therefore the fact that accord-

ing as the people of the country are interested or not in political affairs, will the government of the country be efficient or defective, because the people will decide.

There are one or two remedies for political corruption. One of the remedies is legislation. In the House of Commons recently a resolution was introduced and the principle was adopted by both sides of the House, which related to this matter. We have, as you know, a drastic act concerning corruption at elections. The parliament is doing what it can; but there is another side to it, and that is, that when you have electors who are corrupt there is going to be corruption, and the best way is to do away with the corrupt elector. Legislation will not make men moral, and we should be impressed by the fact that upon each one of us lies the duty of making the best moral conditions for Canada. Unless we teach our children to do right there is no relief, for in our children is the hope for Canada. Unless we properly instruct our children in the way concerning civic duties, how can we expect in the future to have a moral electorate? Therefore the obligation is upon the state; upon the Church; upon the unions; and upon the parents in the homes to instruct the children in civic duties. We should teach them that moral fiber is better than money in their pockets, and that the strength of our country will depend upon the moral character of our citizens. This matter rests with the people, and every one of us has a duty to perform. It is my duty and yours, and if we cannot make the present generation better, let us see that the succeeding generations will be better.

And now comes another matter. We are receiving into this country one half million people annually, and these people should be received into a proper political atmosphere. We should impress upon them that if they go wrong in elections there is an act which provides that they shall be punished for their wrong-doing. When they see that we have this law they will be more careful how they act. There are plenty of moral men in politics in this country, and we must look to the newcomer, for rest assured that if we do not bring them up to our standards, they will drag us down to theirs.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL PURITY.

W. C. GOOD, B.A., PRESIDENT THE DOMINION GRANGE AND
FARMERS' ASSOCIATION.

I appreciate very much the opportunity of speaking on this topic at this Congress, because you can, if you will, do much to improve conditions. I speak for myself; but to a large extent I speak also for the organized farmers of Canada. The Dominion Grange and Farmers' Association is affiliated, in the Canadian Council of Agriculture, with the three great farmers' organizations of the Prairie Provinces—the Grain Growers' Associations of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the United Farmers of Alberta. I know the farmers' attitude, as reflected in these organizations, and can assure you that in what I have to say I am, in the main, voicing their opinions.

I take it that it is not worth while discussing the question as to whether conditions are worse or better than they were at any time in the past. They are certainly bad enough. Indeed, judging by the report of your committee, just presented to you, they are much worse than I believed.

Speaking generally, I believe we shall find that the political corruption of the present day is largely due to economic injustice. It is, of course, evident that a persistent cause of political corruption may be found in the frailty of human nature, but a special cause has been at work during the last few decades, viz., the fact that the development of our political institutions has not kept pace with our industrial development. Few of us realize as we should the tremendous industrial changes which have taken place in our midst during the last fifty years, and, especially, during the last twenty years. Domestic and village industries have been transferred to city factories. Every industry but agriculture, in fact every industry capable of centralization, has been centralized. And, although the ownership of these industries is fairly widely distributed, the control of them has passed into the hands of a few men—less than fifty—a condition which, I may remark in passing, threatens democratic government, quite irrespective of the characters of those who may be in control. There has been also a great increase in inequality, with growing lavishness and folly in methods of living on the part of the very rich. Cities have grown with feverish haste, at the expense of the rural districts, not so much

because they offered unusual advantages to their residents as because the industrial revolution presented extraordinary opportunities for the exploitation of the masses by the captains of industry. The artificial stimulus given to the urban industries at the expense of the rural industries, due, in the main, to the predominant influence of "Big Business," has been so great and so persistent that, in this new country of illimitable natural resources, the last decade has witnessed an increase of over fifty per cent. in the price of food products, compared with an increase of but fifteen per cent. in England, a country which has to obtain the major part of its food supplies from abroad. Surely this comparison should make us pause in our headlong race!

Now, since industrial and social conditions have so greatly changed in the last few decades, we should expect that our political institutions would have gone through a parallel transformation, in order to fit them to meet new needs. But such is not the case. Our political institutions are practically the same as they were fifty years ago. It is true that some attempt has been made to adapt our political machinery to modern needs. For example, the Railway Commission has been created to meet the need arising from the virtual monopolization of the country's transportation facilities. But this is only one case of something done among numerous cases of needful things left undone, an indication of how much ought still to be done to adapt ourselves to new conditions. It is broadly true that as yet we have made no serious attempt to modernize our political methods and institutions so as to fit them to deal with the many new problems which the industrial revolution has thrust upon us.

Just a word in passing about a rather popular half-truth which those interested in maintaining political institutions as they are preach in season and out of season. I refer to the statement that political conditions—as to morality or efficiency—depend wholly upon the character of the individual elector, and do not depend upon the kind of political machinery available for his use. Stated thus the doctrine is distinctly untrue. All through human history there is the closest connection between individual character and social institution, each acting and reacting upon the other. Consider, for example, the reaction upon the character of the individual of one of our social institutions, the public school! Now, if we find inferior standards of morality prevailing in our political life, it is not unlikely that such a state of affairs depends largely upon the fact that our political system lends encouragement to blind partisanship, graft and corruption, and discourages inde-

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pendence and honesty. In fact, my own opinion is that we are about as badly handicapped politically as we should be agriculturally if we farmers returned to the old grain cradle to harvest our crops. Politically we are fully as far behind the times.

Now let us trace out some of the results of the combination of industrial development with political stagnation. There is the growth of the machine, with its ramifications in all districts, even to the smallest; with its ward heelers and local bosses who busy themselves with oiling the machine so that they may receive the plums of office. These men are generally devoid of any moral principle, and do the dirty work for those politicians who come before the public, and who must at least maintain some appearance of respectability. There is further the ominous growth of the campaign fund. I wish there were some way of getting at the facts. I venture to predict that, if the facts were known, we should discover that the party campaign funds are almost wholly made of contributions by those who seek, and get, legislative favors. Essentially, the situation is that of the bribery of both parties to discriminate in favor of those who furnish the sinews of war. We have had statements made already as to the extent of these contributions, and it does not need extraordinary intellectual acumen to estimate their significance. Legislative favors and special privileges enable "Big Business" to levy tribute upon the people as a whole; and part of this tribute they use to entrench their position and maintain their special privileges. The electors are debauched with their own money.

Mention should be made here of the influence of our fiscal policy. The protective system, whatever justification it may have as a temporary political expedient, is utterly vicious in its influence upon political morality. It presents a perpetual opportunity and a perpetual temptation to any industry to enrich itself at the expense of the public, to secure special legislative favors by contributions to campaign funds, by lobbying, log-rolling, and so forth. It is essentially, in the words of one who speaks with more authority than I, "legalized robbery"; and, as such, inevitably brings in its train all kinds of evil. Advocates of protective tariffs are beginning to realize the weakness of their cause, and hasten to assure us of the need for revenue, and the need for assisting infant industries. So far as the latter point is concerned, it is patent to all that a direct bounty, open and above board, is infinitely preferable to the concealed protection of a tariff. So far as revenue needs are concerned the farmers are not only ready but are eager for direct taxation, very much on the lines suggested by Prof.

Andrews in his address. A revenue tariff is clumsy, wasteful, and out of harmony with democratic institutions: it is a survival of by-gone days, when taxation was tribute, exacted from an unwilling people by a more or less arbitrary power. Substitute a direct tax for the present indirect tariff tax and the protective system at once loses any reasonable justification for its existence. With its abolition will disappear one of the most potent factors in the development of political corruption, for, as I said in the beginning, political impurity is largely the result of economic injustice.

Now I have some definite suggestions to make as to remedies, which, for clearness' sake, I shall enumerate:

1. I place first the enlightenment and rousing of the people by press, pulpit and school. From the press I do not, just at this present time, expect much help. With some notable exceptions the tendency is for the press to pass into the hands of party or big business organizations, to be run either as a money-making enterprise or for the manufacture of public opinion favorable to the proprietors. The sense of individual responsibility for opinion and management becomes very much attenuated when editors and managers are merely employees of business corporations who may, perhaps, own a dozen newspapers of various traditional shades of opinion. Newspaperdom has suffered from the same centralization which has characterized many other industries, and I do not think we can look for the same independence and reliability that marked the business under private proprietorship. I cannot predict the future, but we should recognize the facts of the present.

From the pulpit we should expect great things; and, when I see this Congress, I am hopeful of much from the Church. We need to catch the spirit of the ancient Hebrew prophets, and apply the Divine teachings to the conditions of the present. Here and now is our opportunity, and, as Prof. Andrews has said, we cannot have a Christian civilization without Christianizing our politics and our business. The Church has been too timid in proclaiming the Divine message; has been too much under the patronage of the rich and powerful in this world. It needs breadth of vision and fearlessness: it needs to realize that it holds the key to all true progress, even upon a material plane, for be it remembered, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things"—material prosperity—"shall be added." As a nation we have forgotten this moral law and are now suffering the penalties in financial stringency and partial famine.

So far as the possibilities of the school are concerned much might be said if time permitted. I will make two suggestions. In the first place, something more might be done in the way of teaching civics—through which our young people would obtain information as to our social institutions and political machinery. Secondly, and of more importance, a good deal may be done through practical democratic school organization and management. Pupils can obtain, concretely, positive knowledge of the privileges and responsibilities involved in democracy, if, within proper limits, they manage their own affairs, both from the legislative and administrative standpoints.

2. The State should take the initiative in investigating all alleged cases of political corruption. Something has been said already in this connection, so that I need but mention the point. It is for us all to insist that something practicable be done at the earliest possible date.

3. I place next the abolition of the system whereby private parties or corporations may enrich themselves at the public expense. The tariff must be abolished, and, just as soon as we are ready for it, the system of a direct tax upon land values and public franchises will supply whatever revenue losses are involved in the disappearance of the tariff tax. The farmers' organizations are now ready for the change: public opinion must be educated to demand that our systems of taxation be put in harmony with common honesty and democratic methods. If this is not done we may expect the continued activity of those seeking legislative favors, with all sorts of sinister influences at work to secure special privileges. There is no hope for political purity until this source of corruption is completely removed from the body politic.

4. Next, one may put civil service reform. We have already made some progress in this direction. We need to go all the way, and remove the civil service entirely from the realm of party politics. As long as the spoils system prevails we shall find plenty of local bosses and party workers who are seeking some official plum. These constitute a pernicious factor in our political campaigns, and the sooner the State renders their work futile the better it will be for political conditions.

5. Last, but not least, I would suggest the modernizing of our political machinery by

(a) Improved electoral methods—proportional instead of majority representation, and

(b) The extension of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.

Our present method of electing legislators by majority vote in single member districts leads, at best, to majority representation, and frequently, through the gerrymander, to minority representation, and, doubly, to minority government. There is no reason why we cannot have a legislature really representative of the electorate; but, under our present system, it is practically impossible that we should have fair representation. I have not time to go into details, but the little quarterly magazine, called "Equity," is devoted to the question of reforming or renovating our political machinery and institutions, and contains a department dealing with proportional representation. I commend it very highly to you. It deals also with direct legislation through the initiative and the referendum, which has been very aptly called the common denominator of all reforms.

Direct legislation is a method whereby the electors may, when they so desire, take upon themselves some of the duties and responsibilities which they customarily delegate to legislative bodies. The initiative allows the electorate to propose legislation by petition, and demand a referendum thereon. Our local option liquor law is put to a referendum by a twenty-five per cent. initiative petition. The system is already adopted in a limited way, but we need to extend it to legislative questions in general. The referendum provides that all laws except urgency measures remain inoperative for a certain period—say ninety days—during which time they stand open for popular examination. If, during this time, sufficient opposition to any particular law should develop to lead to the signing of a sufficiently large demand for a referendum thereon, the law in question stands suspended until it is either sanctioned or repealed by a popular vote. You will find complete information as to the nature and progress of the movement for direct legislation in this little magazine, to which I referred a moment ago. Already it is in operation in a number of States of the American Union, and partial direct legislation laws have been passed by the Legislatures of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Prof. Andrews has already spoken of this matter and, moreover, time forbids discussion. I will call your attention, however, to a little pamphlet on direct legislation, circulated by the Grange for educational purposes, which you can obtain either from the secretary of the Grange or from your secretary, Dr. Shearer.

Let me, in conclusion, enumerate two or three special advantages which the method of direct legislation would have at the present time.

In the first place it would provide a popular check upon legis-

lative action, and enable the people to block any legislation which they thought inimical to their interests. At the present time the electors hand over absolute power to a body of delegates for four or five years, during which time incalculable damage may be done, without any possibility of redress. This ought not to be. It should be impossible for a legislature to enact any law over the heads, and in opposition to the wishes, of the people. The optional referendum provides for a continuous popular control over legislative bodies which is naturally exercised only when there is grave need.

Secondly, the initiative and referendum has the immense advantage of disentangling issues, and deciding each question, as nearly as may be, upon its own merits. Under our present system our elections have no special significance: a dozen distinct issues are blended, and these mixed up with the questions of the administrative record of the Government and the personalities of the various candidates. The thoughtful and independent elector finds himself in a hopeless situation. If anyone has a preference it should be such a one; but in practice he is virtually disfranchised: he has no opportunity to make his opinions known upon specific questions. Direct legislation will enable great public questions to be singled out for independent consideration and blind partisanship will thereby be discouraged.

In the third place, the method of direct legislation will interest and educate the electorate; and I know of no stronger argument in its favor. The curse of our politics is indifference on the part of the electors, except at election time, when they "enjoy the fight." There is no cure for this except by making the electors feel their responsibility. At present they can, and do, cast their responsibility upon their delegate, with manifold evil consequences. Democracy, that is, government by the people, cannot become a fact until the people really shoulder the responsibility which nominally belongs to them. At present the people are not responsible for legislation: place the responsibility upon them and they will give heed to public questions, and will decline to be manipulated by the machine. The State of Oregon has had this system working now for about twelve years. Months before the election the Secretary of State mails to each voter a publicity pamphlet, containing text and title of all laws to be submitted, together with arguments pro and con. This enables the electorate to understand and discuss intelligently each of the questions to be pronounced upon, so that every encouragement is given to thoughtful independence. The reaction of this system upon the individual

is bound to be salutary. Self government in deed as well as in name necessitates the provision of some means whereby the people may actually take part in legislation, and will be successful according to the intelligence and public spirit of the electorate. I know of no change in our political institutions which holds out greater promise of sure and steady growth in political intelligence and political purity than that of applying the principle of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum to municipal, provincial and federal politics.

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THE PARTY SYSTEM.

DR. ADAM SHORTT, CHAIRMAN OF THE CIVIL SERVICE
COMMISSION, OTTAWA.

I have been very much interested in the proceedings this morning, and I thoroughly agree with the chairman, that no more important question could come before the people of this country than that of political purity. At the same time I find myself in some difficulty to follow the various statements made, because some of these points made are exceedingly complex and far-reaching. There are many points in connection with the machinery of our political institutions which, though they have an exceedingly long-reaching influence, are themselves influenced in turn by long-reaching factors. I could take up an hour or two discussing these questions of proportional representation and direct legislation, and show you that these are very difficult matters to handle, because when you attempt to put more responsibility upon the electors you have to consider who the electors are, and whether if they have fallen down in one system they are going to stand up in another. You must consider how far it concentrates responsibility, because I know that throughout history concentration of responsibility has been one of the finest tests of efficiency. The question is, are you able to put your finger upon the person who is chiefly responsible? The great advantage in the party system is that so far as possible it has been able to concentrate responsibility to a greater degree than any other system. You will find across the border in the United States that they have what appears to be the party system, but I could give you scores and scores of instances where control breaks down because you cannot concentrate responsibility, but where our system maintains a fair standard.

A great deal has been said against the party system in the matter of political purity. But what does any such movement imply? You have to have legislation; you have to have administration; and that administration is by a party responsible to the legislature. If you bring forward another scheme in improvement, how are you going to get it forward? You cannot do it unless you line up a new combination, a new party, which will simply become a majority in the country. When it makes a majority it gets control, and then all the other factions concen-

trate and criticize it. That is the concentration of the other element—the concentration of the opposition. Any scheme for getting rid of the party system simply means another party. You may readjust things, but you must have control by majority, and I see little gain in that respect.

With regard to the Civil Service Commission I will say that we have a very difficult duty to perform, because we have to deal with individual members, with the different ministers, and with the Opposition. The evils of party government are greatly exaggerated. You must first improve the electorate before you can improve the men who are elected. If a man comes forward in a constituency and declines to have any dealings with, or any support from a certain element, and that certain element is corruptible and is large, how do you expect him to get to the legislature? He simply puts himself out of the running by such a declaration. These men are dealing with human nature. There are certain things they can do, and certain things they cannot do.

Now I want to speak more particularly of the situation as it comes under my notice. The Civil Service Commission, like the Railway Commission, is responsible to the legislature; they are the parties who call upon us to give an account of our stewardship. When the criticisms come piling down upon us we have to implore to be given a chance to explain, and then if there is anything wrong the powers can come down upon us with all their might.

There is an immense amount of hypocrisy in listening to discussions in the House, when one party goes after the other about dismissals or appointments. If these appointments or dismissals come from political support there is no occasion for the discussion which goes on. We have good scripture for that, "He who taketh by the sword shall perish by the sword." How can a man expect to hold his office if the government changes? Only when a man goes in independently of party can he expect to be retained when there is a change in government. Now let me put it this way to you. There is an election and a change in government, I am not defending the wholesale dismissal of people; all I am saying is that if that is the situation I cannot understand the criticism of the result. In the inside service, where hundreds of offices have been filled under our commission during the last five years, how many dismissals have occurred? Only two. Only two out of several thousand. In the outside service it is a different matter. The politician recognizes the difference between a man who goes into an office without any reference to his political following, purely on the basis of efficiency in service, and the man who goes

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in on political strength. If you want to put the service of the country on the former basis you must abolish the party sentiment and have the whole service come down to a non-partisan basis.

It is very fine to listen to addresses in meetings of this kind, but you must remember that out on the streets are the people who should be here, because they are the people who cause all the trouble at the elections. They put the pressure on the politicians to have themselves appointed because they have discharged certain functions for the party.

We have a very difficult crowd to work with. When the last election came off I said to myself, "We will have a new lot to deal with from now on," but what was my surprise to find the same old lot up again. I said, "What does this mean?" and I was told that these people stated they had turned over in the last election. We have the independent element in the electorate, but who are the independent electorate? There are of course men who really go into the questions which are before the country, and then there is the mass who always vote for one party or the other. That is the saving element. Then there is the purchasable element. They will go after five dollars rather than four. In the one case you know on which side the man is going to vote. We talk about ideals, but you have to travel between the ideal and the actual. People will not take the trouble to study questions, and when you can awaken in them the desire to take a stand and be firm then you have something going.

One of the chief difficulties in elections is this that many a party starts in with excellent ideals of carrying things on without as much corruption as before, but they get heated, and they are not going to see the other fellow beat them, and if it comes down to a close election, to thirty or forty or one hundred votes changing the whole thing, they are not going to lose those votes if they can help it. Now I am of the conviction that the majority of parliamentarians would like to have things on a better basis. There are a few, however, who pooh-pooh all the better elements of human nature. Personal appointments, and the getting of contracts or monetary favors, come from service of some kind. The battle does not exist between the forces of good or of bad, but relates to the forces of profit and interest, of daily bread. People do not go out and hustle for vague desirability, but they do go out and hustle for their daily bread.

DISCUSSION.

CONTROLLER SIMPSON (Toronto): Making votes partisan, as Dr. Shortt suggests, will only accentuate the difficulty. The pur-

chasable vote, when it becomes partisan, will simply accept the money from the other party and vote the other way. They will be corruptible just the same.

MR. FRASER (Winnipeg): The present system of canvassing by candidates and their agents should be made illegal by Act of Parliament. It is directly antagonistic to the spirit of the Act.

MR. RICE (Parry Sound): In Australia it is a criminal offence for a candidate to solicit a vote.

MR. WILSON: I understood Dr. Shortt to say that if the purchasable vote could be made partisan they could then be controlled.

MR. CRAIG: In Manitoba we have had election charges proven against the member. When those charges have been made in the House and we have demonstrated the validity of the charges, then that member uses his prerogative in the House to cast slurs on men who have been working for the other candidate, simply because he is a member of the party, and the party won't make any charges against him. Is it not possible to do something in order to keep such a man from exercising his power as a member of parliament? Charges are proved and yet he is sitting there, and when a man like Alexander McCreedy, of Winnipeg, pure and above board, visits the constituency, and the charges are presented in the House they say he is doing wrong, and he has not the power to reply because the man has made the charge in his official position as a member of the Legislative Assembly. I think it is a shame on our civilization that such be permitted.

MRS. EDGAR (Ottawa): It is reasonable to propose that as each professional man requires some training in order to get the letters LL.D. after his name, so a member of parliament should have some training in order to get the letters M.P. after his name. The old Roman history says that at the time Rome was in her greatest need they called the farmer from the country, but that farmer had had experience, and he restored the state and saved his country because of his experience. It is said that women would be a danger to the state if they had the franchise. Women unprepared would be a danger; but I do not want votes for women so much as women for votes—women prepared for them, and not unprepared as the men now are.

DR. ANDREWS (Regina): Mr. Bengough, of Toronto, handed a document to the Committee suggesting the education of candidates for parliament.

CONTROLLER MCCARTHY (Toronto): May I agree with the splendid farmer who spoke this morning? In municipal government in Ontario all matters of public works and public expendi-

ture, money by-laws, are not passed by the Council, but passed by the people; and no municipal council has the power to grant a franchise upon its streets or in its borders to any transportation, light, power or other similar company. Then why should either Provincial or Dominion Government have power to grant the very franchises within our own borders at the cost of our own people, and thereby form a basis, as it has in many times past, for political corruption in the Dominion, and in the various provinces? The more you secure the initiative and the referendum, and the more you put it within the power of the common people to vote away the natural resources of Canada, to control them or to grant them, the less you will have of political corruption, and the more you will have of political purity.

MR. STEELE (Vankleek Hill): Of course direct legislation may be a very good thing in theory, but is it practicable? We know that every election is a very expensive affair in Canada, and it would be very expensive to put this before the people. Is it possible? We know plebiscites in the past in which perhaps not one-third of the people would exercise the franchise. I do not think it would produce the results.

MRS. JONES (Sherbrooke): As to the immigrants being purchasable, a good many of them are English. I lived in England until eleven years ago, and except as a matter of history in my mother's early days I never heard of the purchasable vote. Therefore I do think it wrong to cast a slur upon the immigrant as being more purchasable than the Canadian-born.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am far more concerned about bad Canadians than about bad new Canadians.



TEMPERANCE

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	- - -	HON. GEO. E. FOSTER, M.P.
<i>Temperance Progress</i>	- - -	ALD. F. S. SPENCE
<i>The Temperance Problem in the Maritime Provinces</i>		REV. H. R. GRANT
<i>Supervised Control of the Young</i>	COL. THE HON. SAM HUGHES, M.P.	
<i>The W. C. T. U. Programme</i>	-	MRS. SARA ROWELL WRIGHT

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CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

HON. G. E. FOSTER, M.P.

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Dr. Shearer has fallen into the error into which too many good people are apt to fall—insatiable desire to secure two things at the same time—and, as has been said, he has put me into the soup. When asked to be your chairman I noticed that in some portions of the programme there was a chairman's address, but for this afternoon that note was omitted. You know I am used to working under rules and I understand the rules formulated for the use of members for the House of Commons are rules that apply to this Congress, and under those rules I have no right to speak and no such duty is imposed upon me. Then came along, unfortunately, Dr. Shearer—unfortunately for me—and says that no exception was intended in my favor and that the duty is imposed upon me of addressing you, and I will do so in a very few words. I don't want any of you to think that I am a very old man, but still I think it cannot be less than fifty years ago since I attended an old-fashioned temperance meeting. I heard John B. Gough, whom many of you have also heard, make one of his great addresses or orations, and as I listened to his words I made up my mind as a young man, so far as I could, that I would try to get along without the use of intoxicating liquors. I made that resolution there and then, and, generally speaking, I have stuck to it. Now I used that word "generally" because I wanted to give a chance to those people who like to criticize to say: "Oh, yes, but you didn't always stick to it." Well, I have done pretty well in that way!

Now, just on that point I wonder if we are not losing something in these more modern times by giving up those good, old-fashioned, effective, public temperance meetings the country through! I think we are. I just leave that thought with you, the temperance workers. Someone, speaking here, declared that we in Canada had won a great victory in the present generation. Depend upon it, there are equally great victories to be won in every generation as long as the world lasts. What you teach one generation can to a certain extent be transferred by various methods into the constitution and make-up of the succeeding generation, but inasmuch as you have to teach every boy, even though his father knew it all, so in every generation we have these battles to fight

over again. Every thirty years we have a new generation, and we cannot rest on the victories we have won.

Somebody has said that the legislators ought to be approached and told that they ought to do so-and-so. That rests on the assumption that there is some generic difference between the faddist in his home and the legislator in the halls of parliament. There is no generic difference in a country governed as we are governed on democratic principles, whose legislators in the legislative halls are you yourselves by proxy or delegation: when you blame them you blame yourselves, and when you point out their faults you point out your own. Again, the legislators in legislative halls will not go one single foot beyond what you, in your constituent parts, are ready to go, and when you insist upon going a step further you will find that the members of Parliament will carry out what you desire and are ready to have carried out.

All this is common feeding ground and that common feeding ground is human nature. Human individuals all browse, as it were, in a common pasture field, and there floats in the atmosphere pests that feed on diseased parts; if one has no diseased parts that entity remains free from the pests: thus if we can free ourselves from weaknesses or defects and make human nature in the unit strong and helpful, nineteen-twentieths of the pests that fly about this country will starve for the want of a feeding ground. So one's life is a combat, and in proportion as we get rid of the defects and weaknesses of our nature shall we succeed in gaining our victories. A report in the newspaper this morning told us of an epidemic of typhoid in the Province of Quebec owing to the poor people drinking polluted water. One idea is to rush doctors down to the poor people afflicted, but a far better one would be to remove the cause of the epidemic and supply good water instead of bad. Instead of pulling the microbes out of people, change their conditions and habits so that the microbes can no longer put in their dirty work. Do not relax any effort for good, but at the same time see that all the elements are so used as to favor the good and so give little chance for the deleterious matter to find lodgment or food.

I think I would not be over-serious or over-censorious if I were to say that not only in this hall but in many other halls there are good men and women shouting at the top of their voices for some legislative act to protect their own children while in their own homes they have been culpably careless in implanting the safeguards which would have kept their own children from being contaminated. I wish to say to the social workers in this and other

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Congresses that if we organize the home we make the best possible fight in that way against many of the evils of the world which prey upon human nature. I am simply pointing out two or three things that strike me as well worthy of your consideration.

Someone said that many people would not carry out the obligations into which they enter. There is the placard method and the persuasive, and while I would not neglect the former I would urge attention to the latter and better course of procedure.

I am not going to talk to you this afternoon along any special lines. When I was listening to my friends, Dr. Grant and Dr. Spence, on the reduction of licenses and the prospects opening up of success and real progress, I wondered whether we all quite appreciate the nature of the victories, and whether we thought there was nothing more to be done. The people have voted year in and year out, and generation in and generation out, and it is along this line chiefly that I have indicated in not too broad a definition that our people will still have to vote and still have to be pressed to pursue the right way in the next and every generation succeeding us. Human nature is a great benefactor to human nature as long as it exists in its present form, which will be until the millennium comes, after which we need not bother ourselves. One thing I will say, maybe it is not necessary, there is not a bit of use fighting for your cause unless you mean to enforce any provisions in the law made for carrying out your convictions. Instead of fighting each other, let us join against the common enemy. How much temperance reformers might have gained if they had been united! Some of them will not take what they can get, because they cannot get the whole. Let us all join hands with the common people, they are the power to-day, and if we are to do anything effective we must carry public opinion with us. I do not think there is the same spirit of fight in us that there was in the old pioneers thirty, forty, nay even eighty, years ago. They believed in principles and held true to them; now we have men like the one who will not go a step because he does not believe in the three-fifths clause. I am not particularly strong on points like that, though at the same time I note that you owe something to the strengthening of the law by the adoption of that clause. I noted, when all the victories were enumerated and all the unsuccessful attacks recounted, that only in the instance of one single small municipality did the temperance forces, having once gained new ground, have to retire. To what extent these things are due to the three-fifths clause (Voices: "Not at all."). There you are trying to put me right when I think I know a little bit better than you do. At the same time, you

don't put me out of temper in the least. I have always found that it was less difficult to get the vote of the people than to keep their votes. I have found a little bit of enthusiasm at the right moment very good, but sometimes enthusiasm may be misdirected. Whatever you do, do not forget the national point of view. We all know and deplore the fact that there are growing evils in this Christian country to-day. We require all your help and all your forces to make things better. Do not depend too much on legislation, but rely a good deal on your own efforts. All these social endeavors are good, and the more men, women, boys, and girls, you can sweep into your efforts, and the stronger you can make your movement, the greater is likely to be your progress. We believe strongly that Christian abstinence is going to do much for this new nation in a new health, in a regained heaven.

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TEMPERANCE PROGRESS.

ALDERMAN F. S. SPENCE, OF TORONTO.

It is a pleasure, as well as a great honor, to address this Congress and to congratulate its promoters on the splendid success with which their efforts have been met. It is an extra pleasure to meet on the platform the chairman of this afternoon and recall the occasions when we stood shoulder to shoulder in many a fight in the cause of temperance. It is a further pleasure to join the members of this great Congress in rejoicing over the splendid victories that have been won.

We are advancing all along the line, and there is full justification for our note of rejoicing. This great work is fundamental in Christian civilization and its progress therefore is a matter of more than ordinary interest. We can only have full civil rights, full social justice, full personal liberty, by restraining the vicious and selfish from doing wrong to others. This is the legal embodiment of the golden rule of duty to our fellowmen. It is the basis of all constitutional government, of all true national and imperial greatness. We cannot narrow it down. For it, statesmen have toiled, soldiers have fought, fleets have been organized, democracies have stood. We look across the water to-day and see great parliamentarians working it out, trying to give every man a chance, framing better land laws, providing old age pensions, insuring working men against unemployment, sickness and accident. It will have even more attention in the future than in the past. This great gospel of liberty is the meaning of this temperance movement, this movement for the promotion of good by the suppression of evil.

We have much to encourage us. We have won many victories. We are going on with the fight, and we mean to conquer. The best of our young manhood and our young womanhood are engaged in the cause. While they have done something in European countries, the movement has not taken hold of the hearts of the people in the same way as on this continent. Just look for a minute at the record of the last few years in the United States. People were accustomed to the prohibitory legislation of Maine, Kansas and North Dakota. Who would have thought five years ago that this would have already extended to Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, West Virginia and Okla-

homa? State-wide prohibition has been adopted in all these. Out of a population of ninety-two millions, more than forty-six millions are living under prohibitory law. What are we doing in Canada as compared with the States? Well, we have Prince Edward Island under Provincial prohibition, Nova Scotia has a new Provincial law under which, in all probability, the whole Province will be brought in the near future. In any event, we have all except the city of Halifax, and there are only fifty-five licenses in that city. The fight is now on in Halifax and we cannot doubt the result. In New Brunswick ten out of the fifteen counties are under prohibition, and there are only 137 liquor licenses in the whole province. Coming to the Province of Quebec, we find that the Catholic clergy are shoulder to shoulder with their Protestant brethren in this fight, and out of eleven hundred and sixty-eight parishes, prohibition has been carried in eight hundred and fifty-nine, leaving only three hundred and nine where liquor licenses are still the rule. The traffic is doomed in those parishes in the near future. Then we come to Ontario, where we have three hundred and sixty-eight municipalities under local option, and we ought to have at least a hundred more, for in them the principle was carried by a majority vote that did not come up to the three-fifths required. There are one hundred and forty-nine more municipalities where public opinion is so strong against the liquor traffic that no licenses are granted. The efforts of the liquor traffic to repeal local option have only succeeded in one little municipality in five years. It is not so very long ago since the licenses in Ontario numbered six thousand one hundred and eighty-five, and now they are less than fifteen hundred. I went across the line the other day and I found on enquiry that there are as many licenses in the city of Buffalo as in the whole Province of Ontario. Do you not call this wonderful progress?

There is a vast extent of evil yet to be overcome. Having told you of progress, let me tell you of the need. During the last twelve months in my own home city of Toronto the police arrested no less than sixteen thousand people for drunkenness. You may say that some of these were arrested over and over again, but granting that, think of the many not arrested at all, and you will find that these figures are below the actual facts. Something of the same condition prevailing in Toronto prevails also in Ottawa, Montreal and other cities throughout the Dominion. There is plenty of room for more preaching of the gospel of temperance. We can't call our Christian civilization what it ought to be so long as we tolerate this system of licensing. If we want to do

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something practical, here it is at our hand. It is a great thing to find men and women fighting on in such a contest for the love of their fellow human beings. We are carrying on this contest in such a way that we shall soon show our parliamentarians that the vote in favor of prohibition is overwhelming, and then they will be compelled to give us what we ask. From the provinces where we are winning all along the line, we shall go to the Dominion, and we are looking forward to wiping out the traffic from amongst us.

We must bring our influence to bear upon political conventions. We know how these meetings are carried on. We know that before a candidate is selected there is a party gathering in each town by both sides. At each of these party meetings you may be sure that whether the temperance workers are there or not, the other side are fully represented, and their influence is felt when the candidate is chosen. Now, what we want is that the temperance people be effectively represented at these party conventions, and then the candidates selected will be men in favor of temperance legislation.

Take a typical constituency in the Province of Ontario. If there are fifty liquor sellers in that constituency, they and their friends will act together. If there are fifty churches in the same constituency, you will find that the workers of those fifty churches are divided and actuated by different motives. If they could be united, no power that the liquor sellers could bring to bear could stand against them. I don't wish to say anything against party organizations. Indeed, I think we might use them more than we do, for great moral uplift work, but we want to see more union in temperance and other moral effort amongst our church workers. We know that fifty God-fearing men, united in wise, earnest effort, could control the political action of either party in any Canadian constituency. The sentiment of the country is sound, but we fail to give it political expression.

This is an enterprise in which we can ask for the co-operation of the churches. I most heartily commend it to the members of the Social Service Congress, and I am sure it will not be recommended to you in vain.

THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

REV. H. R. GRANT, NEW GLASGOW, NS.

The Temperance Alliances in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island are in hearty accord with the policy of the Dominion Alliance, which is, that Provincial Alliances work for Provincial prohibition, and at the same time co-operate to obtain a Dominion-wide law for the destruction of the liquor traffic.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

In 1900, Prince Edward Island led the way in the matter of Provincial prohibition by the enactment of "The Prohibition Act." The law was not as effective as desired, nor is it now as stringent as some prohibition measures, the Nova Scotia Temperance Act, for instance; but it has been strengthened by amendments from year to year, and will be still further improved.

The enforcement of the Act has been at times unsatisfactory, and especially during the past two years.

A fair idea as to the advantages of prohibition may be obtained from an editorial published in the Charlottetown Guardian, when enforcement was in the hands of capable officials. It says:

"All the evils predicted to result from Prohibition have failed to materialize. It was said Prohibition would only lead to more drunkenness; that we should have no decent hotels, that it would injure trade, and so on. We have reduced the arrests for drunkenness to one-fourth or one-fifth of what they were under license; trade is better and larger, payments are more prompt, we have better hotels, better streets and sidewalks, better fire and light service than ever before!

"Doubters have been convinced and former opponents converted to Prohibition. The law has the support of all the better element of the people and of the clergy, Protestant and Catholic alike. 'It has made good!' No political party, and no man of either party among our thirty members of the Legislature has in seven years past, or will now, propose to repeal it. The liquor interest has almost ceased to be a political factor in the city or province.

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"Many a poor drunkard has lived to bless the prohibitory law, while wives and children bless it, too. The temperance people unanimously declare it to be the best weapon yet placed in their hands with which to fight the liquor trade."

The Wine and Spirit Journal of Canada, in an article in the July number, 1912, bore testimony to the Island Act as follows:

"Take the case of Prince Edward Island. When Prohibition came in force there, the 'trade' ceased, became extinct. What liquor is sold there is sold by the hooligan element. The difficulty is re-establishing the license system in any place once it is obliterated. The moral is: Fight Prohibition from the start."

When liquor dealers raise the battle-cry, "Fight Prohibition from the start," temperance workers may well unite under the call, "Fight for Prohibition to the finish."

The President of the P. E. I. Alliance, in reply to a request for a brief statement of the outlook for prohibition, says: "We have every reason to believe the law will be better enforced and conditions improved."

NEW BRUNSWICK.

The Province of New Brunswick has outlawed the liquor traffic in nine counties by the Scott Act, and in one county by Local Option. In the remaining five counties it is licensed. New Brunswick has 111 retail licenses, 9 wholesale importing houses, 23 wholesale houses, and 3 breweries. By counties the licenses are distributed as follows:

	Retail.	Wholesale.	Breweries.
St. John County.....	59	14	3
Madawaska.....	25	5	
Gloucester.....	14	1	
Victoria.....	10	3	
Kent.....	3		
	—	—	—
	111	23	3

The Provincial Alliance is carrying on a campaign for prohibition. Within a few years New Brunswick will be covered by prohibitory legislation.

NOVA SCOTIA.

In the Province of Nova Scotia nine-tenths of the people are under prohibitory, and one-tenth under license legislation. The one-tenth live in Halifax, the nine-tenths in the rest of the Province. Prohibitory legislation is in the form of the Scott Act,

and the Nova Scotia Temperance Act. The Scott Act is law in ten counties, the Nova Scotia Temperance Act throughout the other eight, with the exception of Halifax, which is under the Liquor License Act. There are 46 licensed bar rooms in the city, 5 wholesale houses and 3 breweries.

There is a movement on at present to repeal the Scott Act and the Liquor License Act, and thus bring the whole Province under the Temperance Act. This Act was placed on the Statutes in 1910 as an outcome of agitation carried on by the Temperance Alliance. The action of the Government in taking this forward step in the matter of temperance legislation has been greatly appreciated by temperance workers. Since 1910, at each session of the Legislature the Act has been improved by amendments, until now we have admittedly the best prohibition measure in the Dominion. During this session of the House of Assembly, the Government will be asked to assume full responsibility for its enforcement. We hold that the Government's power to enforce should be exercised everywhere within the Province, and certainly in those sections where the local sentiment is not sufficient to sustain a rigid enforcement.

We expect that in Scott Act counties the campaigns now on for repeal of that Act, and in the city of Halifax the agitation for the abolition of licenses, will be successful, and thus in about one year the Temperance Act will be operative, and thoroughly enforced, over the entire Province.

THE ALLIANCE PROGRAMME.

The work of temperance reform in the Maritime Provinces is being carried on along well-defined lines.

I. Educational Work.

Emphasis is laid upon the work of the various temperance organizations. To their activities during past years, and to the work of the churches, is due the strong temperance and prohibition sentiment that prevails.

We have a very potent factor, tending to the promotion of temperance sentiment, in the teaching in the public schools as to the effects of alcohol on the human system. To the Women's Christian Temperance Union we are indebted for this method of inculcating the principles of total abstinence.

We are now endeavoring to persuade our Provincial Governments to supplement this teaching, by supplying the public schools

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with placards, printed in large type, upon which will be set forth in attractive style, statistics, epigrams and mottoes showing the evil effects of the use of alcoholic drinks.

Literature is distributed by the Dominion Government, calling the attention of the people to the danger of certain pests that attack the fruit crops, and the root crops. Why should not the Governments, Federal and Provincial, send out placards dealing with the alcohol pest that attacks the boy? There is a boy canker as well as a potato canker. Governments will devote more attention to this phase of the question, when more fully persuaded that their highest function is not protecting our industries, saving our forests, encouraging agriculture, promoting transportation, but caring for the greatest natural resource, the largest asset of the nation—the child in the public school.

II. Rescue Work.

A very necessary place in the programme of temperance reform is that given to rescue or reformatory work. We lag behind Quebec and Ontario in this respect. We have asked the Government in Nova Scotia to provide facilities for the care and cure of inebriates. Something practical should be done to assist men who have been to any degree unfitted for the work of life, as a result in part, at least, of our toleration and our protection of the liquor business. Many men could be reclaimed, hundreds of women and children would be made comfortable, if we had an institution where the victims of drink could have suitable treatment, under necessary restraint. Of course, it may be said, "Destroy the drunkard-making traffic, and we will have no victims." Yes, but we must deal with existing conditions, until the traffic is destroyed. The victims of drink are with us. They walk our streets and fill our jails. They should be cared for, as the blind are cared for. The victim of alcohol needs treatment as surely as the victim of diphtheria or tuberculosis.

We hope, therefore, that ere long there will be established in each of our provinces an institution for those who have been injured by drink. There are many who would voluntarily go to such a place for treatment. Others who have become enslaved might be sent under order of the magistrates for a sufficiently long term to have a cure effected. During their stay at the institution they could be provided with work, and all, or part, of their earnings, until they return home, might be available for those dependent upon them. As a Christian people, it is surely our duty

to see that victims of drink should be given every opportunity to become sober and useful citizens.

III. Political Action.

In the work of temperance reform we have always held that "the force of law should favor sobriety." As the late Cardinal Manning has said: "It is mere mockery to ask us to put down drunkenness by moral and religious means, when the legislator facilitates the multiplication of the incitements to intemperance on every hand." The fact that the liquor traffic is fostered by legislation has brought the temperance question into the realm of practical politics in Nova Scotia. We have, time and again, waited upon our Governments to secure the enactment of more satisfactory legislation. We have made the temperance question an issue in more than one election, and more than once the temperance forces have won out. This, with other agencies, led the Government to consider the question more seriously, with the result that the Nova Scotia Temperance Act was placed upon the Statutes, thanks to the good judgment of a Premier who did not wake up too late to see the trend of public opinion.

To obtain suitable legislation for the abolition of the liquor traffic, temperance workers must make their ballots count in election campaigns. They must go into politics. As affirmed some time ago by the Toronto Globe: "All this talk about taking, or keeping, the temperance question out of politics is nonsense. It is nonsense of a particularly shallow and insincere sort. If it were not so shallow it would see that politics, which is the science of government, must in the very nature of things in a democracy, have to do with all measures of economic and social reform. It would see, too, that temperance reform is most essentially a question of politics. It is involved in the science and the art of government."

"The Trade" in Politics.

The Temperance question is in politics. The trade endeavors to wield political influence. And why not? The liquor interests know that the question of the life or death of the barroom, the life or death of the traffic, is a question of legislation. They know that synods, conferences, associations, church assemblies, cannot make legislation. They know that is the work of the politicians, legislators, statesmen. Therefore, they try to bring influence to bear upon legislators to prevent the enactment of such legislation as may be used for the destruction of the liquor traffic; and so long as the liquor dealers can have their own way in the legislative

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halls of our Dominion, the liquor traffic will not be destroyed. So long as politicians can afford to disappoint the churches, in the matter of legislation, rather than incur the wrath of the liquor dealers, just so long may we expect the liquor traffic to flourish.

The Outlook for the Future.

But that period of time is going to be of short duration. The outlook for the temperance forces is bright. Our politicians, our statesmen, at any rate, see that it is the duty of the Government to crystallize into legislation the moral sentiment created by the churches, and to enforce that legislation, and no politician, no statesman in Nova Scotia is so obtuse, so blind, as not to know and see that the sentiment against the traffic is overwhelming, and that it is poor politics not to abolish absolutely, with properly enforced legislation, a traffic which is admitted on all sides to be an economic and moral curse. It is reported that the Emperor of Germany has said: "In the next war, victory will lie with the nation that uses the smallest amount of alcohol," and it may be said of Nova Scotia and, we believe, ere long, of this Dominion, regarding coming elections, Provincial and Federal, "victory will lie with the political candidates who can be depended upon, and the party which can be depended upon, to give the people the best measure of prohibition."

And so to insure the enactment of satisfactory legislation, temperance should be an issue in every election, and law-abiding Christian citizens from Atlantic to Pacific should unite without regard to party affiliations, and elect men who will give to our Province and our Dominion such legislation, Provincial and Federal, as we require for the abolition of the drink traffic.

And we have reason to believe that the day is not far distant when the temperance workers will obtain that desired legislation; we have every encouragement as to the final and speedy triumph of our cause. We have encouragement in the attitude of the industrial leaders, labor leaders, medical authorities and other forces arrayed against alcoholism. And we have encouragement in the practical support given in recent years to temperance reform by our Canadian statesmen. This surely is a token of coming victory; and permit me to emphasize this, and express on behalf of Maritime Province temperance workers, our high appreciation of that support, and to say that when the Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons in 1911, decided not to have intoxicants served on his table during his term of office, when he and his wife carried their principles, as total abstainers, into official life, temperance workers from end to end of the Dominion

were greatly gratified. And we have been encouraged by the attitude of the Hon. the Premier of Quebec and his Government, regarding temperance legislation. And it gives us great satisfaction to see the Hon. the leader of the Opposition in Ontario campaigning for the abolition of the bar. And the Hon. the Postmaster-General has heartened our workers by excluding the carriage of liquor from the parcel post and by further promoting abstinence on the part of mail carriers and clerks in his department. And the Hon. the Minister of Railways has greatly assisted in the enforcement of temperance legislation by issuance of an order a year ago to all agents and employees of the I. C. R. that officers of the law be given access to all premises where freight is kept in order to search for and seize liquor improperly shipped in contravention of the laws in force in our Provinces. And the Hon. the Minister of Militia has won the commendation of temperance workers in the Dominion for safeguarding the young men who meet for annual drill, by prohibiting the use of liquor in the canteen, and for his outspoken declarations, on public and state occasions, in favor of total abstinence.

When our statesmen thus favor our cause, when the leaders in the industrial and labor world, when medical authorities, when the press and the pulpit join hands in smiting the liquor traffic, it is not unreasonable to predict that Temperance Reform will advance with such rapid strides that the cry: "A barless Canada in 1920" may be realized.

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SUPERVISED CONTROL OF THE YOUNG.

COL. THE HON. SAM. HUGHES, MINISTER OF MILITIA.

The first duty of a soldier is to obey. I wanted to be allowed to sit on the platform and obtain a little inspiration from the other speakers before I undertook the task of addressing such a large and intelligent audience as the one I see before me this afternoon. My senior officer, however, orders me into the arena, and of course there is nothing for it but for me to proceed with the few words I mean to say to you this afternoon without any delay. I do not know exactly what you have been talking about, but I do know this Congress has met to consider some of our pressing social problems, and I am delighted to be with you and encourage you in such work. I am glad to note that you have Brother Spence on the platform, and I doubt not you have learnt something from him on the progress of temperance throughout the Dominion. As an old student of history, it has been my fortune, or misfortune, to study the various changes in the nations, and the various efforts put forward on their behalf. It is remarkable to note that many of the matters which are pressing on us to-day were pressing questions thousands of years ago. Nations have risen and nations have fallen, but social questions are ever to the front. You will find in history that all responsible governments have attached much importance to discipline and shown this through disciplined youths. Now I may be all wrong, but that is the way I look at history, and I think it highly important that in this growing Dominion we should have our young people set to work upon right lines under supervised control. Now you know I am supposed to be a man of war, but really I am the most inoffensive individual in the world. I have a standing challenge to produce an instance where war has been the outcome of such a supervised control as I advocate. What I want to see in Canada is a virile young manhood, which, I think, can best be produced by training the young under proper supervision.

Since I took charge of the Department of Militia we have made good progress in that direction. Our drill halls, which we are establishing in all centres of population, provide the meeting places for young people and enable the work to be carried on in the most effective way under supervised control. The cadet corps are increasing in numbers and influence, and as long as they do that we need not fear any system of caste or special classes pre-

vailing in this country. We do not take these young people from the industries of the country and make an idle class of them, but we incorporate them into our militia system, thus making that system more effective than it has ever been. We need only look for an illustration of the effect of this work to South Africa, and we in Canada can, with supervised control, do equally effective training. As one instance of the good results of this work none of our cadets have ever come before a police court. You see they learn to spend their recreative hours to advantage and not waste them uselessly or in ways that are a good deal worse than waste. We have done much to make this system thorough, and although we have a good deal more to do, we are steadily progressing. The lessons of discipline are most valuable, and to none more than the young. One other good point is that it leads these young men to become good athletes. The chairman and myself are both old athletes, and we realize the value of an athletic training. You will be interested in these points from the view that they discourage the use of intoxicating liquor. The athletic games, the strict discipline and effective control could not be carried out with men who used intoxicants too freely.

For this reason we have done away with the wet canteens in our various training camps. We have no use at all for the toper. So far as reports go we have found the abolition of the wet canteen to be a great advantage, and there is no likelihood at all of a reversal of policy on this point, and certainly not as long as I hold the office of Minister of Militia. Our training camps are now places to which we can invite outsiders with all confidence. I hope any members of this conference who may be within reach of a training camp during the coming summer will make it a duty to visit such a camp and see for themselves just what has been done and how the present state of things compares with the past. If you will do that I think you will agree that the young men, from whatever homes they may come, may be safely entrusted to us. Their training will assist sober habits and enable them often to present a firm front to temptation. I believe the country to be in sympathy with this policy, which we intend steadily to pursue. Only yesterday I received a petition signed by twelve hundred and fifty farmers residing in the neighborhood of Leamington asking for a drill hall in that centre. These men realized the value of physical training under control. There is a vast difference between young people who run round the streets as they please and those who, under supervised control, spend their leisure hours to some profit. It has been suggested that the churches of the land can do good service

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along the lines I have indicated, and I believe the men of this conference could also render effective assistance. The money spent in this work is well spent and it will return good dividends for the Canadian people. We are not amongst the heavily burdened nations of the world, and we can well afford to do this work on behalf of our young people. Supervised control means that they will realize their individual responsibility, they will understand the value of obedience and they will observe the laws, and in these and other ways make the country to which they belong better and richer for their existence.

THE W. C. T. U. PROGRAMME.

MRS. SARA ROWELL WRIGHT, PRESIDENT W. C. T. U. OF CANADA.

Of course not any of you will for one moment suppose that I am here to supply for my brother. Sister-like I think no one in the world can do that. I, however, fill a special niche, and I feel it is a place of opportunity and privilege, as leader of the White Ribboners of Canada. First of all to-night I want to thank you for the splendid vote you gave this afternoon for two resolutions in particular in which I was very much interested. One was the resolution relative to the abolition of the cigarette, and I cannot tell you how gratified I was, because I felt as if with a very great grace I could ask you what I want to ask you now. I suppose most of you know that at present the Dominion W. C. T. U. has a bill before our Federal Government, which has already passed its first reading in the House, pointing to the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of the cigarette in Canada. I observe that our old adversary, the Tobacco Trust, is employing its old custom of trying to ridicule the bill and the mover out of existence. So I am going to ask all those interested—and what father and mother in our Dominion could be other than interested in the passage of a bill which has for its only object the safeguarding of the youth, the children, the child-life of our Dominion—to strengthen the hands of Andrew Broder, who was brave and courageous enough to move the bill, and who I see has come in for more than a fair share of ridicule, just because he did this heroic thing. Now, I want you to tell him you are interested and that you hope it will pass. I am not asking for very much, after all, for a line or two will do it, and no stamp is necessary; so please just send a letter to your member; if you are a man, all the better, for that means a vote, which in these days counts, and you know it, and so do I.

Sometimes I think we do not realize the extent of this traffic in Canada. When I was just a private in the rear ranks of this movement I was chosen to come down to Ottawa in 1898, when we first went before the Government, and we told the then Laurier Government that 76,000,000 cigarettes had been smoked in Canada that year. We women thought that was an enormous number; but alas that the tale has so multiplied! In the year 1910-11 there were 585,000,000 cigarettes smoked; and last year 200,-

000,000 more cigarettes were smoked in Canada than in any previous year. Now, it does not seem as if it should be necessary to elaborate in any sense on those figures, because they tell such a manifest story. They tell this story, fathers and mothers, that somewhere the child-life of our land is being undermined in such frightful fashion that death—mental death, moral death, physical death—must inevitably result unless checked. I need not remind this audience that the highest function of legislation is to make it as easy as possible for everyone to do right and as difficult as possible for everyone to do wrong. So we have no apology to offer that we, the members of the Dominion W. C. T. U., have been the instruments to bring that bill to the attention of our Federal Government. Surely I need not even remind you that this consideration—the consideration of making it as easy as possible to do right—far transcends in importance the extension and exploitation of our great Dominion. Greater far is it in importance than its commercial resources, its waterways, the resources of mine or forest or water powers. So we feel that we are not alone appealing to the Federal Government, but we are appealing to the fatherhood of Canada; and surely the fatherhood of Canada will not be unresponsive.

I wish I had time to tell you of the many departments of our work. Primarily we were organized for the abolition of the liquor traffic, and I can truthfully say that through the years we have faithfully followed the gleam. Some of you may have thought that we have been detracked by side-issues. Ah, not so, for we have learned with heartache that there were many streams, all tributary to the dark gulf stream of intemperance; and that is why we are agitating for the cigarette bill, and that is why our organization from coast to coast stands almost a unit for the enfranchisement of women. Why should we not? During all the time since ever liquor was introduced women have ever and always been its chief sufferers. Its sword has pierced her very soul; she has again and again seen the lord of her life, her husband, transformed into a veritable beast through its malignant spell; and if there be one thing harder than this I think it must be for a mother to see the idols of her soul, her own children, dragged down to the nethermost depths because of it. Did you think, dear people—I did as I sat here—that to-night there will be perhaps many mothers in this beautiful Capital City of our Dominion who will watch and wait until the night wears away and the early hours of the morning come; wait and watch for what? For steps, all unsteady, faltering, of their own sons.

Is it any wonder, then, that the W. C. T. U. ardently desires the enfranchisement of women? Why? Not from such low aims as to add a little paltry power to their positions; ah, not so, but because we realize that the ballot in the hands of the women must mean eventually the outlawry of the liquor traffic. It will mean more than that. Olive Schreiner, in her admirable work, "Women and Labor," sounds a high, clear, strong note when she enumerates the many things which she from her very soul believes will come to pass when the women of the world are enfranchised; and one of those things she predicts is that war will of necessity cease, and she adds, in pertinent fashion, "I cannot think it can cease much before then, and its discontinuance cannot be much longer delayed." And so you can understand how greatly we were encouraged by that resolution, that carried amidst tumultuous applause for the enfranchisement of women. As a woman—a mere woman, a voteless woman—I think I should have felt rather badly if you had seen fit to enfranchise your Indians—and you don't know how glad I was for that—without saying what you would have done for the women of Canada. You passed a resolution to enfranchise the Indians; and supposing your Federal Parliament did it, you would have left your mothers and wives and sisters alone with the criminals and idiots. To-day we stand with the Indians, and criminals and idiots, but we will be so glad if the women and the Indians can be enfranchised by our friends—and then that will leave the criminals and idiots. But you know that you cannot be doing a better thing for your Indians than to enfranchise them. How can we expect them to develop into the full stature of perfect manhood while we deny them the rights of citizenship? It is our fault, not theirs, that they have fallen so far below the standard.

I said the liquor traffic was at the back of so much that is evil; and as I have listened from day to day to these tremendously interesting discussions I have said to myself, "Why, the W. C. T. U. of Canada stands for very much more than I thought it stood for." We, at least in the abstract, stand for Christian socialism; that is, if Christian socialism means an effort to uplift the fallen who have fallen so low that the busy tramp of the world hurries by them unheeded; that is, if Christian socialism means to shake the shackles from the oppressed and the enslaved; that is, if Christian socialism means the desiring of all conditions to be just and equitable and fair; that is, if Christian socialism means the bringing of life and healing and peace to those who sit amid the shadows of a great darkness—then we.

of ours must be ushered in a day of better things, yea, a day when this world shall be pure as when first created, and when God himself shall declare as then, "Behold, it is very good."

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PRISON REFORM
GAMBLING
SALVATION ARMY GREETING
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN
RESOLUTIONS

<i>Chairman's Address</i>	-	REV. J. G. SHEARER, B.A., D.D.
<i>Prison Reform</i>	- -	HON. W. J. HANNA, K.C., M.L.A.
<i>Gambling</i>	-	VEN. ARCHDEACON CODY, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
<i>The Salvation Army's Greeting</i>	-	COL. S. C. MAIDMENT
<i>The National Council of Women</i>	- -	MRS. TORRINGTON
<i>Gist of the Resolutions Adopted by the Congress</i>		

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CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

REV. J. G. SHEARER, B.A., D.D.

I think it has been my privilege to know the public men of Canada in Federal or Provincial Parliaments better, at any rate, than most other ministers, and perhaps I may say better than any other; and I have frequently said what I wish to repeat now—that I think the calibre and character of our public men is exceptionally high. There are exceptions, as there are in the ministry, but the average is high; I believe the average of life, and character and ability is higher in our men in public life than it is in our men in citizenship. I have therefore no railing accusations to bring against our public men; on the other hand, I am heartily proud of many of them, and we have one of them here to-night of whom I am heartily proud. I have a very high regard for Sir James Whitney, whose recovery to health we all are thankful for; and Sir James Whitney has given to the Hon. W. J. Hanna the title of the Hon. The Provincial Secretary. I want here publicly to make to Sir James a suggestion of a change in that title, namely, that hereafter the Hon. Mr. Hanna should be known as the Hon. The Minister of Social Service. I regard Mr. Hanna, in the truest sense, as a minister of the gospel of Social Service. He has done more, perhaps, than any other man in public life in Ontario to promote social well-being. I have not asked him what his theme to-night is, but I hope he will tell us how that ministry of public service is progressing. I have great pleasure now in calling upon him.

PRISON REFORM.

HON. W. J. HANNA, K.C., M.L.A., PROVINCIAL SECRETARY OF ONTARIO.

I must thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your all too flattering introduction. I should be a very proud man indeed to-night if I could persuade myself that I merited even in some small degree the very nice things that you have taken occasion to say; and the wonder of it was that the Chairman apparently did it without any strain on his conscience, so far as I could gather, sitting behind him. I am here to-night, you will be glad to know, without anything in the way of a prepared speech. I fully expected that your programme would be observed, that Dr. Macfarland, of New York, would be here, that I, without a subject assigned, would be merely called upon to say that I was glad to be here and that I had come simply to express my sympathy with the work you have in hand and that I am glad to see and meet you all, and then to retire as graciously as I could to catch my train. Instead of that, I am here without any Dr. Macfarland, and expected to make something in the way of a deliberate talk.

Well, to start with, I want to thank Dr. Shearer for something else he said that had not reference to me, something that was in line, and that closely touches the subject that has been no doubt more or less the subject of discussion in these conferences. I have followed what has happened in the last two or three days in connection with your work; I have seen it reported from day to day in the press of this city; it has been well reported, and I doubt if much that has been put in print has not been seen by me. I was a little surprised—and I am going to take occasion here and now to give expression to that surprise—on picking up the newspaper this evening to find from the headlines and from the report that followed them an impression that is so absolutely contrary to my experience that I venture to-night to put my experience against the impression that is conveyed in that report. I am not sure that that report is correct; I don't pretend to hold anyone responsible for that report; but I do want to say that when any public man can put his signature to a letter that will state that fifty per cent. of the electorate of his constituency is corrupt, that public man does not live in the part of the province in which I reside, and that the constituency for which he is speak-

ing does not exist in the part of the Province of Ontario that I happen to know something about. I have been in public life in this province now for upwards of fifteen years; it is to-day some fifteen years since I ran my first election. I have been in close contests; I have been in contests that were not so close; I have lost constituencies by large majorities; I have won constituencies by majorities equally large. Standing to-night on this platform, and in the face of the electorate of this Province of Ontario, I want to say that never in a solitary instance have I known in those eighteen years, either on the part of the party that I have been identified with or on the part of the party that I have been opposed to through those years, a solitary vote to be purchased by a Liberal or Conservative in the constituency of West Lambton in matters Provincial or Dominion. More than that, I want to say that I think that applies equally to East Lambton. Further, I wish to say that if the impression conveyed in that report were true, at least fifty per cent. of the men who are in the public life of this Province and of this Dominion to-day would have their resignations on the desk to-morrow if they believed that they occupied their positions by reason of corrupt means practised in their constituencies.

Now, having said this much, I just leave that. I would say to your splendid organizations that you are doing splendid work, great work; you are vitalizing, energizing and putting into action the public mind of this Province of Ontario in connection with the work that you have in hand. But whatever you do, I care not whether it be in connection with election matters or whatever else it is—I should say to you now and say to you again, be careful not to publish to the world the worst, reserving for the secret places the best that you know of life in this Province and this Dominion. Now, having said this much, I perhaps have referred to the one thing in connection with this conference to which I did not feel like subscribing because I did not believe it.

Coming now to the things with which I am in very hearty accord, I look at the last page of your splendid programme. The man who is responsible for this page ought to receive the thanks of this association. You have here some eight or ten items, every item meaning much in every community in this Province, and meaning something in every Legislature of this Dominion, and for that matter in the House of Commons itself. The first item is the Sunday rest for every worker. Surely the time has come when it should not require argument that every man and woman is entitled to at least one day's rest out of the seven; no question about

that. Whether, having regard to the interests represented, it may always be possible to arrange that one day be Sunday, certain it is that there is not in the Legislature to-day, I suppose, anyone who will not concede that proposition, and who will not make that seventh day Sunday whenever it is possible to do so. Then you have here the question of proper housing—a most important subject. It is impossible for people to sit down and read and talk and work so long as you are leaving them in slums and hovels with conditions around and about them from which it is impossible for them to escape, from which they must be taken by the help of others.

What are we doing in the Province of Ontario? I am not here to-night to talk politics, but I am glad to say that we have in Ontario a housing movement that will do credit to this proposition, not only in the Province of Ontario but in this Dominion—a housing movement headed by a big man, by a good man, a man who is full of energy, who is full of brains, and who has means wherewith to back up his work; I refer to Mr. Frank Beer, of the City of Toronto, who has launched in this Province a movement that will not end with the work he has immediately in hand, and I venture to say will not end with this Province. Mr. Beer has the right idea in connection with that work, that is, not that the Province or Dominion should take hold and do the housing, put up the money, do the building; but Mr. Beer's idea in connection with this whole work is one that is sound not only in connection with the housing problem but with a lot of other problems as well. He believes that it is not for society to come and throw their problem on the threshold or the doorstep of the Government, make their speeches and run away, saying, "Thank God, that problem is solved because we have left it at the Government Buildings." The city, the town, the organization, the people who do that accomplish nothing; they do not advance their cause one step. What will advance their object is to do what Mr. Frank Beer has done in connection with housing—to come to Government if you like, and point out what is required in the way of legislation, direction, what will enable the people who are themselves face to face with the problem, who are neighbors to this problem, to work out and solve and remedy those evils and problems to the best advantage. When the people are themselves working out their own problems in connection with government you have a proposition that is possible, a proposition that will bring results. That is the condition of the housing problem as it stands in the Province of Ontario to-day.

Then you have the topic of the adequate care of dependent and defective persons. The same principle holds absolutely good; you are doing nothing when you simply tell Government that there is a percentage of defectives in Ontario that demand help; you have done little or nothing for the defectives, for the Province, or for yourselves when you simply say that and nothing more, and leave it to Government to tackle that question. These are questions that are only dealt with locally. I do not mean by two small a unit, but when they are dealt with by the county or big municipality with the aid and assistance and direction that the Government can, ought to and will give, there is co-operation at the beginning and at the end with each society, each district, if you please, doing its utmost to solve its own difficulties with the aid that Government is always ready to give.

Now, as to the reclamation of criminals. I do not know whether Dr. Shearer knew what he was guilty of when he almost suggested that I would perhaps say a word in this direction. He did not venture to say "Prison Reform," and I was glad of that, but I want to say that in connection with criminals we have been doing something in the Province of Ontario. We have had in this Province a bit of experience, and it may not perhaps be amiss if this audience asks the question, "How is that work getting on?" Where are we at present? What has the last two years taught in the way of experience? Are the expectations of three or four years being met? Are we encouraged to go on and on? Has the thing passed the experimental stage? These are questions that some in this audience might be interested in having briefly answered, if I may venture on an answer to-night. Now, what have we done in the way of legislation? It may not be generally known—because a good many things have been done in this Province and this Dominion that perhaps have not been sufficiently advertised. That is due to our own modesty—we are naturally that way; can't help it; but, do you know, some of the things we have done in the way of legislation are perhaps well worth mentioning.

One of the things is that we have had on the statute books of this Province and this Dominion for some eight or ten months the indeterminate sentence. It is some months in this Province since anyone was committed to an Ontario institution otherwise than by reason of and under the influence of the indeterminate sentence. What does the indeterminate sentence mean, backed up as it is by the Dominion of Canada? The section of the Criminal Code that covers that provides that a judge may sentence to the institution for three months and that the prisoner

shall remain there until such time as he may be let out by reason of his conduct or otherwise, but not exceeding two years beyond the three months. That means that we have but three months certain, and then we have two years more, if you please, in which that prisoner may, by reason of his conduct, find that that two years is two months. He may find it six, he may find it eight, he may find it the whole two years. We have some other things in the way of legislation that it may not be wrong to mention, as I gather from something that was said that there was some misunderstanding with regard to that. In connection with the Mercer Institute in Toronto, we have provision by enactment that women committed there, notwithstanding that their sentences may have been served, if there are reasons of health or other reasons that make it proper that they should be continued there until they go out healthy and whole, we have a right to detain them there.

Now, what about our prisons? I am not going back to the beginning, some five years ago, but I will tell you where the prisoners are to-night and as nearly as I can what they have been doing to-day and where they have been doing it. In the Province of Ontario to-day we have in custody about 700 prisoners. Were it not for what we have done in the past few years for prison reform, we would have in the Central Prison in Toronto to-night some 700 prisoners; but they are not there. Some 300 of them are at the farm at Guelph, and every man of them has been working hard all day, breathing the good fresh air of out-doors, having all the sunlight that there was to-day, and they have had good wholesome meals, and those 300 are to-night sleeping on cots of their own after a hard day's work well done.

Out at Mimico, west of Toronto, there are 45 others. A number of my auditors are from the City of Toronto; do you know the awful menace that is at your door there, just to the west of the city? Just to the north of the Grand Trunk tracks and switchyards, with 45 tracks on one side of the fence and 45 prisoners on the other, and the fence down? Those prisoners went there on the 12th of July last; we had a procession—from the Central Prison—it just so happened that it was a 12th of July procession—and we proceeded to build a brickyard, because we needed, for different institutions in the Province during the next three years, about 12,000,000 of brick, which means 20,000 brick per day for 200 days in the year for three years in succession. Those 45 prisoners went out to Mimico with two or three cotton tents, and we got busy, with the result that for six months past we have been

turning out of that brickyard in the neighborhood of 20,000 bricks per day, and we are shipping them to Whitby, Orillia, London—to where good bricks are required in the construction of public buildings in this Province of Ontario; and those prisoners are making every brick, and they are doing it well. What does that mean? Those 45 men said: "Surely this is the limit; here we are, alongside of as many tracks; there is practically no fence between us; here are three or four cotton tents." And they said to one another: "The man who attempts to queer this game, we will mix it up with him"—that was about the language they put it in, and every man of them understood that to break that arrangement any one of them would have trouble with those associated with him in that undertaking. It is many months since there has been a violation of discipline in connection with that institution.

Then we come to Whitby, where we have big work going on. We have had there for upwards of a year an average of 100 prisoners digging cellars, building roads and fences, under-draining land, constructing little tramways, bringing out gravel and stone, and doing other work in connection with the building of Provincial asylums, and doing work for which these same men, if they were free and out in the open, would get \$2 a day, and working just as well. Why do they work just as well? Because they are paid well for it; they are cared for well; they are directed well; and, more than that, by reason of their good behaviour they are getting a reduction in their sentence, and also getting a little something on account to help wife and children at home while they are doing this. I have thus accounted for 445. Is that all that we have out to-night? Not by any means.

A year ago last June we had up in that north country, in Port Arthur and Fort William, an exceptional lot of splendid fellows who had been engaged in the construction of the Transcontinental and the Superior Junction Railways, or in the lumber camps around that section and on the Great Lakes of Canada. You can quite understand that a great many of those men were from the lower Provinces of this Dominion, a number were from our neighbors across the line, a number were from this and other sections of Ontario, but you can quite understand that up in that new country, with that hurried, heavy, husky work to be done the men that were up there to do it were a splendid lot. It not unfrequently happened that those men, coming in from the lumber or construction camps or the boats found themselves in trouble in Port Arthur or Fort William, and found themselves in jail with a sentence of perhaps two or three months or more for an offence

that in itself did not ordinarily brand them as vicious criminals, to say the least of it. For a long time we have had the jail there overcrowded; it is fitted for 35 or 40 prisoners, and we tried to accommodate 70 or 80 in it. It is a long way to bring prisoners from Port Arthur to Toronto; it is some hundreds of miles—as perhaps many of you have found out—of course if you travelled on a pass you did not notice distances in that way. When you have to send up there to bring a prisoner down to Toronto and then pay his way back you find you have a very expensive prisoner on your hands. What did we do? Some few years ago we asked Hon. Frank Cochrane, then Minister of Crown Lands for Ontario, to reserve from settlement some 1,000 or 1,200 acres of land some miles from Fort William. That land had not had an axe on it, and we started out from Port Arthur with a number of prisoners, who landed out there with their tents on the 6th of June, 1912, and they got busy. I am not going to detail what happened there, but from that day to this we have had on the farm at Fort William an average of from 70 to 95 prisoners. They have that thousand acres of land cleared; it is as good a thousand acres of land as I know of anywhere—and I know of some pretty good land in this Province—and I expect that before another twelve months the greater part of that land will be growing vegetables and grass and fodder and we will be feeding and fattening cattle, and that every bit of it will be earning its way. Those prisoners, as they have been working in the last two years, are not only earning their way, not only paying their maintenance, but when the time comes in this Province that we can take a separate account and give the work that those men are doing credit for the products turned out, those men will not only be maintaining themselves but earning something really worth while for the folks that are left back at home.

While we started out with some hope, with some confidence, and while we have gone along step by step, always stepping out a little farther in connection with this work, in my humble judgment we have not yet overstepped the mark. We have not had to back up to this moment; every bit of ground that we have taken up to date we are holding at this minute. Looking back on this problem to-night I want to say that while we had our days and weeks and months of anxiety with regard to this whole undertaking at the outset, it is a long time since we have had any anxiety with regard to the whole undertaking, and to-day we believe—and we say it with confidence—that we have clearly passed the experimental stage, and we know pretty nearly where

we are at in connection with the whole plan. How are we going to keep those prisoners employed? Where are we going to get work for them? We are not going to keep them piling stone, dragging it from one pile to another and back. We have discussed this problem with union labor, with organized labor, with those who have been interested—intelligently interested, I am glad to say—on the other side of the proposition.

Our proposition is this: that we are perfectly within our rights, and we are upon sound ground in this Province as a Government, so long as we use the wards of Government in producing for institutions that are wholly or in part maintained by the Government. It is not our thought to put those men into commerce in the ordinary sense, or to have them work and produce in order to send the products out into the open market against free labor; it is utterly unnecessary to do that kind of thing, for we can keep those prisoners employed in manufacturing for our own institutions, in growing and producing for those institutions, which are a very big thing in this Province. In those institutions there are, as wards of the department of which I have the honor to be the head, 9,000 people, pretty nearly all adults, men and women, it is a good sized town, and means a lot of clothing, a lot of food, a lot of necessaries, to accommodate them if we are going to keep them in comfort and in peace; and for the producing of all this you can quite understand there will be a great deal of work for those who are themselves wards of the Government.

That brings me to something else. In connection with your work here, one of the great things that you as an organization in this Province can do is to awaken, arouse, inspire, and if you please, enlighten, not only yourselves but the folks at home to see that their homes, their children and their neighbors are under sound sanitary conditions. That is very important. I notice you had Dr. Hastings here; and if you had him talking to you on that subject I venture to say he did not leave much unsaid if you gave him time. In this Province what are we doing? Don't you know that there is an awakening in the western part of the Province—and I say the western part of the Province because I know whereof I speak—there is an awakening in the towns. A demand for what?—a demand for nurses that will be available for the homes that need them but cannot afford to pay them; a demand for nurses for the public schools of the towns and in some cases the villages of the western part of the Province. Do you know that that demand has spread in the last year until there is at least one county

I know of that is demanding the inspection of the doctor and of the nurse in the rural schools of the county? That is excellent work, and it is due to such fine organizations as yours that that work can be done without awakening the resentment of the people.

Let me give you a little experience. In one county last fall it was arranged that there should be an inspection of twenty-five rural schools by a doctor and a nurse. It is not many years ago in that same county, if a doctor, an officer of the Government, and a nurse, came into any one of those rural schools, if there were twenty-five children there there would have been at least twenty mothers there with a broom each, and he would never have got inside the little gate at the road; they would not have allowed him in; they would not have stood for it; they would have said it was a charge against their community, an insult against their homes. But nothing of the kind happened in this case; there was an inspection of those twenty-five schools; the parents were invited to come, and they did come, and the children were inspected. What was the result of that inspection? In the twenty-five rural schools where the parents would have said that no doubt at least ninety per cent. of their children were sound and would have passed inspection, it was found that some sixty per cent. of the children were below a certain line that was fixed, because of defects in eyes or hearing, or adenoids, or something else. Yet there was no resentment on the part of the parents; it was rather appreciated by the parents, because it was pointed out why this result was reached and why the statement was made, and those children were so certified. A few months afterwards there was a further inspection, and what was the result? That of those sixty per cent. that were below the line on the first inspection, there were not fifteen per cent. below the line, simply because the things that were complained of were not much in themselves, though if they had been allowed to remain they would have drifted into evils that might have marked those boys and girls in after life as men and women, and the parents were glad to have them corrected.

I mention this as showing just what is happening; what is happening because—but I can't answer it, but when could you have had this association? Could you have had it a few years ago? A few years ago you would have had some preachers—some of them superannuated—and they would have talked; you would have had a few women; but now you have everybody. Why? Just because we are going ahead; and we are going ahead in the direction in which you are leading so well. There is a

whole lot more that we could say, and there is a whole lot more that we won't say. I shall simply say that I thank you for this splendid opportunity and your patience.

WHY IS IT WRONG TO GAMBLE?

VEN. ARCHDEACON CODY, M.A., D.D., LL.D., TORONTO.

The magnitude of the gambling evil is generally acknowledged. It is not the exclusive sport of the wealthy few, but a national ill, infecting all classes of society. It is not spontaneous, but is encouraged and organized by peripatetic "book-makers." Inspector Duncan estimates the yearly handbook business of Toronto alone at \$9,000,000. There is much thoughtless following of fashion, and there is more of deliberate propagation of the practice.

The social conscience is only partially awakened to the extent of the mania and its grievous consequences. Where the disease takes hold, weakened character, misery and crime result. There are reasons for the apathetic attitude adopted towards it.

1. The general public do not realize its rapid growth and the mischief it entails.
2. Unlike drunkenness, it is not overly repulsive.
3. There is a real difficulty in knowing where to draw the line between the legitimate and the illegitimate in speculation. Allowance must be made for the element of risk in all business.
4. It is hard to suggest the right practical remedy to counteract so insidious an evil. Some think that because, like sin, it seems ineradicable from human nature, nothing at all should be done.
5. There is a lack of clear thought on the ethics of the question. What is the real element of wrong in it?

WHAT SAITH THE SCRIPTURE?

In the Bible, the supreme repository of moral teaching, there is no specific prohibition of gambling. The reasons are not far to seek: (a) This is a vice to which the ancient Jews were not addicted. Their clear recognition of an over-ruling Providence, and their habitual thrift, promoted by having a stake in the soil, removed them from this particular temptation. Gambling was specially rife in countries where the Goddess of Fortune was worshipped, and practically the only references the Bible makes to this habit are in connection with heathen, such as the Roman soldiers around the cross.

(b) The moral principles inculcated in the Scriptures amply

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deal with the situation, and show that gambling is not to be approved by the healthy and educated conscience of mankind. Such words as—"The love of money is a root of every kind of evil," "Be ye kind one to another," "If any should not work neither should he eat," "Let him that stole, steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good that he may have to give to him that needeth," "Thou shalt not covet . . . that which is thy neighbour's"—imply that to appeal to chance in order to possess one's self of an unearned gain at the cost of one's neighbour, is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity.

WHAT IS GAMBLING?

1. We must *distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate transactions in commerce and on the Stock Exchange*. As society grows more complex, differentiation of function becomes necessary. Special persons must effect the transference of capital from one enterprise or one individual to another. This is the proper function of the Stock Exchange. Moreover, in the effort to win control over nature for the supply of the needs of large populations, the necessary forces of human intelligence and industry must be directed by men of experience, judgment, foresight, splendid audacity. In all such commercial experiments, great risks must be run, certainties must be staked upon uncertainties, present possessions must be hazarded for future gains.

The legitimate speculations of business and experiment are distinguished from illegitimate speculation of gambling by these notes:—

- (a) The former demand and develop the highest activities of men's judgment and reason; the latter tends to eliminate them.
- (b) The former benefit the community as well as the individual by extending man's control over nature for the supply of human wants. They add something to the general store of wealth and convenience.
- (c) The legitimate enterprise is really an act of faith in the order and rationality of the universe, not an appeal to chance. It serves to guard against the element of uncertainty; whereas the very fascination of gambling depends on the cutting out of the element of reason.

2. A bet may be defined as "*a stake upon chance for gain without labor*." Gambling is contracting to give or receive money or goods without a just equivalent in exchange, and upon conditions that are for the most part beyond the foresight or control of the

parties engaged in the transaction. Bishop Westcott has given this definition: "It is the habitual seeking of personal gain through another's loss, though with his consent, without making any adequate return for what they received or adding anything to the sum of their common wealth." To put the case in still another way, we may describe it as the determination of the ownership of property by appeal to chance, chance being equivalent to the resultant of the play of natural forces which cannot be controlled or calculated.

Just in proportion as the elements of skill and judgment are eliminated, will gambling be "pure" and "unadulterated"; so far as the determining power of chance is qualified by skill and judgment, gambling will be "mixed."

3. Gambling is thus seen to be the perversion of certain natural and proper human instincts, and an attempt to satisfy them in a wrong way. At its root there lie these instincts:—

- (a) *The desire for money.* Money can procure much that men rightly desire—security for self and others against want, freedom from anxiety about primal needs, comfort, leisure, education, influence over others, the power of realizing worthy projects. If these ambitions are directed to unselfish and God-like ends, they are not wrong in themselves. But when hard toilers see great wealth often accumulated without effort by the appeal to chance, they may be strongly tempted to seek this short and easy road to riches.
- (b) *An instinct for conquest.* Man was commanded to subdue nature. He cannot pit himself against the forces of the world and conquer them, unless he is willing to run some risk, take some hazard, make some draft on the unknown. To all progress the spirit of adventure would seem indispensable. This spirit finds apt expression in the lines of the Marquis of Montrose, who was himself a romantic embodiment of the love of hazard:—
- "He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who does not put it to the touch
Or gain or lose it all."
- (c) *The love of freedom.* Strict discipline, though good and often needful, may provoke a reaction, when an opportunity of free expression is presented. Men at times chafe under all rules and regulations, and forget that perfect freedom comes only through obedience to the

highest law. They think interest is added to life by the unexpected, which results from having a "moral fling."

- (d) *The love of excitement.* Much life is grey and monotonous. Mechanical toil, unrelieved by other interests, tends to deaden the emotional and imaginative life. Men rightly protest against being made machines. They crave room for some emotion and imagination. If this legitimate craving is denied healthy satisfaction, it will dispose men to gambling and intoxication as the readiest means of stimulating the emotional life.

THE WRONG OF GAMBLING.

Whatever difficulty may arise in seeking to prove that gambling or betting is wrong in itself, it is easy to show that the natural and ultimate effects are evil. That cannot be right which imperils the moral life of the individual and the well-being of society.

Gambling is wrong because

1. *It does not take proper account of the stewardship of money.* It ignores our responsibilities for the use of the money God has entrusted to us. We may easily afford to lose our stake, but have we the right to spend our money in this way? We get nothing for it. We do no good with it. It is waste, sheer waste. And no one, in the sight of God, ought to use money in the way of utter waste. Money is "stored-up personality"; it is the price of life. To waste it is as though one drew life blood and poured it on the ground. In man's relation to his fellows, he can't morally do "what he will with his own"; he ought so to use it as not to injure, but rather to help another. To lose money by betting or gambling is awful waste in a world full of such needs as ours. In relation to God, who has given us all we hold, this misuse of money is a violation of trust. We should plainly call it so if the money lost belonged to some one else; what should we call it, when the money lost belongs to God? Is it not an *anarchical use of money*? It has been aptly said that "the man who puts his solemn responsibilities for the use of money upon the back of a horse, or into a pack of shuffled cards, is doing more to weaken the public sense of the sacredness of property and to discredit its possessors, than all the revolutionary literature of our time put together."

2. *It tends to destroy all proper conception of the rights of property.* It confuses our thought on this important subject. If the ownership of property is to be decided by an appeal to chance—the throw of dice, the shuffle of cards, the issue of a race—we can have no sound view of our own or other men's right to property

of any kind. This appeal to chance is wrong for a rational being until he has used to the utmost his own judgment and reason, his highest judicial equipments.

It denies all system in the apportionment of property. It is based on an organized rejection of reason as a factor in the transference of wealth and as such strikes at the root of sound commercial dealing.

It substitutes feeble chance for strenuous effort. Money, which in ideal stands for labor and power, should pass from man to man only as the symbol of some worthy putting forth of energy and life. Except in the way of charity, money should not be given or received without something behind it that has the show of an equivalent or earning. To take money which has become yours by no employment of your manly vigor and capacity to work, and which has ceased to belong to some one else not by his willing acceptance of an equivalent, will tend to lower self-respect and to degrade manliness.

3. *It tends to degrade or kill what should be manly sport.* When a man says he does not care for a game on which no money is staked, he has ceased to be a whole-hearted lover of sport. The sport itself, whatever it is, has ceased to be of prime interest to one who has staked a large amount on the issue. The chief consideration is no longer sport, but money-getting, and betting under such circumstances as taints the gains. It is a curious degradation of the word to apply the term "sport" not to the man who plays for play's sake, but to the man who watches the play for a money stake. True patrons of horse-racing and of all manly and exhilarating amusements should seek to redeem the honor of real sport from all that tends to lower it to a mere carnival of greed, fraud and trickery. No money issues were allowed to corrupt the athletic contests in the heroic days of Greece. Said the Persian King to Mardonius: "What sort of men have you brought us to fight against, who strive not for money but for honor!" The introduction of money proved fatal. Philip of Macedon encouraged gambling among the Greeks because "it corrupted their minds, and made them docile under his rule." Surely we are not to-day reduced to the alternative of sports with gambling or no sports at all.

4. *It threatens the well-being of society.* Men can live together in society only by suppressing certain anti-social tendencies, and cultivating certain social virtues. Gambling is essentially anti-social and makes for the disintegration of the community.

(a) *It seeks personal gain through another's loss; profit from another's misery.* It takes a man's money without giving him an adequate return. "Betting and gambling stand in exactly the

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same relation to stealing as duelling does to murder. In both cases, the consent of the victim and the chance of being the successful offender do not alter the moral character of the act." Herbert Spencer, in his "Study of Sociology," makes these pertinent remarks: "Gambling is a kind of action by which pleasure is obtained at the cost of the pain of another. The normal attainment of gratification, or of the money which purchases gratification, implies, first, that there has been put forth equivalent effort of a kind which has in some way furthered the general good, and, secondly, that those from whom the money is received got directly or indirectly equivalent satisfaction. But in gambling the opposite happens. The benefit received does not imply effort put forth, and the happiness of the winner implies the misery of the loser. It therefore sears the sympathies, cultivates a hard egoism, and so produces a general deterioration of character and conduct."

(b) *It violates, in emphasizing selfishness, the law of brotherly love.* The bet is made on the assumption that the one who bets knows more than his partner to the wager, or that his opinion is the better. If he really does know more, is it not rather a mean act to take advantage of the more ignorant man with a view to making money out of his ignorance—no equivalent being given? But, it may be said, "The other man goes in with his eyes open; he is willing; he takes his chances." What chances—but the certainty of losing, if the other man really knows more? This, when we come to think of it, is not manly, but mean. It is not a friendly or a noble attitude to take to your friend in your hours of common recreation. It is anti-social. It must breed mutual distrust and unmercifulness, as each man looks selfishly to his own gain.

If the man who bets really does not know more than the other man, what then? Whether he really knows or does not know, he thinks he knows. As a matter of fact, very few bet when they know they will lose. If they do, they do wrong; they have no moral right to spend their money in that way.

In all cases there is a chance to win, and a man bets on the strength of that chance. It is this concentration of thought on an uncertainty which debilitates and demoralizes. The hope to win by chance or by secret knowledge increases selfishness, stimulates covetousness and weakens the ties of brotherliness. The effect of gambling on individual character is to render a man unfit for social service. Interest which should be given to work and service is selfishly absorbed.

(c) *It adds nothing to the common well-being.* It is not socially useful. It produces no wealth.

(d) *It tends to discourage the spirit of industry.* It destroys reverence for sober, hard, persevering labor. It promises profit without effort, and tempts people to try what seems an easy and speedy way to wealth. To get a living without working for it is a science greatly coveted by some. No vice strikes a more deadly blow at the root principle of all worthy and strenuous work.

(e) *It is very frequently accompanied after a certain point by lying, deception, bribery and various forms of dishonesty.* There is an overmastering temptation to try to influence the issue on which the bet is made.

(f) *It ranks with drunkenness as a chief cause of crime.* In some cases, it is the direct cause of cheating, selling races and matches, and similar dishonest proceedings. In other cases it is an indirect cause in leading to embezzlement, forgery, debt, bankruptcy, suicide. Personal observation and the testimony of Crown officials abundantly verify this statement.

The really anti-social character of gambling becomes evident from the fact that if the whole fraternity of those occupied in promoting its manifold forms were compelled suddenly to desist, the spiritual, moral, intellectual and physical wealth of the world would not be diminished; if they were transferred to a productive field of labor, that wealth would be increased. True sport would flourish once more, and an undoubted fountain of much vice and crime would be sealed up. This must mean that the *practice is parasitic*. It lives on the labor of others, and imperils the life of society. Those who are addicted to it are among the least honored and least efficient classes of society. In our study of "futures" it is well to remember the future esteem in which society will hold those who have thoroughly acquired this habit.

5. *It is harmful to the moral life of the individual.* The tendency of gambling is to impair the foundation of good character. This is not always obvious at the outset. Counteracting elements may stay the process. Gambling is not always "pure" and "unmixed." But the natural and logical tendency is to exercise a deteriorating influence on character.

(a) In "pure" gambling, a man deliberately lays aside the use of those faculties which mark personality—conscience, reason, skill, judgment, intelligence, will—and reduces himself to a being who has only passions and emotions. It is this rejection of reason and this surrender to forces outside one's control that produce the emotional excitement and intellectual extravagances of the gambling mania. A man no longer has to *think*; he only *feels*. He rises to heights of hope; anon he plunges into the depths of despair. Greed

and desire grow by gain, and torture by loss. Fear and expectation strain the soul to the breaking point; then in a moment at the crisis they yield to a rapture which intoxicates or to a despair which benumbs. There is no tedious working up to a crisis of emotion; the gambler has his crisis every minute. This abnormal enlargement and stimulation of the lower passions and emotions must tend literally to kill out the finer and nobler sides of human nature.

(b) Is it putting it too strongly to say, that the tendency of this vice is to *dehumanize*? If each man stands in selfish isolation, indifferent to the loss of others, inflamed by excitement, almost delirious with fear and mad with greed, he cannot help becoming less human. The freshness and spontaneity of life depart; suspicion is in the air he breathes. Sympathy is seared. The man grows mean, callous, cruel, wolfish. Happily for society this goal of character is not reached by all who gamble; but whether we are conscious of it or not, that is the direction in which the habit turns our faces.

(c) *It is somewhat like the habit of taking drugs and stimulants.* In each case there is momentary pleasure due to the exaltation of the emotional life, while the higher faculties are depressed; there is a reaction which demands a repeated indulgence; there is peril to the life by the creation of a desire which rapidly becomes a craving; there is a terrible fascination which paralyzes the will. Gambling creates an insatiable desire to go back to it again. In many natures it arouses a passion as uncontrollable by reason and morality as any physical craving.

(d) The possibility of such easy gain *quickens the latent instinct of avarice*, which is one of the most insidiously disintegrating influences in human society, inciting as it does to complete self-absorption and entire loss of sympathy with the material interests of one's fellows. The money element plays a larger part in this practice than we are at first willing to admit. It is often said "I do not bet for money. I take my chances of losing. That shows that the money stake is not the chief thing." There is something of force in this; but why do men usually bet for money? Why not bet for buttons? If it is said "I bet for the interest and excitement; the money is only incidental"; it is fair to ask, "What makes it interesting and exciting?" Is it not largely because men stand to win or lose *money*? Do they not refrain from betting, if they think they will lose? If the chances are unfavorable, do they not demand odds? Do they not feel disposed to bet freely, when they think they will win? It rather looks as if the money element were in it, and very much in it. In all seriousness one may ask—How

much betting would there be on a race or a match or a game, if all the proceeds had to be devoted to hospitals or public charities?

(c) *Gambling enamours a man of the idea of getting something for nothing*, an idea which lies at the root of many unrighteous and dishonorable deeds among men. This is a debilitating idea, which will, if indulged in, unmake any man. A fair equivalent is necessary in all solid commercial transactions. The very craving to take unearned gains has in itself something of the immoral; such gains necessarily imply an injury to some other persons, known or unknown. This "something for nothing" idea distracts a man's attention from his business, wastes his time, creates an unhealthy restlessness which is fatal to honest work for a fair reward, intoxicates his mental life, and spoils the reliability of his judgment.

Therefore, we conclude that there must be an element of ethical wrong in gambling, because of its effects on the individual and on society.

CHARLES KINGSLEY ON GAMBLING.

Charles Kingsley, apostle of muscular Christianity, was a true sportsman, if ever there was one. No one has brought a stronger indictment against gambling than he in a famous letter written to his son. He says: "You said you had put into some lottery for the Derby and had hedged to make it safe. Now all this is bad, bad, nothing but bad. Of all habits, gambling is the one I hate most, and have avoided most. Of all habits it grows most on eager minds. Success and loss alike make it grow. Of all habits, however much civilized man may give way to it, it is one of the most intrinsically savage; it is unchivalrous and un-Christian. It gains money by the lowest means, for it takes money out of your neighbor's pocket without giving him anything in return. It tempts you to use what you fancy your superior knowledge of a horse's merits—or anything else—to your neighbor's harm. If you know better than your neighbor, you are bound to give him your advice. Instead you conceal your knowledge to win from his ignorance. Hence come all sorts of concealments, dodges, deceits. Recollect always that the stock argument is worthless: 'My friend would win from me if he could; therefore I have an equal right to win from him.' Nonsense; the same argument would prove that I have a right to maim or kill a man, if only I give him leave to maim or kill me, if he can and will . . . I have seen many a good fellow ruined by finding himself one day short of money and trying to get a little by play or betting—and then the Lord have mercy on his simple soul, for simple it will not remain long. Betting is the way of the world. So are all the seven deadly sins under certain

rules and pretty names; but to the devil they lead if indulged in, in spite of the wise world and its ways."

WHAT CAN WE DO TO STAY THE EVIL?

If it is an evil, something should be done to deal with it. No matter how deep seated, or ancient, or widespread sin is, we do not yield dominion to it because we cannot wholly eradicate it. The world would be a sorry place, if evils were allowed to flourish unmolested simply because we may not yet know how best to overcome them, and may not thoroughly succeed in our effort. In face of the gambling problem we can take certain measures.

1. We can *re-state the moral fundamentals involved*:

- (a) The *duty of labor*, as morally superior to idleness, or the pursuit of pleasure as an end in itself, or the pernicious principle of "something for nothing."
- (b) The *duty of using talents* of time and money for the well-being of all.

2. We can *point out the folly of gambling*. Mr. W. A. Fraser, in an article on "Fool's Money" in the *Saturday Evening Post*, describes gambling as "the acme of human foolishness. There is no known rule or method, crooked or straight, that will prevail against the great percentage of chance, and so men lose and plunge, and lose again in the hopeless pursuit of easy wealth." Someone has bluntly put the case in this way: "Betting with bookmakers is the hall-mark of an ignorant greenhorn." The chances are against the gambler, and his knowledge of the real conditions of the game or race is practically *nil*. In this world of alleged sport, the shrewd and experienced man of business will often throw aside all consideration of rational conditions and relevant evidence, and become an easy mark for the smooth-tongued tipster; he will abandon his reasoning faculties and stake his money on horses he never saw, or if he did see them, whose merits he could not distinguish, and do it all in reliance on some superstitious "run of luck" or on the advice of one of the stable boys, or on "the sure thing" confided to him by a bookmaker's agent. This also is vanity. This also is folly. It is on the folly of those who bet that the bookmaker lives, and lives uncommonly well. A few men make and keep money won in this way; but the many lose and lose again. To come out even is almost the best that can be hoped for. Perhaps the real esteem in which the sober-minded community holds the practice of gambling is evidenced when a man loses. Banks and friends are not forward to advance money to help him over his difficulty. He is usually pronounced a fool, and gets little practical sympathy.

"To fancy," writes Dr. Marcus Dods, "that we shall be exceptions and win where others have lost, that we shall be among the solitary lucky ones, and not among the thousand unlucky, is a folly to which we are all liable, but it is none the less a folly."

3. *We can be careful as to our personal example*, and cast our influence on the side of safety. It is well to be scrupulous in avoiding the beginnings and smaller applications of the practice. For it is not the distance we go, but the direction in which we move that morally counts for most. A Christian must always consider the welfare of "the brother for whom Christ died." When any practice, even if not wrong in itself, has in the course of time become a chief cause of wrong-doing, a snare to innumerable lives, and a disintegrating influence in the body politic, a Christian should avoid the very beginning of it.

4. *We can help to form a sound public opinion* on the subject.

Fifty years have produced a change for the better in the general view of drunkenness. Why should not a process of ethical education bring about a similar change in the attitude towards gambling? We must aim at securing a higher sense of self-respect, and a deeper regard for the community of interests which will cause a man to treat his fellow as one not to be injured, but to be helped.

5. *We can secure a measure of restrictive and regulative legislation.*

Although we cannot make men good by Act of Parliament, we can remove many temptations and give a better opportunity to men to be good. Legislation may crystallize sound public opinion and make it more difficult to harm one's self or injure the community. Legislation may be made more definite and the enforcement of law proportionately easier. The publication of betting news, the gambling on race tracks, the widespread institution of the hand-book, are proper subjects for legislative action.

6. *We can try to secure a legitimate and rightful satisfaction for those instincts which lie at the basis of gambling.*

Negative and prohibitive reforms are only half-way measures. The best way to displace an evil is to install a good in its place. Every effort at healthy social reform, every rational movement to make life less monotonous for those who toil, every success in bringing money into closer connection with labor and social utility, every lesson learned that wealth and leisure are called to serve society and that idleness is a disgraceful sin, every improvement in the conditions of employment and in wages, which may give scope for the development of the higher sides of life, every absorption of

individuals in a worthy cause—will tend to diminish the spirit of gambling.

7. *We can seek to deepen the moral and spiritual life of the nation.*

The root of all vices is the selfish heart. Restraint without moral conversion will be ineffective; for selfishness will express itself in other directions. The spirit of self-sacrifice incarnate in our Lord must enter our hearts to expel the wrong self-love and to teach us the highest joy. If, as Kingsley says, gambling is both unchivalrous and un-Christian, we can only exorcise it by the knowledge and practice of the true chivalry, and the true Christianity unto which our Master has redeemed us.

THE SALVATION ARMY'S GREETING.

COLONEL SYDNEY C. MAIDMENT, CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE S. A.
FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

I am asked to speak just for four' or five minutes on any topic. Permit me then in the first place to bring to the Social Service Council greetings from the Salvation Army, which body I have the honor to represent here to-night. I want to say that quite a number of our departmental and institutional officers have been present all through this Conference and have attended every meeting held. Some have now returned to thir duties; others are still with us. Speaking on behalf of these Army delegates, I want to add how much we have appreciated the opportunity of association with the S. S. Council on this occasion, and how very profitable and inspiring the gatherings have been to us all. Especially have those of us of longer connection with the Salvation Army been much cheered in observing how zealously and practically the Church is addressing itself to social problems. We are encouraged because it may, I suppose, be truly said that the Army has helped to "blaze the trail" in efforts to solutionize some of these problems. I was specially reminded of this fact yesterday afternoon when the subject of the white slave traffic was under consideration. It stirred recollections of the days when, as a young lad between seventeen and eighteen years of age (I was then in the Army's Training College in London, England), people on the streets cuffed us young fellows, spat upon us, cursed us, and shouted "Salvation Army," "Lizer Armstrong." Those present acquainted with the history of the Army will recognize Eliza Armstrong as being the name of a young girl purchased by the late W. T. Stead and the present General of the Salvation Army, W. Bramwell Booth, in order to demonstrate indisputably and effectively the existence of the white slave traffic, which at that time was denied. The late William Stead suffered imprisonment for the part he took in this matter, and W. Bramwell Booth escaped by the skin of his teeth. Much abuse was at that time heaped upon the Army in consequence of the association of one of its leading officers with this affair, and there are those of us who still remember it.

There is no doubt whatever about the seriousness of the white slave traffic. For over twenty years I have served the Army in

an administrative capacity in various countries of Europe, in South Africa, South and Central America, and the West Indies, during which time my duties have brought me much into contact with the Army's work among the magdalenes; and, speaking from personal observation and a knowledge of the reports of Army officials, I say emphatically, that the case is not in the least exaggerated. But, Mr. Chairman, there is scarcely a subject on the programme of this convention in which the Army is not directly or indirectly interested.

Take, for instance, the question of temperance. Why, total abstinence is a condition of membership with us! We go further even and disqualify anyone from taking local office, or from blowing an instrument in an Army band who smokes tobacco, so that we combat also the smoking evil.

We are associated with immigration (from the British Isles), and with Child Welfare. More than one thousand infants are dealt with annually in our Canadian Maternity Hospitals and Children's Homes, apart from the number of children handled by the immigration branch.

We do work amongst criminals and in the police courts. We deal with destitute, degraded, unemployed, and unemployable men, and carry on redemptive work amongst women (one thousand young women pass through our Canadian Homes each year).

We are also at work amongst the Indians.

We keep out of party politics, but believe in political purity, and though we do not take up labor questions there can be no doubt that ours is essentially a Church of the working man, and that our organization greatly influences the laboring classes. We are, therefore, interested in anything which makes for the spiritual, moral, social, and material benefit of the mechanic and laboring classes.

Whilst sitting in the Conference listening to the excellent papers read, and addresses given, on these most vital problems of our day, I have been led to think of an illustration which came to my notice when I was living in South Africa:

A Dominic, that is to say a Parson, was conducting a scripture class for young men, the sons of Boer farmers. He was, of course, thoroughly versed in the subjects under discussion. His pupils, however, had scant technical knowledge of these subjects. In consequence they found difficulty in correctly answering the questions put to them from time to time by the Dominic, and were beginning to feel somewhat discouraged, when one of the young men, a little bolder than his companions, stood upon his feet one evening, and respectfully requested permission to put a

question to the Dominic, which was granted. "You, sir," he said, "have been questioning us pretty freely, and we have found difficulty in answering your questions. We feel somewhat discouraged as a result. May I now put a question to you, sir?" "Certainly, my lad," said the Dominic. "Well, sir," said he, "you are well informed on many matters. Can you then tell us how many toes an ostrich has?" There was a pause. The Dominic rubbed his head and looked puzzled. The young men in the class began to smile. Presently the Dominic said: "Well, my lad, I am sorry I do not know." The fact was that though he had seen droves of ostriches, he had never really observed them sufficiently in detail to know how many toes an ostrich had. Encouraged by the success of his first attempt the young man ventured further. "May I put to you one more question, sir?" Presumably hoping to succeed better the next time, the Dominic most willingly acquiesced. "Well, sir," said the young man, "since you cannot say how many toes an ostrich has, can you then tell us how many spokes there are in the hind wheel of a wagon?" This again was equally puzzling to the Dominic. He had seen plenty of wagon wheels, but really he did not know how many spokes were to be found in the hind wheel, and he had to admit to the class his ignorance. By this time the whole class was feeling greatly relieved, and the young men were decidedly happy when their spokesman wound up by saying, "You see, sir, every man in his own department; you have the advantage of us with your profound knowledge of the scriptures; you are a theologian. We are only farmer boys, but when it comes to our department we know all about it."

And I have been thinking, Mr. Chairman, that we Salvationists don't seem to shine at all in dealing with ethics, theories, surveys, reports, etc.—that is not in our department, but when it comes to contact with, and a practical knowledge of, many of these social evils that are causing concern, then we do know something of the matter. This is our department, for as an organization, we have been right down close to many of these problems for the last forty-five years and know something of their nature. We thank God for the privilege of being allowed to do our part in helping to solve them, and we give Him the glory for any good accomplished. A feature in connection with this Conference that has greatly heartened us has been the clarion note that has been sounded by almost every speaker, whether statesman or churchman—that in God lies our hope, the hope of the individual, that in order to change the environment, to remove the social sore, the individual himself must be changed, and that

without the help of God this is hopeless. It is a great achievement to bring together representatives of most of the churches, statesmen, and others of varying views on many matters, and to see all splendidly united under this banner of the Social Service Council, striving manfully together to find ways and means of lifting and saving men, and of building character, so creating a pure, a strong, a healthy citizenship. This augurs well for the future.

Having lived in different parts of our British Dominions, and thus being in a position to make comparisons I tell you that it cheers me greatly to see how ably, bravely, sincerely, the statesmen of this fair country are handling these vital matters which have to do with the very heart of our national life. The churches, too, seem to be so fully alive to the situation. Why, I have not been in any country where I have seen Presbyterians and Methodists so keen on social problems as they are here in Canada. This also is a sign of the times. I say it, and say it emphatically, that we Salvationists are with you all, heart, hand, and mind, with churchman, statesman, and reformer; yea, we are the servants, for Christ's sake, of all who are striving for the spiritual, social, and moral betterment of humanity.

This first Social Service Convention is a unique success. There can be no doubt about that. May God give to the cause still greater success in future days!

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity afforded me to say a few words as representing the Salvation Army.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE WOMEN OF CANADA.

MRS. TORRINGTON: Of all the social problems that have been brought before us at this meeting, I think all present will agree with me that the one we have been discussing this afternoon is the most pressing, and touches us more closely than perhaps any other. As we have listened to the speakers this afternoon, I feel sure our hearts have gone out to some of those criminals who are made such by their social surroundings. We are told that the average life of a prostitute is five years. What about the souls of these poor creatures? Are not these questions most serious for us? One speaker intimated that perhaps in Canada we have not yet become alive to these social problems. Is it not time we waked up to them? Is it not awful to think that such things exist in our Dominion? And it is most startling to find that there is evidence of commercialized vice, and in this twentieth century in this fair Dominion of Canada there is traffic in woman's honor.

I was one of the delegates who attended the International Congress in London, where it was decided by resolutions that the entire operations of this abominable traffic in each country should be enquired into and the details made known to the workers in the other countries. At this conference I spoke as representing the National Council of the Women of Canada, and I wish to repeat here, with all the emphasis that I gave to the declaration in London, that we of the National Council of Women in Canada stand for the abolition of the white slave traffic. We also stand, and stand strongly and squarely, for an equal moral standard. These are policies which to us admit of no possible question; they are supreme and must be carried through. I want to point out further to you this afternoon that you have been told at this conference that we must not legislate in advance of public opinion. I want you to feel when you go to members of the Government and members of the Parliament, that you have public opinion at your back, and that public opinion is prepared to support you strongly on these two points. I think anyone who attended that great conference must have been convinced, not only that national opinion is ripening, but that international opinion is swelling in such a way that drastic measures will soon

be forced upon the Government. I think it will interest you if I read you in full the message sent by King George the Fifth (Mrs. Torrington then read in full the royal message). I am sure we all look forward to the time when the abolition of this traffic shall redound to the credit of our country. In the meantime I support most heartily, and believe the National Council of Women will also do the same, the suggestions made by Dr. Margaret Patterson in her address this afternoon.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS.

The Congress recorded its grateful appreciation of the efforts of Revs. Dr. Shearer and Dr. Moore, in connection with the planning and carrying out of the Congress; and it also voted hearty thanks to the local committee, especially the president, Rev. W. A. McIlroy, and the secretary, Rev. Geo. Bonsfield; and to the press, the railway companies, and the citizens of Ottawa for their share in making the Congress such a marked success.

The Congress also put itself on record as favoring the arbitration of all international disputes; the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of cigarettes; the securing of total abstinence pledges as regards intoxicants and a national movement for the prohibition of the liquor traffic; the organization of labor; a Royal Commission to deal with the question of unemployment; the establishment of a system of Government employment bureaus; a Royal Commission to examine into the Vancouver Island strike; an old age pension system; the creation of a Canadian Department of Child Welfare; pensions for needy mothers; the extension of the franchise to women; that appointments to the outside civil service be through the Civil Service Commission; the policy of fitting our Indian wards for full citizenship as soon as possible; the submission of the claims of the British Columbia Indians to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; the formation of a Canadian Association of Friends of the Native Races; the establishment of a bureau of social surveys and research by the Social Service Council of Canada; the holding of future Social Service Congresses when deemed wise.

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