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Grey, Albert H.G.G.

SPEECHES

OF

THE RIGHT HON. EARL GREY, G.C.M.G.

**IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER,
1911, AND JANUARY, 1912**



OTTAWA
THE MORTIMER CO., LIMITED
PRINTED FOR THE CANADIAN CLUB

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SPEECHES OF EARL GREY

SINCE the Right Honourable Earl Grey ceased to be Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion, the desire has frequently been expressed that his parting words should be preserved in some permanent form for general information.

The farewell speeches of His Excellency, of special interest, are as follow:

1. Address at a banquet given by the Canadian Club of Ottawa on September 27th, 1911. (Page 3.)
2. Speech in reply to an address by Mayor Guerin on behalf of the Council and citizens of Montreal, on the 4th October, 1911. (Page 13.)
3. Speech in reply to an address of the Mayor, Council and citizens of Quebec, before embarking for England, on the 6th October, 1911. (Page 21.)
4. Speech by Earl Grey after his arrival in England, at a Dinner given in his honour by the Royal Colonial Institute, October 24th, 1911. (Page 23.)

A recent budget of news from England brings the interesting intelligence that soon after Earl Grey's return from Canada, in appreciation of his conspicuous services, the "Freedom of London" was bestowed on him on January 23rd, and thus the citizens of the greatest city within the Empire—the citizens of the mightiest city in the world—have deservedly honoured the nobleman who for seven years had been the Governor-General of this Dominion. (Page 31).

The honour is rendered unique by the fact that the present Earl Grey is the third member of his family to receive from the same source the most coveted civic distinction the world has to offer. His great grandfather had the distinction conferred upon him, in testimony of brilliant services in the West Indies. His grandfather, as Prime Minister of England, after long and strenuous efforts, secured the passage through Parliament of the great Reform Bill of 1832, and Imperial London awarded him the freedom of the great metropolis.

In order that these addresses and speeches may be preserved in a convenient form they are brought together and printed in a small booklet. It is no ordinary satisfaction to the several Canadian Clubs of the Dominion that some of the latest words of the Right Honourable Earl Grey, who carried with him on his departure from Canada the high esteem and affection of the Canadian community, should thus be rendered available.



Address at a Banquet given by the Canadian Club of Ottawa
on September 27th, 1911

I WISH to thank you from the very bottom of my heart for the farewell complimentary banquet you have given me this evening. The Chief Justice, to whom I am especially indebted for the more than indulgent speech with which he proposed the toast in my honour, drew a slight contrast between my official and my private capacity. Gentlemen, it is true that I must say farewell to you as Governor-General. I have the honour of resigning my office to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and my personal knowledge of His Royal Highness leads me to be convinced that he will be as greatly loved throughout all parts of the Dominion of Canada as he has been wherever his duty has taken him in different parts of the Empire. (Applause). But, gentlemen, if I must say farewell to you as Governor-General, there is no necessity for me to use so sad a word as farewell in my capacity of, to quote Sir Charles Fitzpatrick's expression, your "familiar friend." Unwritten rules of convention are made to be broken so that new precedents may be formed, and I certainly hope that if I am blessed with the continuance of good health and with the necessary opportunity, it may not be very long before I inflict my perhaps too familiar presence upon you once more. (Loud applause).

I wish to thank you in the name of Lady Grey and of my daughters for the most kind way in which you have referred to them. I can assure you, gentlemen, that there are not three more loyal or whole-hearted Canadians in the whole Dominion than Lady Grey and my two daughters. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I am not going to trespass upon the domain of politics, but I may indiscreetly confess to you that when I informed my wife and two daughters this evening that one result of the elections would be to make it impossible for us to leave Canada on October 6th, and that it would be necessary to postpone our departure to October 12th, I had the pleasure of seeing the three happiest women I have seen for many a day. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, you have all been very kind to me, to Lady Grey and my two daughters. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, descending from his judicial position on the Supreme Court, referred with almost the partiality of an advocate to the style in which I have run over the Canadian lap of my career. Gentlemen, it is comparatively easy for any runner to get through a lap with fair credit to himself when he has the good will and the hearty support of everybody on the grand stand and all over the course. It is, gentlemen, because of the good will that you have borne me, because of the kindness

and the indulgence you have shown me, that every moment of my life in Canada, from the moment that I came here, nearly seven years ago, until to-night, has been, with one most sad hour of bereavement, during which we were sustained by your kindest sympathies, one long, continual, uninterrupted time of happiness to myself and family. (Applause). I do not admit that Sir Charles Fitzpatrick's statement, "Uneasy is the brow that wears a crown," is applicable to the representative of the crown in Canada. It may be true of his Prime Ministers, either past or future (laughter), but owing to the fact that the Ministers of the Crown take all the trouble away from the wearer of the crown, or from his representative, the official who has the honour to represent His Majesty here has, I maintain, the happiest, pleasantest billet that exists in the whole service of the crown. Thus, gentlemen, you will believe me when I say that it is not possible for any of us, Lady Grey, my daughters or myself, to wrench away the roots that have intertwined our affections round Ottawa and its people during the past seven years, and to transplant them across the Atlantic, without our suffering many painful twinges and tuggings of the heart. It is undoubtedly true that we shall return to England our whole lives illumined with many delightful and glorious memories ; but it is equally true that we shall leave, all of us, a large part of our hearts behind. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, if I may occupy your attention for a few moments, may I say that I am glad that my last public association with Ottawa should be through the medium of your Canadian Club? The first Canadian invitation I received in England after my appointment as Governor-General was from the Canadian Club of Ottawa. I enquired what sort of institution this Canadian Club might be, and I was told that I had better exercise a little caution before I accepted the invitation, as it was important that the representative of His Majesty should not do anything which might possibly smirch the honour and the dignity of the crown (laughter). I was warned that the Canadian Club might be a dangerously nationalistic organization, having for its ultimate aim and ambition complete independence.

Gentlemen, I confess this warning, for which I was of course duly grateful, did not greatly terrify or unnerve me, for, being an optimist in temperament, I had such an intense belief in the great advantage and privilege attaching to British citizenship that I could not conceive the possibility of any self-governing portion of the Empire holding for a moment to the belief that there was a nobler future and a greater destiny for it outside rather than inside the British Empire. (Applause). That being my belief, as soon as I arrived in Ottawa I quickly resolved that I could safely become the close and fast friend of the Canadian Club.

Yes, gentlemen, if the evolution of our Empire is to be on sound lines, on lines leading to greatness ; to the greatness of the whole as well as to the greatness of the parts, that evolution must be based on the unreserved and unstinted recognition of the local autonomous rights of the self-governing Dominions. (Hear, hear).

From the first moment of my arrival in Canada I have been the enthusiastic and whole-hearted friend of the Canadian Club. I have been in love with the Club because it has responded to the higher requirements of my being. It carries the badge of no party. It wears the livery of no sect. It is as free as the fresh air that comes down to us as an invigorating tonic from the slopes of the Laurentian Mountains. Its sole and only object is to promote the well being of the Canadian nation. The fact that every week during the winter the men and women of your Canadian cities and towns are addressed by the best speaker that can be obtained, who has a disinterested message to deliver, is a security, the value of which can hardly be overestimated, guarding you against the curse of any long continuance of sectional and provincial narrowness. The Canadian Club is thus a protection against the blighting influence of what my friend Mr. C. J. Rhodes used to call the influence of the "parish pump politician." It promotes the outlook of the wider view and inspires the higher patriotism. For these reasons I have never to my knowledge during the last seven years failed in making use of any opportunity to help the Canadian Clubs of Canada. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, this being my view of the value of the institution of the Canadian Club, it may amuse you to hear that I was once asked by an American friend of mine—not unpleasantly, but in all good faith—what contribution Canada had ever made to Anglo-Saxon civilization, and I replied, equally pleasantly, "Why, that is the very question which John Morley is reported to have asked with reference to America." And I went on to explain that Canada had contributed to Anglo-Saxon civilization the institution of the Canadian Club, that this institution might be regarded as a church of civic and national righteousness. Now, gentlemen, just as the Canadian Club appears to me to be a church of civic and national righteousness, so the glorious institution of the British Empire appears to me to be the religion of righteousness itself. And that is the reason why I have never been ashamed to confess myself a fervent Imperialist. Gentlemen, I am not a lawyer. I do not look into the niceties, the exact shades and nuances of the word Empire or enquire whether it suggests the rule of the people by another, for the subordination of an inferior to a superior authority: all I know is that the words "the British Empire" stand for the aggregate of the self-governing dominions, the colonies and the dependencies of King George V, and that that great aggregation has my undivided allegiance.

I was told the other day by a friend of mine who was summing up to me my governor-generalship, "The only criticism that has been ventured upon you as Governor-General, is that now and then you show a little too clearly that you are a little too Imperial." Well, I am not aware that I have sinned in that direction. I have been strictly constitutional from the first day of my governor-generalship; I will be until the last. Gentlemen, if I love from the very bottom of my heart the Empire to which we all belong, if I find my greatest pleasure in giving myself up to it heart, body and brain, nerve, muscle and soul, it is because I regard the British Empire as the most

potent instrument that ever was conceived or devised by men for diffusing the blessings of law and order, of freedom and duty, of service and mercy, throughout the world. (Loud applause).

Now I wish it to be clearly understood that in the imperialism of which I am a devotee there is no question of interference by the Parliament of one kingdom with the Parliament of another kingdom or dominion within the Empire. To me it is quite immaterial whether you call Canada a kingdom or a dominion. No, gentlemen, what we have to pay attention to is not the name but the fact—and the fact that every self-governing country in the British Empire enjoys the security, so long as it retains its allegiance to the British Crown—that the strength of the Empire shall be exercised whenever necessary to ensure that self-governing state in the continuous enjoyment of its self-governing rights is the fact that makes us all loyal Imperialists. (Applause).

It is because British Imperialism means the fullest, widest, freest development of the national spirit of the self-governing dominions which now are the sister states of the Empire, it is because every one of us, whether he be of Dutch or of French or of German or of English descent, has the right and the power to develop to the fullest possible extent the influence of his race within the Empire, and through the Empire on the world outside; it is for this reason that every subject of the crown, whatever may be the nation from which he descends, can safely and enthusiastically proclaim himself a British citizen. (Applause).

Gentlemen, when I came to this country seven years ago, Canada was still in her colonial clothes. Imperial garrisons at Halifax and Esquimaux proclaimed the fact that you, the people of Canada, were content to lie down on the overburdened people of the United Kingdom for your protection. No act in my governor-generalship has given me greater satisfaction and pleasure than that of announcing the readiness of the Dominion to make herself responsible for her own defence and authorizing the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from Canadian ports. I was warned at the time that this withdrawal meant the end of the Imperial connection. Gentlemen, that was not my view. To me the withdrawal of the Imperial garrisons from your Dominion seaports was a proclamation to the world that a new national spirit had been born in Canada; a spirit which was too proud to add a single ounce more than necessary of the weight of Empire to the overburdened shoulders of John Bull (applause); a spirit which was resolved to lie down not upon others but on yourselves, a spirit which was determined to equip yourselves with the strength which would enable you to work out your own national salvation, and to make the greatest contribution to the common work of the Empire that your strength and resources would permit. (Loud applause).

It is undoubtedly true that at the present moment Canada is a dependent independency. That is a result not of your desire, but of present conditions. You are undoubtedly dependent for your security, for the continuance of your political liberties, on the supremacy of the British Navy. It may be said

by some that your liberties are dependent upon the Monroe Doctrine. Well, gentlemen, if you examine that matter I think you will be satisfied that the Monroe Doctrine, like the independence of the self-governing dominions, also floats on the British Navy. (Hear, hear). I do not know at what price you would value the Monroe Doctrine if the British fleet were to be swept from off the seas. If I have offended—which I do not admit—the limit of my offence is that I have never hesitated to give expression to my conviction that the continuance of your liberties and of your prosperity depends on the maintenance of the British supremacy on the seas. (Applause). This I believe to be so generally admitted as not to be controversial. Nor am I giving expression to any controversial opinion when I say that I do not believe there is a single person in Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, who, if he or she were convinced that the continuance of your liberties required the surrender of your lives, would not be prepared to make the necessary sacrifice. (Applause).

Gentlemen, it is because it has always appeared to me to be impossible that the strength and wealth and status of Canada, or of any of the self-governing dominions, could be increased without increasing in like degree the strength of the Empire, or weakened without in like measure weakening the strength of the Empire, that I have rejoiced as an Englishman over the remarkable material development of Canada that has taken place during the time I have been here and over her emergence from the status of a daughter to that of a sister nation within the Empire. (Applause).

If you examine the speeches I have made since I became Governor-General I do not think you will be able to find one single solitary occasion on which I have referred to Canada as a colony or to Canadians as colonials. (Hear, hear). And now let me tell you confidentially, just as an illustration of the atmosphere of the court of the new Governor-General—that when the Comptroller of the Household came over here not very long ago to make arrangements for the comfort of His Royal Highness he sat next a lady who, in that spirit of self-depreciation which is perhaps one of the charms as well as the weaknesses of people of British descent, said: "I wonder how you will be able to put up with us poor colonials." So the Comptroller of the Duke's household said: "Colonials, Ma'am? Colonials? I do not understand what you mean. In London we don't talk of Canadians as colonials. We know the Dominion; we know Canadians, but we do not know anything in London about colonials, so far as Canada is concerned."

Well, my impression is that in this respect both I and my royal successor will prove ourselves to be more national than many Canadians themselves. I have been careful from the very first to pay scrupulous regard to the dignity of your status by never referring to Canada as a colony nor to Canadians as colonials. (Applause).

I have also endeavoured to emphasize, during my governor-generalship, the character of your relationship to the Empire, by substituting wherever possible for the expression in ordinary use when I came into office, of "My

Ministers"—I always thought it had rather an offensive sound—the more dignified expression of "His Majesty's Canadian Ministers." I am glad to say that that expression "His Majesty's Canadian Ministers," which struck the ear at first as somewhat odd, like all new expressions however true they may be, now sounds as familiar as it is correct, and that it is becoming pretty generally adopted, not only in Canada, but also in the other self-governing states of the Empire. It will be satisfactory to you, gentlemen, to reflect, when this expression becomes universal, that the change sprang from Ottawa, the home and the seat of so many Imperial developments. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, while I have never talked of Canada as a colony, or Canadians as colonials, and while it has been my practice to refer to the federal ministers not as "My Ministers," but as "His Majesty's Canadian Ministers," so it has also been my practice when referring to the loyalty of Canada to speak of her loyalty not to England but to the Empire. (Applause). Some of you may say, why should Canada be loyal to the Empire, over whose affairs she has no control? I have already said that the more you add to the wealth, to the population and to the strength of Canada the more you are adding to the strength and to the dignity of the Empire. I recognize, apart from that, that at present the people of Canada have no choice in the administration of the Empire, but the time is coming, you can see it approaching, when the people of Canada will demand to be admitted into a fuller participation in the obligations and responsibilities of the Empire. (Cheers). The privilege of bearing this burden is at present vested, and vested by consent of the Dominions, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. I know no privilege greater than that which I own as an Englishman of bearing perhaps more than my share of the burden of Empire. I feel like Henry V at Agincourt "By God, I would not lose so great an honour as one man more would take from me, for the best hope I have!" The people of England are content to carry the burden of Empire single-handed until you are ready to come to their assistance; and every one of them who has ever been in Canada and who has had the good fortune and the privilege which I have enjoyed, of knowing the depth and the sincerity of the Canadian heart, realizes that Canada will be only too glad to come to the assistance of the peoples of the United Kingdom in every way that is possible to help them to carry a burden which might otherwise become too great for them to carry, as soon as the times are ready for you to do so. (Loud applause). But at present, gentlemen, the privilege of bearing the whole burden of Empire is vested, and with your consent, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Parliament of the United Kingdom is the trustee and the guardian of the great inheritance into which you will one day enter; and inasmuch as you are destined one day, by reason of your wealth, of your population and of your strength, to be the most powerful partner in the Empire, not even excluding the United Kingdom itself, the way in which the Parliament of the United Kingdom is administering that trust must necessarily be to you a matter of the deepest concern. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, it is I know unnecessary after what I have already said, to repeat—if I may go back from politics to personal matters—that Lady Grey, my daughters and I will all leave Canada after seven full and happy years in our comfortable home in Ottawa, with feelings of intense and most heartfelt regret. I have already said that I do not think there is any billet in the service of the Crown more enviable than that of Governor General of Canada. The longer I stay here the more confirmed am I in that opinion. To watch the gradual expansion and unfolding of this swelling Dominion is an occupation which can never be dull and is generally exciting. When I came to Canada seven years ago the chief weakness of Canada lay in the eight hundred miles of unoccupied section, north of Lake Superior. I trust that the result of the new Transcontinental railway will be to provide a continuous belt of happy and prosperous homes along the whole length of this formerly unoccupied section.

The Chief Justice pointed out that I had been a great traveller in your Dominion. It is true, thanks to the exceptional advantages I have enjoyed, and I have been able to make the acquaintance of nearly every part of your broad Dominion. I have said I look forward to breaking the unwritten convention which appears to penalize anyone who has had the good fortune of acting for a time as Governor General, with a sentence of permanent exile; but perhaps it is possible that I may be able to break through this unwritten convention by paying a visit to your Prairie Provinces one day by the Hudson Bay Railway. (Applause). I should like to say here, with a view of contradicting any impression which may exist to the contrary, that I have no views as to the possibility of Fort Churchill being a superior harbour to Port Nelson. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that the engineering considerations will favour Nelson being made the terminus. That is an engineering question. It is easy for a globe trotter like myself to visit Hudson Bay and to say this place looks a good port and that looks a bad one. But conclusions founded not upon the technical knowledge of expert engineers are of no value, and my impression is that when the reports of expert engineers are received it will appear that not Churchill but Nelson will make the better terminus of the railway. I desire to take the opportunity of saying this because I am afraid I have neglected to make an official report to His Majesty's Canadian Government on my trip to Hudson Bay. May I also point out that the construction of the Hudson Bay Railway will for the first time bring the Maritime Provinces into close touch with your Prairie Provinces. (Applause). One of your weaknesses—I found it out two years ago—is that out in the West maps of Canada are frequently limited to Canada west of Lake Superior, with the result that a large number of the inhabitants of the Prairie Provinces know no more about Ottawa, or Montreal or Toronto than they do about Kamschatka or Timbuctoo. Consequently the railway which brings a direct connection between your Prairie Provinces and your Maritime Provinces cannot fail to have a valuable effect upon the consolidation of the Dominion. For three months of the year or perhaps longer, the manu-

facturers of Quebec, Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia will be better situated for meeting the requirements of the Prairie Provinces than even the manufacturers of Ontario. The Hudson Bay Railway will also enable the producers of the West Indies and the Prairie Provinces to exchange their products with each other, to their common advantage.

Gentlemen, I also mentioned Newfoundland as a part of British North America that would profit by the construction of the Hudson Bay Railway, and, having mentioned Newfoundland, may I suggest, not as Governor General, but as an Englishman who loves Canada and Newfoundland, that you should bestow a little more of your attention and of your favours upon this oldest colony of the Crown. I have on three separate occasions spent part of my summer holidays in Newfoundland, my main object being to encourage the people of Newfoundland to regard their beautiful and attractive island as a natural place for the Governor-General of Canada to spend a part of his holiday in. I could wish it were possible that more Canadians would follow my example in making the acquaintance of this most attractive island and of its most lovable people. You will not win their affections by keeping aloof from them. Just as the mother in the backwoods of the Province of Quebec shudders at the word "Navy" because she believes the result of its creation will be to tear by force from her clinging arms the baby of her heart, so there are families in Newfoundland to-day who believe the result of confederation would be to ram their babies as wads down the mouths of your cannon. Now, gentlemen, this sounds very ridiculous, but it is true, and if more pains were taken to make the people of the different parts of British North America better known to each other, a better understanding would exist between them. (Applause).

I notice in to-day's paper—if I may say so—it is a small matter—but I notice in to-day's paper one illustration of the community of interests that binds Newfoundland and Canada together. I think five years ago, through the energy of Mr. Fisher, the Canadian Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Grenfell, of Labrador fame, was able to introduce into the northern part of Newfoundland a herd of 250 reindeer. Last year I visited his herd on his mission farm and I found that the 250 reindeer had increased to over 800—800 fat, sleek and thriving deer, and all from the herd that he imported four years before. I read in this morning's newspaper that a consignment from Dr. Grenfell's increased herd has arrived at Edmonton for location somewhere on the McKenzie River, and if this new experiment is half as successful as Dr. Grenfell's pioneer experiment in Newfoundland you may look forward with tolerable certainty to a vast increase in the future meat supply for the people of Canada, and possibly for export too, from what has hitherto been your barren and unprofitable north.

Gentlemen, there are many things that I should like to have said to you, the members of the Canadian Club, on this the last occasion that I shall have the opportunity of addressing you, but I shall not inflict myself upon your patience any longer. If I may say so in a few concluding words, it is up to

you, the Canadian Clubs of Canada, to keep the national ideals high. Let me beseech you to watch jealously the influences which help to mould the characters of your children. I would beseech you in your separate provinces to take such action, or see that such action is taken, as will secure the best teachers that money can buy—teachers who will teach your children how to think for themselves and how to live for others. (Applause). I would ask you to take such action as is possible to secure that the imaginations of your children may be properly stirred by well selected pictures on the walls of your schools and by the moving picture shows which are now becoming perhaps too large a part of your national life and which, unless carefully controlled, are apt to poison the minds of the young with vicious inclinations. I would beg you with all the earnestness that I can command to provide for the proper development of your cities and the careful sanitation of your homes, and to keep from your growing cities the slum curse as if it were the plague. (Applause).

Remember, gentlemen, that it rests largely with the Canadian Clubs of Canada whether Canada shall achieve her splendid destiny and become the controlling factor of the greatest and most beneficent Empire the world has ever seen.

I would ask you to remember the aphorism of Lord Bacon which says : a country may have a great population but little strength ; remember also that you may have a little population and great strength, and reflect that the population of England in the brave days of Queen Elizabeth was little over five millions, or a great deal less than the population you have in Canada to-day.

My ambition for Canada is that she may have a great population and still greater strength, so that the British Empire may become, and largely through the influence of Canada, an ever-increasingly powerful instrument of peace, high living and goodwill. (Applause).

Gentlemen, I do not like to sit down without giving expression to my recognition of the singular good fortune I have enjoyed during the seven years of my happy governor-generalship in having Sir Wilfrid Laurier as His Majesty's Prime Minister of Canada (loud applause)—and Mr. Borden as the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. (Loud applause). I do not believe you could find, either inside or outside of this country, two men who better fulfil all the highest ideals of the word "gentleman" and I should like, if I may do so, to congratulate you, and through you the people of Canada, on their good fortune in having secured as captains of the two great contending parties leaders whose characters make them a high standard of example for the imitation of the whole Dominion.

For seven years it has been my rare privilege to discuss matters of state with Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I have never during that long period, no, not even during the past week, heard so much as one single expression of vindictive annoyance or of selfish ambition from the lips of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Applause). And as he is far too old to change his character we may be certain

that he will continue as Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition to be the same great servant of the Crown he has been for fifteen years as Prime Minister.

Gentlemen, although obviously I have not had the same opportunities of becoming so well acquainted with Mr. Borden, I yet am happy to think that I do know enough of him to be convinced that he will continue the high traditions of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Applause).

I would say then in thanking you, with all the strength I can command, for all the kindness that you have done me, for all the indulgence that you have shown me—I would like to say to you that you are in my opinion singularly happy in your good fortune that places the destiny of your country in the hands of such men. (Loud and long-continued cheers).

Speech in reply to an address by Mayor Guerin on behalf of
the Council and Citizens of Montreal,
October 4th, 1911

MR. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen. In the concluding paragraph of the address for which I thank you from the bottom of my heart, you offered me the hand-grasp of friendship, as strong and enduring as the loyalty of your proud and vigorous young Dominion. Gentlemen, that to me is a hand-grasp that will last till death. (Applause). I cannot imagine it possible that my affection and love for Canada will ever dwindle on this side of the grave; and, gentlemen, if your affection for me, if your friendship for me, is as strong as the loyalty of Canada to the Crown, then, also, it seems outside all possibility that your friendship for me will stop before the crack of doom. The loyalty of Canada to the Crown is a quality which is growing stronger day by day. (Hear, hear). It is hardly possible that it could be otherwise. The sentiment of gratitude, the sentiment of self-interest, the sentiment of noble ambition, all require, all call for the deep loyalty of Canada to the Crown.

Mr. Mayor, you have referred to my travels in your broad Dominion. Thanks to the arrangements made with my friend, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy I have been able to see a great part of the Dominion with a greater degree of comfort than any of my predecessors, because advantages have been accorded to me which had to be denied to them. The result of my travels has taught me many things. It will enable me when I return to my own home across the Atlantic to tell my friends in England what, with a population no greater than that of London, you have done on a continent the size of Europe: and I can assure you that in whatever part of Canada I have visited, I never contemplated the achievements of your people without taking my hat off to the energy of the race which has accomplished so much.

I shall also be able to tell my friends in England that nothing can prevent Canada from becoming one day the controlling part of the British Empire. (Applause). Nobody who has seen as I have the vast area of fertile ground which one day will be covered with happy homes, nobody who has enjoyed your splendid climate, your matchless energy of race, can fail to realize that it is only a question of time, and this fact is realized by the best minds in England, when Canada shall become the greater and the controlling part of the British Empire.

As an Englishman, I realize that it is impossible for Canada to grow in wealth and in strength, and in stature, without strengthening the Empire—

(applause)—just as it is impossible for Canada to grow weaker without gradually weakening the Empire. Just as Canada is necessary to the Empire, so is the Empire necessary to Canada. (Applause).

You will, I know, forgive me for giving expression to the pride I feel as an Englishman when I reflect that I belong to a people who live in those tiny isles on the other side of the Atlantic, whose privilege it is to bear the whole burden of Great Britain outside the self-governing dominions. One day you will demand in your rights to share with the people of the British Isles the responsibilities and the obligations of the Empire. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, I wish, before I proceed further, just in one or two cursory remarks, to explain what I mean by the word Empire. I know I am sometimes, even in this province of Quebec, condemned for being perhaps too fervent an Imperialist. (Shouts of "No, no."). Well, if I interpreted Imperialism in the same sense as my critics, I would most undoubtedly agree with them. But Empire does not stand for interference. Nobody who knows anything at all about the constitutional relations of the Motherland towards the self-governing sisters of the Empire, fails to realize that there is no longer any talk of the interference of Downing Street with their affairs.

What does the word Empire stand for? For the security which the people of the British Isles give to the people of the self-governing dominions, to enable them to develop their own nationality without any interference from outside. The word also stands for great ideals. It stands for the ideals of justice, freedom, duty and righteousness. And, gentlemen, the strength of the Empire consists with all of us in the self-governing dominions in a community of these ideals, and there is not a man or a woman in Great Britain who is not anxious to do what he can to enable the Empire to fulfil its mission to the world of spreading freedom, duty, justice and righteousness. (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, I am glad that it should be my privilege to accept a formal token of your esteem from my friends in Montreal. I am glad that Lady Grey and my daughters are here to share with me the pleasure of receiving this at your hands. (Applause).

The many friends that I have made in this city and the ties we have formed, make Montreal very dear to all of us; and I do not really know where to begin or where to end in expressing the thanks with which my heart is most abundantly filled.

Lord Strathcona has just made the new record of paying a week-end visit to Montreal. (Laughter). Well, it is not the first record by a long way that he has made. Let us hope that he will make a record in three figures, and will be here on his hundredth birthday. (Applause).

Now, I am not going to weary you with statistics or figures. I reserve them for the education of my friends in England. The future greatness of Montreal is most abundantly assured. Whenever I come to Montreal, I make it a point at least once a year of going over the works of the Montreal

Harbor Commission, and I am glad to hear that they have a new steamer, the Sir Hugh Allan, in which it is their pleasure to educate the citizens of Montreal in the greatness of their own city.

The year I came here—it is only an indication of the growth of this Dominion, you shipped 7,000,000 bushels of wheat. In 1910 you shipped more than three times that amount, or 25,000,000 bushels. At the same time, as an indication of the efficiency of your harbor management, the cost of handling your through freight was 43 cents when I came here, and in 1910, it has been reduced to 22½ cents a ton. When I came here 10,000 tons was the limit of the steamers coming up the channel to Montreal. Now steamers to 15,000 tons can come up. The policy of deepening your channel, the policy of a safe waterway to the sea has also considerably reduced the rates. Now, I am one of those who believe that Montreal is going to become one of the great sea ports of the world. I had the privilege of unveiling a monument to the Hon. John Young, whose foresight first led him to realize what the advantages of the port of Montreal were. His forecasts are being realized. It only rests with you to employ your energies and make Montreal more easily accessible in order to ensure an export trade which in the future will even surpass the expectations of the most imaginative of you to day.

Mr. James J. Hill, pointed out that when the Georgian Bay canal is constructed, Montreal will be eighteen miles nearer to Duluth and Chicago than Buffalo, and nothing can prevent the traffic north of Kansas City from coming to Montreal.

I do not intend to occupy your time with dull statistics giving you reasons for the belief in your growing greatness. Everybody who knows his Canada half as well as I do, knows that your greatness is assured, and therefore it is no use troubling over the proof.

I would like to say a few words to night to my friends of French descent of whom there are so many at this high table. Mr. Mayor has told me that there are seventeen Canadians of French descent to only ten of English descent at this table, and that, I believe, is a higher percentage than exists in the city of Montreal, where, the Mayor informs me, the Canadians of French descent are about 65 per cent. of the population.

Mr. Mayor, you stated that you thank me for doing something to promote the entente cordiale. In my remarks I hope I may not signalize my last speech by saying anything offensive to any single person; but as this will be my last opportunity of addressing my Canadian friends of French descent, I hope my friends of English descent will not take it amiss if I pass by their great services to the Dominion, and reserve a few remarks in regard to the impressions left upon my mind by my contact with Canadians of French descent.

I do not know how I can thank you all sufficiently for all the kindness which you have shown to Lady Grey, to my daughters, to the members of my staff and of my household, as well as to myself, during the last seven years.

In the first place I would desire to express my gratitude to Lord Strathcona for his most considerate generosity in placing his comfortable house at our disposal. His house has been our Montreal home ever since we came to Canada, and the right to use it has enabled us to pay frequent visits to Montreal, a right which we have thoroughly appreciated, and of which we have abundantly availed ourselves. Thanks to the opportunities our Montreal residence has given us of making the acquaintance and friendship of its inhabitants, every successive visit to your city has proved more enjoyable than the one before.

Yes, gentlemen, every member of my family leaves Canada with permanent marks of affection for the people of Montreal indelibly imprinted on our hearts.

I do not know whether it is owing to the faint traces of the old French blood which still linger in my English veins that I always feel so happy and so much at home in the province of Quebec. Whatever may be the cause, the fact remains that I have a real love for Les Canadiens and that I find in them many traits which I should like to see reproduced in my own children.

Gentlemen, I do not hesitate to say that I think the people of Canada are greatly to be congratulated on their good fortune in possessing so large an infusion of Gallic courtesy, chivalry and charm in their national composition. (Applause).

It is, I think, fairly obvious that with the overwhelming proportion on this continent of men of English blood gifted with superior qualifications for administration and for the organization of successful business, it would be vain and futile for the minority of French descent, did they even desire it, to dream of ever establishing a racial ascendancy on this side of the Atlantic. But it is equally obvious that the right they possess to regulate their own development unchecked by any outside interferences, a right which will be enjoyed by the province of Quebec and by every other self-governing portion of the Empire so long as the British Empire itself endures, will also provide them with the opportunity, if they desire to use it, to develop their own racial characteristics in such a way as will enable them to leaven with their graces, their culture, their charm and their art the character of the whole Dominion.

There is no resistance that can permanently withstand the gentle but irresistible influence of charm and culture.

Let me give you one instance from my own experience in this city of the inbred charm innate in the French blood, to which I am fond of referring as the finest example I have ever met of distinguished and reverent courtesy.

It was in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in St. Denis street in this city. I had listened with surprise and admiration to an animated conversation between one of the devoted sisters of the institution and a deaf inmate who could not hear the sound of the human voice or any other sound, but whom no stranger would have suspected of deafness. I asked the sister whether the deaf girl, who was able to read the language of her lips so easily, could

read my lips as well. "Essayez donc, Votre Excellence." Accordingly I asked the deaf girl her name. "Mary Fitzpatrick," was the reply. "Irlandaise?" I ventured to suggest. "Non, non, non, Votre Excellence, mais Anglaise!" "Comment! Fitzpatrick Anglaise, impossible!" Whereupon the deaf girl, with a manner and a grace that would have done credit to the courts of the Tuileries and St. James, said: "Votre Excellence, nous sommes toutes Anglaise, aujourd'hui.

Now, remember, the poor girl to whom this courtly answer came so naturally, had been deaf from the day of her birth, and had only been taught the use of her tongue after she had reached the age of 10 years. In this instance you may see an illustration of what I have referred to as the charm of distinction and grace innate in the French blood, with which it is the mission of Les Canadiens to inoculate the Dominion.

Loyalty and courage are qualities near akin to that of courtesy. They flow as naturally as that of courtesy through the veins of Canadians of French descent. I prefer the term "Canadian of French descent" to that of "French Canadian." A grand old specimen of the province of Quebec, the late Monsieur Morin, who was member for Dorchester, once rebuked me for speaking of French Canadians. "Do you ever speak of 'French Englishmen?' he said, 'and if not, why do you speak of 'French Canadians?' Since he made this protest I am not conscious of having ever made use of the term "French Canadian." (Applause).

I remember years ago, Mr. Rhodes, when a young member in the Cape House of Assembly, censured the Prime Minister for sending a telegram to a party candidate in which he spoke of the Dutch vote and the English vote. I sympathise with that censure. Just as there is only one party in South Africa, namely, the South African or British party, so there is only one party in Canada, the Canadian or British party. To make the people of Canada one; to make the people of Canada into a strong, consolidated and harmonious nation, should be the ambition of every Canadian patriot.

Mr. Mayor, you have kindly referred to my endeavors to strengthen the "entente cordiale" between Canadians of French and English descent. If I did not do my utmost to bring about that result, I should not be doing my duty. As the harmonising of the two races, of which this country is composed, should be the object of every patriotic Canadian, it should most certainly be the first object of the representative of the Crown.

As Governor-General I have no politics, I am the constitutional mouth-piece of Sir Wilfrid Laurier one day and of Mr. Borden the next. (Laughter). But as Governor-General I have a standing quarrel with anyone whose policy it is to stir up racial differences.

It is a wise rule to look out, in those with whom we like, for points in which we agree, not for those in which we differ. To recognize the points of excellence in the Canadian of French descent should be the effort of Canadians of English descent and vice versa. (Cheers).

I have already referred to the refined courtesy innate in the French blood. Let me refer to instances of the sister qualities of courage and loyalty of which the history of Canada is so full.

I shall never forget my first visit to a habitant village about 20 miles from Quebec. I had expressed a wish to the Hon. Mr. Turgeon to make the acquaintance of Jean Baptiste as he is to be seen outside of the towns in the lovely and clean little country villages which brighten, like jewels, the fair bosom of your romantic province. In his desire to gratify my wishes, Mr. Turgeon took me to Pointe aux Trembles. There I spent one of the pleasantest of the many pleasant afternoons I have enjoyed in Canada. Dr. LaRue and his sons, with whom I lunched, entertained me so splendidly with songs and pleasantries that I left their house very late in the afternoon, and then only with the keenest regret, and also with the suspicion that the habitants of the province of Quebec may perhaps have reached nearer to the discovery of the secret of true happiness than many of my friends whose busy lives allow them no time, yes, and little inclination, for enjoyments which are those of the gods and of the good people of Quebec.

On the same day—and let me quote this story as an illustration of the fine spirit which lies latent in the province of Quebec, only waiting for an opportunity to burst into flame—as I was walking through the village, I met an old man, bent almost double and feebly tottering on his stick. “Viens done ici,” said my host, “Je veux vous introduire a Monsieur le Gouverneur General.”

We shook hands, and when the old man realized I was in truth the representative of his Sovereign, he slowly unbent himself, with difficulty straightened himself up, and steadying himself as he lifted his stick with both hands, as if it were a rifle, said: “Dites, s’il vous plait, a Monsieur le Roi, ah, ah, ah, que s’il a besoin de moi, ah, ah, ah, je peux toujours tirer le fusil—ah, ah, ah,” and then we all ah, ah, ahed and felt we were in the presence of the spirit of loyalty and courage which had saved the Empire in 1775, and again at Chateauguay, and which is prepared when necessary to save it again. (Applause).

Yes, gentlemen, the spirit of courtesy, courage and loyalty is the real spirit innate and inherent in the people of Quebec. It revealed itself again to me this last summer when I was camping in some of the wild and attractive places of your province, and I am not talking the language of extravagance when I say I am glad to have remained for another year in Canada, if for no other purpose but that of making the acquaintance of the gallant race of Coureurs des Bois, in the persons of Napoleon Comeau and Thomas Fortin. In these two men who have received practically no education except that which they had received from the three Great Teachers, La Mere, La Nature et La Necessite, I found two of the bravest and most delightful companions whom it is possible for any man to meet. Like the poor deaf girl of the St. Denis Institute, they were Nature’s Gentlemen. If their modesty would allow the stories of which they are the heroes to be published, we should be

enriched by a book which would enlist the sympathy of every part of the French and English-speaking world with a race of men who, in the earliest days of the old regime, have illuminated with deeds of prowess the pages of Canadian history and who, I am told, survive to-day in thousands and thousands in the back parts of your province.

Gentlemen, may I make a suggestion? No present would be so acceptable to me when I return to my English home as that of a volume on the performance of typical *Coureurs des Bois*, from the earliest times to the present, and ending up with two chapters on Napoleon Comeau and Thomas Fortin.

Gentlemen, the object of the Quebec Pageant of 1908 was to reveal to Canadians of French not less than of English descent, the virtue and the valor of their French ancestors. It greatly increased the pleasure I felt in being associated with that historical event, that this revelation of French achievement was the conception of English brains, and to a great extent the result of English effort. Evidence to the effect that the Quebec celebration has helped to unite more closely the peoples of the two provinces, has reached me from every quarter. Quebec and Ontario learnt to know each other better and consequently to love each other better than they ever did before, and my hope is that nothing will ever occur to prevent that closer union between the two great provinces of Ontario and Quebec, on which the hope of future Canadian greatness so much depends. (Applause).

Now, may I say a few words of farewell to my Canadian friends, not as Governor-General but as their friend and well-wisher.

I have said enough to show that I for one regard them as among the most loyal of the subjects of the Crown. I know that when the interests of the British Crown, on whose strength they depend for the continuance of their liberties, are endangered, Quebec will produce an example of loyalty which will thrill the world. I am aware that the habitants of the province find it difficult to realize at present that the strength of the British Crown may not continue omnipotent for all time. They have rested secure for so long in the folds of the Union Jack that they believe that all that is required to ensure their future wellbeing is to wrap it tightly round their shoulders whenever they may begin to feel a little cold. I would respectfully but earnestly implore them to look carefully to the condition of the flag and to see that it is kept in such a state as will enable it to give them warmth when it is required.

A distinguished prelate of the Roman Catholic Church once described to me as follows the political condition of Quebec: "*Nous sommes si content voire excellence que j'ai peur; un changement quelconque serait un desastre.*" How are we to prevent un changement quelconque serait un desastre? How are we to maintain unimpaired the conditions which now provide you with so much happiness that any change therefrom would be to you disastrous? What are those conditions? Why, gentlemen, they consist in the maintenance of British supremacy on the seas. If, then, you are to be saved from any "changement" which would be un desastre, the British supremacy on the sea must be

maintained. It would thus appear that the problem on which your prosperity and the continuance of your liberties depend, is how is that supremacy to be maintained? Do the people of Quebec think it can be maintained by doing nothing? Will it satisfy their self respect to float idly on the tide while every other part of the Empire is at work? Will such an attitude inspire a feeling of affection for them in the other portions of the Empire? What is the ambition or ideal of the various self-governing units, whose aggregate strength makes up the strength of the British Empire on the maintenance of which the continuance of your contentment depends? Is it to be a parasite on the Trunk of Empire, or is it to be the sustaining influence nourishing and strengthening with its invigorating sap the Tree of Empire, whose branches cast a beneficent shade over the whole earth?

Gentlemen, I find the answer to this question in the earliest recorded speech ever made in the city of Montreal. Speaking within a short distance of the place where we are assembled, Father Vimont in 1642, at the baptismal ceremony of the foundation of this city, spoke as follows:

"You are a grain of mustard seed that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is on you and your children shall fill the land."

Gentlemen, it is with these words of Father Vimont, which having come down to us from 250 years, are still waiting to be realized, that I desire to close my farewell remarks to you.

It is my firm conviction that you the people of Canada are a grain of mustard seed that shall rise and grow until its branches overshadow the earth.

That the blessing of God may continue to smile on you is my fervent and constant prayer, and in order that you may win for yourselves a strength which will enable you to become the strongest of controlling factors in an empire of self-governing nations, in an empire based on the foundation of freedom, duty and righteousness, I would ask you once more to have regard to the maintenance of that British supremacy on the seas on which the continuance of all your liberties and happiness depends, and also to the sanctity, healthfulness and beauty of your own individual homes. (Loud applause).

Speech in reply to an Address of the Mayor, Council and Citizens of
Quebec, directly before Embarking for England,
October 6th, 1911

MR. Mayor, Monseigneurs, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot tell you how much I appreciate the sympathetic words to which we have listened and the magnificent welcome that you have had the goodness to accord to me, as well as to Lady Grey and my family, and also the gift, which I accept with pleasure, and which will also be among the most treasured possessions of my house.

You have made mention, Mr. Mayor, of the modest dimensions of the municipal palace, but I believe that modesty is to be found rather in yourself than in the magnificent edifice in which we are gathered this evening.

At any rate, this is not the first time that the Municipal Council has received a representative of the King. I speak not only of the Governor-General of to-day, but of the gentlemen sent to your coasts by the Kings of France, not less than by the Kings of Great Britain. The names of Laval, of Tracy, of Frontenac, of Talon, are assuredly familiar enough to you.

Later, that is to say in 1784, Prince William Henry, afterwards George IV., visited Quebec in the quality of an officer of that navy on which depends the strength and security of the Empire and, in consequence, the ancient liberties of the Province of Quebec. On this occasion there was held on the Plains of Abraham, which not more than twenty years earlier had seen the bloody struggle in which Wolfe and Montcalm found a common and glorious death, a mimic combat recalling the story of our ancestors which we have not ceased to commemorate.

Six years later still another member of the Royal family, the Duke of Kent, father of the late Queen Victoria, of pious and glorious memory, found himself in your city and, captivated by its charms, lived here for three years.

The late King Edward VII., whom history has already named Edward the Peacemaker, admired from the heights of the Citadel, the beauties of the St. Lawrence. His Majesty George V. has several times followed the footsteps of his father, the last time to represent him, as you have reminded me, at the Tercentenary fetes. To crown your good fortune, you will receive on Friday next his uncle, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. You have already received him twice. This time you will receive him in the quality of Governor-General. I fear I should be impertinent if I dared to speak of the good qualities of His Royal Highness. You know him already. You will know him better soon.

The city of Quebec has been recognized as the doyen of Canadian cities. If she is not the greatest, she is the mother of them all. The Plains of Abraham have realized the promise made to the patriarch. They have been fruitful, they have multiplied themselves, and have filled the earth.

For 150 years, under the flag of the Bourbons, for 150 under the British flag, the city of Quebec has played its role in the development of our national life, and questions of the greatest importance to North America have been decided in the shadow of its walls.

You have asked me, Mr. Mayor, to tell His Majesty that he has no subjects more loyal than the good citizens of Quebec. I assure you I shall not neglect a task so agreeable. I shall not hesitate to assure His Majesty that every citizen of Quebec is ready, should the occasion arise, to shed his blood to defend him, and to do battle with the devoted courage of his ancestors. But our ancestors fought between themselves. Our sons will fight, if the hour of combat should come—and please God it may not—side by side against a common enemy.

There exists to-day between the people of the Province of Quebec and the people of the other provinces a knowledge and a sympathy which are constantly growing. Recall to yourselves the legend which decorated your streets on the occasion of the Tercentenary: "Let us know each other better, and we shall love each other better." To augment this knowledge, to vivify this love, was my object in inaugurating the fetes which you have mentioned in so gracious a manner. You encourage me in the hope that I have not absolutely failed in my object. And if sometimes misunderstandings arise among the different interests of our vast country, remember that "to understand all is to pardon all," and that "to love is to understand."

In regard to myself, Mr. Mayor, you have said some very agreeable things, too many amiable things, but not too amiable in regard to Lady Grey and my daughters. They have no need of a mirror to preserve your images in their hearts. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts. We shall cherish to the hour of our death the exquisite perfume of days so calm, so tranquil, so blessed as those which we have passed among the beauties of nature and the splendor of antiquity which exist, thanks to the churches and convents of Quebec. The happy hours which we have spent in your dear city will remain imperishably graven in our memories.

A Speech by Lord Grey after his Arrival in England, at a Dinner
given in his Honour by the Royal Colonial
Institute, October 24th, 1911

I THANK you from the bottom of my heart for the magnificent reception and welcome you have given to me on my return to England.

It is a great reward for seven years of constant effort to serve Canada and the Crown. But I hardly think that so great a reward is deserved, when the conditions of my Governor-Generalship in Canada are considered. I have been privileged to occupy for seven years the very pleasantest billet that exists in the service of the Crown. It is no ordinary privilege to live in an atmosphere of undiluted optimism and of continual new developments. I am not going to quote figures which give indications of the marvellous growth of Canada during the last seven years. That has been done for me by the Chairman, and I would like to say that the fact that the toast in my honour has been proposed by my old friend, Mr. Harcourt, has added rare zest to the pleasure which I have derived from this entertainment. It is quite true, as Mr. Harcourt has confided to you, that for the last twenty-five years we have never differed—except in opinion. Although we have never agreed upon a single subject, we have always left at the end of our little arguments better friends than we were at the beginning. During the last twenty-five years I can recollect no speech of Mr. Harcourt with which I so heartily agree as I do with the speech he has just delivered. Mr. Harcourt referred to my infectious enthusiasm. Up to this evening I had always thought that his temperament was a rock on which the seed of my enthusiasm had always fallen in vain. I am glad to think that we have now arrived at a new era when Mr. Harcourt cannot fail by the circumstances and the conditions of the times to be as good an Imperialist as I am myself. I wish to acknowledge on behalf of Lady Grey the very graceful allusion to her by my friend the Chairman, and in acknowledging the extremely kind things that have been said about me I wish to say that any success that has attended my Governor-Generalship in large measure is due to the whole-hearted and enthusiastic zeal with which Lady Grey and my two daughters identified themselves with the life of the Dominion, and with the best hopes and sports and aspirations of the Canadian people. I must not forget, when referring to the help I have received from my family, to mention the willing and ungrudging co-operation of my staff, for it is upon the zeal not only of one family, but of a cheerful, active, and sympathetic staff that the success of every Governor-General must depend.

Referring to Canada, with the shadow of the Governor-Generalship still upon me, it would be bad taste to give expression to any individual views on controversial topics. There are, however, a few questions which I understand are at present occupying the mind of England on which I may safely give expression to what I believe to be the views of practically the whole Dominion. I can say with the greatest confidence that, with the exception of an occasional crank here and there, it is impossible to find an annexationist within the whole length and breadth of the Dominion. I can also say with equal confidence that, notwithstanding some desire to the contrary, there is no expectation in Canada that the recent Canadian elections should be used as an argument for introducing any changes in the tariff of the United Kingdom.

It cannot be too clearly understood that Canadians are as averse to the idea of interfering in your local affairs as they are to any interference on your part in theirs. The method in which the self-governing units of the Empire may collect the revenue required to enable them to fulfil their National and Imperial obligations is regarded by Canadians as a local matter within the sole jurisdiction of the Dominion concerned. They claim the right to tax British imports, should their revenue and national requirements render such a tax in their opinion desirable, and they do not wish to interfere with the desire of the people of the United Kingdom to raise their revenue in such way as may seem best to them.

Another question of great interest to England is—What is the relation of Canada to the Empire, and how far does Canada recognise her obligation to take her share in carrying its burdens?

The answer to the question, What is the relation of Canada to the Empire? was given in large letters on the wall at the dinner given to me by the Canadian Club in 1904, shortly before I left for Canada. The proud boast that greeted me from the wall of the banqueting chamber on that occasion, reflecting the confident belief of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the destiny of his country, was that "The twentieth century belonged to Canada." Now, if it be true, as has been well said, that the century just passed was the century of Nations, and that the current century will be known to history as the century of Empires, it must be obvious that Canada's only chance of appropriating to herself the proud distinction claimed for her by Sir Wilfrid Laurier is by becoming the strongest factor in the strongest Empire of the century. If there is any doubt that the people of Canada are inspired by the faith that it is the destiny of the Dominion, by reason of its size, its fertility, its climate, its wealth, and, still more, because of the increasing number and high character of her population, to become the strongest part of the British Empire before the close of the present century, that doubt ought to be dispelled by the greeting which hung across the main street of Ottawa in large letters welcoming the Duke of Connaught on his arrival in the Federal city of the Dominion with the following words: "What is our Country? The Empire is our Country, Canada is our Home." The fact that the author of this inspiring slogan, which I should like to see reproduced in every school

of the Empire, is Mr. Graham, the ex-Minister of Railways in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet, ought to be accepted as evidence that the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was animated by no annexationist sentiment in advocating the policy which was defeated at the polls.

In order that I may convince you that Canada is absolutely and passionately loyal to the Imperial connexion, let me point out to you that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom some of you have been taught to regard with suspicion, was fully persuaded that his policy would, if adopted, strengthen both Canada and the Crown. Justice to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and my affection and admiration for that distinguished statesman require me to say so much. To secure the free entry of the products of the farm, the fisheries, and the forest into a protected market of nearly a hundred millions, by the purchase of the reciprocal admission of similar products from the United States and by a trifling reduction of the duties on agricultural implements, which has been energetically demanded by the agricultural interests, appeared to him to be an economic advantage which it was his bounden duty to secure for his country when the unexpected opportunity placed it within his reach. His policy, which aimed at providing extended markets for the producers of Canada, while at the same time carefully preserving by protective safeguards the home market for Canadian manufacturers, may have been a good or a bad policy—it is not for me to say—but it was certainly in no sense the policy of disloyalty to closer connexion with the Motherland. On the contrary, it was the belief of those responsible for this policy that its adoption would bring increased prosperity to the producers of Canada, with a resulting increase in the home demand for Canadian manufactures, and also for the manufactures of the United Kingdom, whose Preference would not have been substantially affected.

I have given the above summary of the policy of the party which was defeated at the recent election with the object of dissipating from the minds of Englishmen any suspicion that the ambitions of the Liberal Party in Canada were in any way inconsistent with a jealous regard for the best interests of the Empire.

The people of Canada, however, sniffed danger in these proposals—rightly or wrongly, it is not for me to say. Thousands and thousands of Liberals feared that their adoption might start their country on an incline which might eventually land them in the lap of the United States. The suspicion that a secret American ambition aimed at the incorporation of Canada in the United States; the recollection by Canadians in the maritime provinces, and in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, of the past harsh treatment that they had suffered from the United States; the present great and abounding prosperity of the Dominion—all combined to strengthen the national resolve to vote down a policy, however advantageous it might be to their material interests in which they scented possible danger to their fiscal independence and national autonomy.

Just as Epaminondas the Theban would not allow the whole riches of the world to enter into competition with the love of his country, and thereby raised Thebes to the highest pitch of glory, so the Canadians have shown, and not for the first time, that the love of their country is superior to every other consideration, thereby justifying the belief of the Empire in the coming greatness of the splendid destiny which awaits them. To those who do not know the Canadian people the revelation afforded by the recent elections of the strength and vigour of the national sentiment of Canada must have been a most welcome and refreshing surprise. It did not, however, require this new revelation of the traditional spirit of Canada to convince those who were already acquainted with her history and with the character of her people, that their attachment to their national institutions and to their connexion with the Empire is too deeply rooted ever to be overthrown.

The history of Canada, I would remind you, is founded on sacrifice, on the heroic lives and indomitable courage of the French Jesuits, and of the early settlers of French and English descent, who, at the risk of their scalps and at the cost of the broken backs and broken hearts of more than one generation, have converted a savage wilderness into the granary of the Empire. I would further point out that the pulse of the United Empire loyalists, who preferred to abandon their homes in the revolted colonies, and to say good-bye to ease and affluence, rather than betray their allegiance to the British Crown, and who, armed with no other equipment but their character and their flag, bravely set forth to carve out for themselves new homes in the wild and unkempt forests of the frozen North, still beats lustily through the veins of the Canadian people. There is no fact so clear to me in the whole orbit of British politics as the fixed determination of the Canadian people to work out their own salvation under the sheltering folds of the Union Jack, safe and immune, thanks to the power of the British Fleet, from the slightest pressure from outside.

Now, if I have succeeded in making you share my conviction that the aim, ambition, and destiny of Canada is to become the strongest and controlling portion of the British Empire, and perhaps within the limits of the present century, what assistance may you, the people of the United Kingdom, who are carrying practically single-handed the whole debt and burden of Empire, expect to receive in the future from the people of Canada in your efforts to ensure the continued supremacy of the seas, on which depends the sacred and cherished autonomy which is the very breath of the self-governing Dominions of the King? The declaration in the Ottawa House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier that the Empire may count on the last dollar and the last drop of blood in the Dominion, if such sacrifice is necessary to secure the continued enjoyment of their autonomous rights, and the speeches of Mr. Borden showing that his party are behind him and Sir Wilfrid Laurier as a solid unit in this Imperial determination, should be in themselves sufficient to set any unfounded apprehension at rest.

While the strength of this Imperial determination, so far as Canada is concerned, is beyond all question, let it be clearly understood that the people of Canada are not in sympathy with any form of Imperialism which involves the idea of the subjection of a self-governing people to the authority of an outside Parliament in which they are not represented, or with any form of Imperialism which involves the idea of jingo aggressiveness or arrogant refusal to acknowledge the equal rights of others.

Now that it is recognised in Canada that Imperialism is the best security for local nationalism, Canadians are all Nationalists and all Imperialists. How to co-operate more effectively for the promotion of objects equally dear to all, or in other words for British Union, is the problem of the new Imperialism which the conditions of the times is bringing ever more and more before the attention of every subject of the Crown, in whatever part of the Empire he may reside. If I were to give expression to my individual views as to how this all-important problem can be best solved, I should be trespassing on ground on which I have already stated my resolve not to tread this evening. You may, however, as practical men, ask what evidence of this new Imperialism does Canada supply in the shape of a readiness to co-operate with the overburdened people of these little islands in their determination to maintain that supremacy of the seas on which the continuance of British liberties depends.

I find a satisfactory answer to that question in the resolution that was passed unanimously by the Federal House of Commons in Ottawa on the last day of March 1909: "The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and honour of the Empire." From the intent of this resolution there has been and there will be no turning back. It is true that political parties have differed as to the means of giving effect to a policy to which all are pledged. Opinions may legitimately differ in Canada, no less than in Great Britain, as to the amount of the total expenditure which should be incurred, as to the relation which Canadian battleships should bear to the other battleships of his Majesty's Navy, or as to Canada's share in the control of the policy of Empire which a share in its defence may entitle her to claim; but the fundamental proposal that Canada, like the other self-governing Dominions of the Crown, is a partner in a whole, and that the whole must be defended, if necessary, by Canadian money and Canadian lives—no less than English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, New Zealand, Australian, Newfoundland, and South African—is affirmed by Tories and Liberals alike.

It may be objected here that some of the people of Quebec, and perhaps also of other provinces, are opposed to any participation by Canada in the naval defence of the Empire. For the moment that is true, but for the moment only. I firmly believe that the reluctance of the French-descended citizens of Quebec to keep pace with their fellow-citizens of the rest of the

Empire is due not to any lack of appreciation of what the British Empire means to them, but to a lack of appreciation of what are the requirements of the Empire and to an exaggerated idea of its omnipotence. To them the British Empire appears as a Power all-pervading and unassailable. To tell them that the great British Empire requires the assistance of the *habitant* of Quebec is to suggest what to them seems at present an absurd idea. It is as though one should tell them that they must hold up the heavens with their hands. To dispel so touching a faith may seem an ungrateful task, but it is not an impossible one. It cannot require more than a patient process of education to convince them that to enable the British Empire to ensure a continuance of the security they enjoy each man must be prepared to play his part. Once let the *habitants* of Quebec firmly grasp the true facts of the situation, they will prove themselves to be as ready to do their duty for their flag as they were in the days of Montcalm or on the field of Chateauguay.

I may also point out that if we regard this question from the standpoint of self-interest alone, there is no race of men in the world who stand to gain or to preserve more by the maintenance of naval supremacy than the *habitants* of Quebec. Passionately attached as they are to their land, to their homes, to their local rights, there is one institution to which they cling with an attachment more passionately still—the Roman Catholic Church—and in no part of the world does the Roman Catholic Church enjoy equally great and free privileges for its work, its worship, or its schools, as are guaranteed to it in the Province of Quebec by the British North America Act, and all these exceptional privileges are secured to Quebec by the British Navy, on which they float as certainly as the British Navy itself floats upon the sea. Indeed, the truth of what I have said has been emphatically asserted to me by a distinguished prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in terms more graphic than any which I can employ. In summing up the political position of the Province of Quebec he said to me : "*Excellence, nous sommes si contents que j'ai peur un changement quelconque serait un désastre.*"

The reluctance of the *habitant* to face any increase of his public responsibilities is inspired by his conviction that no change is necessary, and the maxim, "When no change is necessary it is necessary not to change," is a maxim which, if sometimes forgotten elsewhere, is still fully remembered in the Province of Quebec. It is not yet realized that the change which to him would spell disaster must follow the loss of British naval supremacy, and that consequently not only his duty but his interest requires him to see that the Imperial Navy, which is the security of his liberties, shall remain equal to the effective discharge of its Imperial responsibilities.

It has been my endeavour to put the idea before the Canadian people whenever opportunity offered, that the Empire, of which Canada realises she is one day destined to become the controlling part, stands not for aggressiveness, not for the wanton, arrogant, or unscrupulous exercise of force, but for the ideals of fair play, freedom, duty, and righteousness, and for an ungrudging recognition of the equal rights of others. Yes, it is because these

are the noble and inspiring ideals of the British Empire that every patriotic Canadian, like every patriotic Briton, in whatever part of the world he may reside, regards it as a privilege, the value of which no wealth can measure, to be able to call himself a British citizen.

It is because the British Empire stands for a community of ideals, ideals of the highest practical manly Christianity, that the allegiance to the Empire of Britons in all parts of the world is so whole-hearted and universal. Not long ago I visited a factory in Ontario. There I saw two plates of steel bound together by no visible bond, but by the invisible force of an electrical current. No power could force those plates asunder until the current of electricity ceased to flow. They were kept in indissoluble union by the binding force of a magnetic clutch. It is the magnetic clutch of common ideals, common interests, common hopes, and common aspirations that to-day keeps the British Empire one and indivisible.

But I would point out that although this may be true of to-day, it may be equally true that the interests of the Empire will require before long some form of organic union which will prevent the binding force of the magnetic clutch from ever becoming weak. At the same time it is obvious that it is not desirable to force unduly the pace of natural evolution. When you reflect that a population smaller than that of London is engaged in the tremendous task of reducing a continent the size of Europe from primeval to civilised conditions, covering it with railways, canals, tramways, roads, and magnificent public buildings, you will be able to understand how natural it is that there should be a universal cry, wherever you go in Canada, for more population and for further capital.

Canada is bringing with every new development fresh strength to the Empire. Those who, like myself, have been fortunate enough to live in Canada during the last seven years have felt and seen the Imperial spirit growing; and if I might venture a bit of advice to my friends I would remind them that good husbandry refrains from tapping the sap from the trunk of a young and growing tree. Do not weaken the growing tree of future Imperial strength by premature tappings. Feed and water its roots with generous and ungrudging sympathy. Direct to Canada and to the other self-governing Dominions the surplus population which swarms annually from these islands across the seas. Continue to give the preference of your investments to enterprises which will help the growth of Greater Britain. In your purchases also give a preference to the products of your overseas kinsmen. Bring your overseas kinsmen nearer and nearer to the Motherland by quickened and cheapened transportation and by lower cable rates. There is much to be done in these and in other directions.

And may I most respectfully, but most earnestly, make one special appeal to this most distinguished and influential audience? Let it be a point of honour with those who have not yet crossed the Atlantic and who have the power to do so, to visit Canada. Believe me, it is impossible to understand Canada by remaining on this side of the Atlantic. Believe me, it is impossible

for Englishmen and Canadians to know and to love each other without frequent and prolonged visits to each other's houses, and I am satisfied that, just as in the case of Canadians visiting the United Kingdom, nine out of ten will come back prouder than ever of their British citizenship, and more confident than ever of the bright and glorious future which is destined to surround with a new halo the venerable brow of the British Empire, and to cause her to be regarded more and more as the years roll on as the best hope of the weak, the suffering, and the oppressed in every corner of the earth.

FREEDOM OF LONDON CONFERRED ON EARL GREY, JANUARY 23rd 1912

THE ancient and picturesque ceremonial associated with the conferment of the Honorary Freedom of the City of London was enacted in the Guildhall when the name of Earl Grey, lately the Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada, was added to the civic roll of fame.

The granting of the Honorary Freedom of the City is a jealously guarded honour. A form of agenda was prepared; but the only business which appeared upon it was that of honouring the great Pro-consul and Administrator, in the presence of a very distinguished company invited for the occasion.

The Lord Mayor, the Lady Mayoress, the sheriffs and others arrived in state at the Guildhall at noon. Earl Grey and the Countess and others arrived a few minutes later. They were met by the city authorities. A procession was formed headed by the mace bearers carrying the ancient silver mace, and as they passed up the hall, the assembly rose to their feet and cheered with great enthusiasm. A session of the Court of Common Council was then constituted, the orders of the day were read and the business proceeded.

The name, fame and good intentions of the proposed recipient of the honour being duly vouched for, Earl Grey was presented by the Master and Wardens of one of the city companies. He took the oath of allegiance to the King and complied with other formalities and signed the roll of freemen.

The final ceremony was performed by the City Chamberlain (Sir Joseph Dimsdale) whose office it was to offer Earl Grey the right hand of fellowship, admit him as a freeman and present on behalf of the Court of Common Council the gold box containing the Freedom duly inscribed.

In making the presentation, Sir Joseph Dimsdale made an address in every respect suitable to the occasion and of some length, concluding in these words:—"We do not forget that the name of your great-grandfather and "grandfather are amongst those who form our roll of fame. Yours to-day is "added to that scroll which record the names of many who have assisted to

"build up Britain's history and to maintain Britain's glory. Their deeds, "their names, and yours will be enshrined in the hearts and affections of coming generations. . . . In the name of the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Court of Common Council, I ask your acceptance of "this casket containing a copy of your freedom."

Earl Grey replied as follows:—

I accept with feelings of no ordinary emotion the great and distinguished honour you have conferred on me. I need hardly say, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, that I shall accept, and my family ever cherish with the greatest pride, the handsome casket which you have been so generous as to bestow on me containing the document of my Freedom of the City. (Hear, hear). I also wish to thank you, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, especially, for your reference to the influence of that lady, my wife—(cheers)—to whose sympathy, support and advice I owe whatever success may have attended my Governor-Generalship. (Cheers).

My Lord Mayor, in spite of the all too kind reference to me by your Chamberlain, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, I cannot presumptuously flatter myself that your generous action has been prompted by an appreciation on your part of any personal merits of my own, so much as by the natural desire of the City of London to do the fullest honour in their power to the spirit of the Canadian people. (Cheers). I am not referring, I need hardly say, to recent political events in Canada, and I intend no allusion to the General Election of September 21. (Hear, hear).

I am particularly desirous that I should not be understood to suggest that there is the slightest distinction in the matter of loyalty between one Canadian party and another. (Cheers). It is my firm conviction, borne in upon me by my happy experience of seven years of intimate relationship with the Canadian people, that all parties in Canada are equally loyal to the Empire and to the Crown. (Cheers). The spirit of Canada to which I refer, and which it is your desire, my Lord Mayor, to honour, is indicated by the growing belief of all Canadians alike, without distinction of party, origin, or creed, in themselves, and in the greatness of the future that awaits them, and by their consciousness that it is within their power, as well as in their determination, to fulfil the inspiring role of their splendid destiny. (Hear, hear).

I consider myself singularly fortunate in that my official connection with the people of Canada at a time of remarkable economic and material development, and of a growing realisation of the privilege they possess as an integral and, in time to come, a controlling portion of this great Empire, should have secured for me the specially coveted honour of enrolment in the distinguished company of the Honorary Freemen of London. (Cheers).

To be admitted into the privileged ranks of the Honorary Freemen of the City of London is by common consent of Englishmen almost the highest distinction that any man can receive. The greatness of this distinction was

evident by the prayer of the good and noble Lord Shaftesbury, when he received the freedom of the City, that those who might undertake after his death the duty of compiling his biography should have the goodness to record not what he had accomplished, but simply that he had died a citizen of London. (Cheers).

I am happy, as you have been reminded by your Chamberlain, that I am not the first of my race on whom the Freedom of the City has been bestowed; that honour was conferred upon my great grandfather, in recognition of his brilliant victories in the West Indies, and upon my grandfather in testimony of your predecessors' appreciation of the service rendered by him to the Crown, and to the people, in proposing and carrying a measure of reform, which in their opinion was so conservative in its principles, and so satisfactory in its details, as to have been received with enthusiasm by a large majority of all classes of the community in every part of the United Kingdom. (Cheers). I find that my grandfather in acknowledging the bestowal of an honour, which I hope I may be excused for believing in a spirit of filial reverence to have been well bestowed, stated that never had he felt himself so inadequate to the performance of any task as he felt to that of giving expression to his feelings on being enrolled a citizen of London. I trust I may be permitted to adopt as my own the language which he used, and to say that I must entreat you not to measure by the inadequacy of my expressions the deep and heartfelt sense which I entertain of the high honour which you have this day conferred upon me, and that I must ever consider it to be the proudest distinction of my life, which adds me to those upon whom the same privilege has been conferred, a privilege which you have often conferred upon those commanders who have led your fleets and your armies to victory, and on those statesmen who, by their labours, have promoted the prosperity and the power of the country. (Cheers).

To be added to such a body is a proud and an honourable distinction, but it is accompanied by one painful sensation—that it compels me to realize how disproportionate my merits are to the honour you have conferred on me. If my grandfather felt himself to be so embarrassed as has been indicated by this quotation from the speech he made in this historic hall when he received from your predecessors the Freedom of the City, my condition can easily be imagined.

The only way of escape I can find from the natural embarrassment which overwhelms me is through the consciousness that the honour you have conferred upon me has been paid, if directly to myself alone, indirectly to the whole Dominion of Canada. (Cheers). The fact that this honour has been bestowed upon me by a public body whose influence upon the development of Canada is universally acknowledged, whose great and abounding liberality has contributed so largely to develop the resources, to increase the commerce, to promote the prosperity, and to establish the power of the Dominions, will cause every patriotic Canadian to desire to associate himself with me in my

humble endeavour to express on their behalf as well as on my own my respectful and heartfelt acknowledgments.

May I be permitted to make one remark with regard to the all-important relations of Canada to the Empire, which, as I have already said, she is one day destined to be the controlling power? The day is approaching when Canadians will be ready as self-governing subjects of the Crown to assume the full status of partners in the responsibilities and obligations, as well as in the privileges of the Empire. (Cheers).

The desire to acquire the fullest measure of Imperial citizenship is growing among many of the most thoughtful of the people of Canada, and I rejoice, as we must all rejoice, in this evidence of the strengthening self-respect of an adult and no longer an adolescent nation. (Hear, hear). It is my happy conviction that the people of the United Kingdom will welcome the peoples of Canada, and the other self-governing Dominions, as soon as they are ready, with open arms to the councils of the Empire, where the grave matters which affect us all alike are settled. (Cheers). The demand for a due share in these councils, once made, will be responded to in no spirit of grudging exclusiveness or insular prejudice, but with a generous welcome of a people hailing the growth of their own strength in the young and growing vigour of their sons. (Cheers).

The spirit of exclusiveness is happily buried in the limbo of past errors. The belief that exists throughout the whole of Canada that no obstacle will be offered by the peoples of the United Kingdom to the assumption by Canada of her fair share of the Imperial privilege as soon as she is ready to claim the full responsibility of her Imperial manhood has already attached her loyalty to the Crown and the British connection with roots too deep ever to be removed except by such folly as no one can imagine to be ever possible. (Cheers).

But the problem of combining the unimpaired enjoyment of autonomous rights by each self-governing portion of the Empire in its own local affairs with the duty of sharing in the burdens and the privileges of taking part in the deliberation of matters common to the whole still remains to be solved. The solution of it is perhaps the highest of all the duties that lie before the present and the rising generation of statesmen throughout the British world, and in my belief the task cannot be undertaken too soon. (Hear, hear).

It is an obvious truism that the Dominions and the Motherland supplement each other's greatness, and are indispensable to one another. If it be true that the United Kingdom cannot hope for ever to play alone her present part as a force making for peace and righteousness throughout the world, it is equally true that Canada and the other Dominions cannot hope to develop the strength of their free and aspiring nationalities except under the sheltering protection of the British flag. (Cheers). But the fact that we, the people of these British Islands, do not hesitate uncomplainingly to endure any strain that may be necessary to enable us to efficiently safeguard the great Imperial inheritance into which Canada will one day enter; the fact that we are

prepared practically single-handed to carry on until we drop the burden of that Empire without soliciting any assistance from those whom it is our great privilege to serve, at once dignifies and ennobles the privilege of our English citizenship, and at the same time fills with admiration and with envy the more generous-minded of our kinsmen overseas. (Cheers).

I have had ample opportunity during my seven years in Canada of realizing that this spectacle of noble and uncomplaining sacrifice on the part of the gallant people of these precious islands in the common interest of every portion of the Empire has done more to stimulate the desire of Canadians to play their part in the administration of Imperial affairs than could have resulted from any direct appeal to them for their assistance. (Cheers).

But in the meantime let us remember that the Canadian people—who in their numbers do not exceed the population of this great mother-city of the Empire—do not let us forget that they are engaged in the difficult task of furnishing with the equipment of modern civilization a continent as large as Europe, and that every addition they make to the resources and strength of the Dominion is also an addition to the strength of the Empire.

I think, then, I am giving true expression to the prevailing sentiment of Canada, when I say that her people are animated by only one desire, which is to bring to the Empire every assistance in their power with a view to enabling the Crown to fulfil its mission to the world. (Cheers).

I do not think I can give better expression to what I think the real sentiments of Canada than by venturing to appropriate as the words of the Canadian people the words used by Lord Nelson, when he received the Freedom of the City, and by assuring my fellow-citizens of London that the hand and the head of Canada will ever be exercised with all her heart in defence of her King and the ideals and liberties of England, in which I include everything that can be beneficial to the capital and every portion of the Empire. (Cheers).

May I be permitted to express to you once more my most respectful and sincere thanks for the great distinction with which you have been pleased to honour me, and through me, if I may be so bold as to venture on this occasion to assume a representative character, the whole Dominion of Canada. (Loud cheers).