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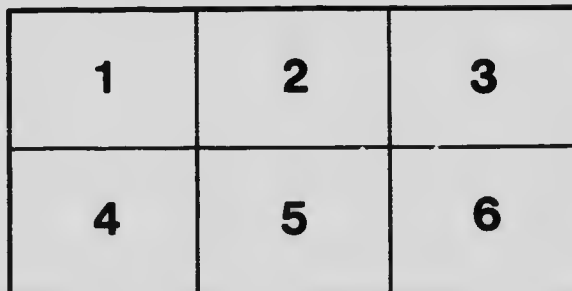
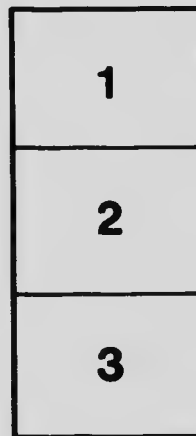
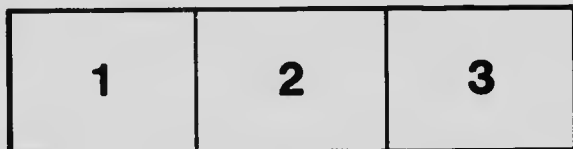
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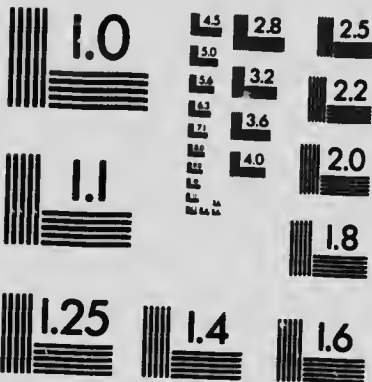
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Canada in 1920

By A. MACKENZIE FORBES

MONTREAL

LABOR thinks that Democracy has been a failure. Perhaps it has. Certainly Unrest, Socialism and Bolshevism prevail.

OUR duty lies in substituting Rest for Unrest, Constructive Socialism for Destructive Socialism, Happiness for Bolshevism. We must make Canada a happier place to live in.

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Canada in 1920

THAT great Canadian, Sir John A. Macdonald, leader of the Conservative party, lay a-dying in Ottawa. The sympathies of all Canada were centred on his bed-chamber. One of our great financial institutions happened to be holding its annual meeting of shareholders in Montreal; the late Lord Strathcona, then Sir Donald A. Smith, was presiding. A telegram was handed to Sir Donald, who spoke thus: "I have good news, gentlemen, Sir John A. Macdonald's condition shows some improvement." He then sat down. Immediately an ancient Scotsman of Glengarry birth and of the Liberal party, arose to protest against the meeting being made a political gathering. These were about the words he used: "There was a time, Sir Donald, when you stood shoulder to shoulder with me in the ranks of the Liberal party. In those days the health of the Conservative leader would not have interested you as it seems to interest you to-day." Sir Donald Smith arose and gently stroking his beard, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, I am to-day, as I have always been, a LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE, Conservative, conservative."

In the days of war and stress our Canadian soldiers were told by their Government that they were fighting for democracy! What is democracy?

"A democratic society can have but one controlling ideal, and that is to secure in the highest possible degree the welfare of its citizens."

This is possible in one way: We must raise the standard of living in our country. This can be done by increasing production. Production, profits and wages are means to an end—that end in the first place being the provision of food, clothing, houses and leisure, which are the indispensable conditions of a full and happy life.

You cannot HAVE more unless you PRODUCE more; you cannot consume unless you first produce. This was the riddle which past governments were asked to solve. This was the riddle which past governments failed to take adequate steps to solve. They did not remodel our Canadian life so that by efficiency, with its resulting high production, Canadian standards and ideals of national life might be so elevated that Canada

would become a country worth living for, as it was a country thought worth dying for by so many of our friends.

Our governments, with less excuse, have followed the theories of Political Economy accepted by Labour, which call for high wages to improve the workman's standard of living. Both the Government and Labour should primarily set their faces to improve the standard of living, because a member of human society is justly entitled to receive from society the equivalent of what he gives to society. The standard of living can be improved and improved only, by increasing production.

The neglect of Labour to realize that by production alone can the standard of living be improved is the most tragic error of this generation. It has caused hatred, violence, suffering and loss. Yet our governments also, but with less excuse, have similarly fallen. The duty of the Government is to lay down such rules as will assure that skill and energy have their due recognition, that foul play is adequately penalized, and that the efforts of all workers are co-ordinated and directed for our country's welfare.

IT was only during the latter part of the last century that people recognized the truism that just as man, by the application of knowledge, may become the master of his fate, and just as by the application of science he may improve plants and the strains of animals, so may States and Nations be created and improved by man's conscious action. Such development is possible by intelligent organization, and implies nothing prejudicial to that same freedom which everyone of us loves, and for which thousands of our fellow-countrymen have laid down their lives.

Organized national life, based upon production and development, can only lead to a higher and a fuller life for the individual. It is this which our governments have failed to realize and to put into practice. Subsidies to manufacturers, the building of public works, credits to foreign countries were vain endeavours to cure symptoms, but not to eradicate disease.

THE first essential is that both the Government and the nation, as a whole, shall accept the policy of high and scientific production as its conscious aim, and work whole-heartedly for it.

We must foster a new conception of the executive functions of our Government. Democracies, if they are to survive, must cheerfully shoulder the task of self-discipline. They must pick

those with the best brains, and instruct them to govern. We must clearly tell our governments that we want our land to produce as much as Belgian land. Our natural or indigenous industries must be second to none. We have wonderful natural resources. We have marvellous supplies of power. The country is ripe for reconstruction for Canada and Canadians.

Our country, our Empire, can only recover from the disastrous effects of the war if we make full use of the land as the best source from which to produce new wealth. The United Kingdom imports every year £370,000,000 worth of products of the soil. Only £113,000,000 come from within the Empire.

If the land is to yield its wealth we must have sufficient labour to cultivate it. Has our policy been to bring labour to the land? Germany, which is only one sixty-fourth the area of the British Empire, has an agricultural population of over twenty millions, viz., six and a half millions more than that of the whole British Empire.

We cannot develop our greatest imperial asset—the land—without cultivators, and in the long run we shall not be able to keep the British Empire, and all that it stands for, without settling our British lands, especially in Canada, with settlers who have been trained in agriculture and who are willing to farm. Canada is essentially an agricultural country. Our life as a nation depends on farms and farmers. Rural life is the permanent source from which all life springs; all families and all classes come, more or less immediately, from those most closely associated with old Mother Earth. The maintenance of a high standard of life on the farm is a condition upon which depends the quality and indeed the very existence of our whole social fabric. The realization of this truth will be followed, we hope, by production and more production.

Taking Canada as a whole, the increase in rural population from 1901 to 1911 was only 17%, while the increase in the urban population was 62%. What an indictment against the governing class of Canada! Population was ardently desired. But who calculated the true necessities of the country; who judged of the material available? Quantity—not quality—was the policy. And with quantity we are to create a Canadian nation!

The history of the numerical development of the population of Canada has been a tragedy. Let us analyse this:

The population in 1901 was 5,200,000. The normal increase in ten years would be approximately 1,100,000, total 6,300,000. Immigration from 1901 to 1911 was 2,000,000. The population

in 1911 should have been 8,300,000. The actual population in 1911 was 7,100,000. The deficit was 1,200,000.

In ten years, in spite of immigration, we show a real deficit, although an apparent increase. What has happened? Where has our population disappeared? Our Canadians have been emigrating to the United States.

I will not quote statistics, because as you know there are three kinds of lies, d— lies, and statistics.

A Prince Edward Islander tells me that although the population of Prince Edward Island to-day is only 94,000, there are 100,000 Prince Edward Islanders living in the States. A French Canadian tells me that 1,500,000 French Canadians are living in the States. A Nova Scotian tells me that there are 100,000 Nova Scotians resident in Boston.

Why should rural institutions decay, and why should the most enterprising young men and women move to the city? The answer is that labour and capital have not been adequately rewarded in Canadian agriculture. No man will sow where he cannot reap, and if the rewards of other occupations are greater than those of farming, farmers will drift to other callings, and Canada will suffer.

ALL Canadians must realize that anything which makes agriculture more prosperous will react favourably on all other industries. Yet our national policy has not been for agriculture, nor have the efforts of our governments been aimed at the preservation of our fundamental industry. Agriculture is the root and the trunk of our national life, the urban industries being the branches. Agriculture is the oak whose life is sapped by the mistletoe of urban industry. Succeeding governments have rested oblivious of this truth, just as oblivious as Labour has been to the eternal verity that on production depends our standard of living, and on this latter again depends the well-being and happiness of Canadians.

Production and taxation must be studied in Canada. Education, production and co-operation should be the slogan of the farmer. But Taxation also will be considered. Indirect taxation in the form of protective duties, should be revised. Duties on the imports of natural products, unrefined and unmanufactured, must be considered. Direct taxation on land values must be studied, at first, only as supplementary to indirect taxation.

Canadian land, after all, is the Nation's greatest asset. But it is essential that it be put to the fullest use. No citizen can

perform a higher duty to his country than that of cultivating the land.

Those men will succeed best who honestly mean to do their duty by the land by making it yield the largest amount of food and other produce for the nation. Those who do this wisely will reap their reward. Cultivating the land, producing food for the people, making food grow where none grew before, this is one of the highest duties a citizen can perform.

THE War is over. We have been fighting for the high ideals and principles for which our Empire stands, and no matter how victorious we may have been in battle, if we are to maintain these principles and ideals, we must organize the people of the Empire in a way in which they have never been organized before. If we are to develop the natural resources of the Empire, if the flow of worthy population is to be guided to those parts of the Empire most in need of population, if we are to prevent our thinly peopled lands being settled by alien immigrants, then we must have an imperial understanding which will help to secure for Canada the farm-born and the farm-trained men of the British Isles.

Politically and economically Canada is not, to-day, in a position to care for or assimilate the Hyde Park soap-box orator, nor the Radical of the manufacturing cities such as Glasgow or the North of England. We have too many clinging to the towns and too few honestly endeavouring to develop our rural life. The policy of Canada in the future should be increased and increasing agricultural production and the development of a citizenship essentially Canadian.

FOR forty years our cities have prospered at the expense of the country. We have created a parasitic class in our manufacturing element, the leaders of which have amassed fortunes on the charity of the country at large, and especially of agricultural Canada. Perhaps not at the order of, but certainly for the benefit of these, our immigration has been non-selected, with the result that the immigrant has drifted into our cities and lived as a parasite there. One has only to wander along the streets of any one of our manufacturing centres, or to go to a theatre, to hear the babel of languages where two only should be heard. One has but to observe the faces of those who pass by to realize that Canada is being saddled with an incubus which in peace will detract from our civilization, and in war will prove to be an enemy in our midst.

What, during the war, was seen of our non-selected immigrants? Did they who were to claim or who claimed the right to rule our country—did they or their parasitic predecessors, claim the privilege of fighting for and perhaps dying for our ideals? Canada and Canadian ideals have been prostituted by a class who, desiring simply personal gain, have dominated supine governments whose ideal of patriotism was politics, whose aim was tenure of office and not Canadian weal.

The remedy lies in the hands of the middle class. Neither so-called Capital nor so-called Labour should be permitted to rule the destinies of this our Canadian heritage, and it is feared that so-called Capital has had, in the past, too much influence at Ottawa. It is known, that so-called Labour has become inflated with its supposed power, and has terrorized our people for selfish and for local ends. "For Canada" should be the motto of Canadians. "For Canada" does not seem to be the motto of either Labour or Capital.

While we long and will willingly work for justice for all, we cannot accede to the demands of organized labour that they, the minority, shall dominate the majority—the agrarian community who with others form "the great Middle Class"—who possess neither excessive capital nor the organization of labour and yet form the backbone of Canada.

The remedy for our ills, the safeguard against Bolshevism, extreme socialism and anarchy, just as it is the safe-guard against the oligarchy of the *nouveaux riches*, will be found in the fact that the majority of Canadians belong to the sane and temperate middle class. They stand mid-way between the extremes—so-called Capital and so-called Labour. They are without prejudice in the conflict between Labour and Capital. They will sit in impartial judgment between Capital and Labour. The middle class of voting Canadians realize that Capital and Labour are both necessary for the welfare of Canada. They realize that Capital has often been unfair. They realize that legislation is necessary to safeguard the interest of the wage-earner and they *will have* such legislation. But they also are impressed with the selfish aims of Labour, and realize that the strike, whilst possibly a legitimate weapon on some occasions, is being made use of as a species of "indirect action" to terrorize honest people, as witness not only Winnipeg, but the recent strike of certain of the employees of the Montreal Water Department.

At midnight on the 31st December, 1919, in the midst of a bitterly cold spell, these employees walked out and left tens of

millions worth of property in the City of Montreal without real fire protection. They left the people exposed to epidemic and pestilence. They left the sick and afflicted in the hospitals without the water necessary for their welfare. The poor were left in cold and misery—cold because all heating systems operated by hot water or steam became impossible ; misery because there was no other supply of water available. This infamy was coolly planned by a Union as a campaign of "indirect action" against their employers who had already tried to meet their wishes. According to the "Montreal Gazette" the chairman of the Administrative Committee of the city of Montreal is responsible for this statement :

"The Commission did all in its power to give satisfaction to the aqueduct employees, and has never refused to negotiate with them on an equitable basis. After the interview of December 31st the Commission ratified in writing the verbal proposition, and as the Commission had been informed that the employees proposed going on strike on December 31st at midnight, it demanded that the employees accept its offer of conciliation within the next 24 hours so as not to be caught unprepared.

The employees did not condescend to answer, and never reappeared before the Commission, and left their work at midnight on the 31st without any notice whatsoever, leaving the boilers with weak pressure, the fires practically extinguished, and with no coal in the boiler room."

The Union's reply to the above was published in the "Gazette" of January 3rd, 1920. He who reads may judge !

Mr. Decary, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, had already communicated with their employees offering them to meet their wishes in a reasonable way as may be seen by perusing a copy of a letter published in the "Gazette" of the same date as the above, which reads as follows :—

"In order to confirm the interview which we had with your representative yesterday, I wish to inform you that the Administrative Commission has decided to accede to your request in regard to the improvement in your working conditions.

"Consequently, starting from the 1st of January, 1920, employees will work eight (8) hours daily during six (6) days instead of seven (7), as at present, and other privileges, heretofore granted, such as holidays, salary in case of sickness and pension will be continued.

"In connection with the question of wages, the Administrative Commission is informed by its employees that the wages appearing in our budget are similar to those paid for the same

kind of work by other institutions in Montreal. You claim that our informants are mistaken with regard to said wages. In order to redress this error, should it exist, we would ask you, as we informed you yesterday, to be kind enough to submit to the Commission during the month of January, the scale of wages in force for the same kind of work in the City of Montreal, and if this scale of wages is above that appearing in our budget, we shall abide by same with retroactive effect starting the 1st of January, 1920.

"Should this scale of wages which you will submit to us be below the one at present paid by us, it is not the intention of the Commission to take any advantage of same, but, on the contrary, we will continue to pay the present scale of wages.

"Should it happen that during the course of the year 1920, the scale of wages for the same kind of work in the City of Montreal be increased at any time, we will then increase your own scale of wages so that throughout the year 1920 it will correspond with the wages generally paid in the City of Montreal for the same kind of work.

"The Commission desires to assure you that we are in favor of improving, as much as possible, your working conditions.

"The Commission hopes that its decision, which certainly does you justice, will be satisfactory to you. Should some amongst you not be satisfied with the conditions we offer, they will be kind enough to let us know before to-morrow, the 31st of December, at noon, in order that the Commission may be enabled to immediately replace those who leave their position."

UNFORTUNATELY there are so many other cases of selfishness and lack of regard for the public weal in the history of Unionism in Canada that the middle classes are beginning to look askance at the methods of Labour.

It is alleged that not many months have elapsed since the people of Toronto had a sample of the methods of Unionism. It is alleged that at the time of a Toronto Fair, when thousands of men, women and children were in the Fair Grounds, miles from their homes, certain Unionists "went on strike" and left these poor unfortunates marooned at nightfall. Who suffered? Was it their employers? No! Was this not a simple case of "indirect action" calculated to cause discomfort to these poor unfortunates that through their discomfort concessions which had not already been granted would be forced from those who employed them?

At last the majority of the people of Canada are beginning to realize what they have had to suffer through the selfishness of both Capital and Labour. At last the Middle Class have entered the lists determined that all shall live in harmony in the interests of Canada.

THE Farmer Government of Ontario is the first fruit of a spirit which is beginning to dominate Canadian politics, and it is well, because the farmers are the only unit of the middle class which possesses any organization, and will remain the only organized unit, unless the middle class unite for self-defence against the selfish interests of other classes. Farmers must adopt "For Canada" as their motto. Class legislation should be obsolete in Canada. The middle classes must continue to stand for liberality and justice in order that excessive riches and extreme poverty will become impossible; that Canadians may indeed become a happy and contented people.

It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that it is the duty of the Government to lay down such rules as will assure that skill and energy have their due recognition; that foul play is adequately penalized, and that the efforts of all workers are co-ordinated and directed to our country's welfare.

The aim of labour should be for a high standard of living.

It should not primarily be for increased wages, because the standard of living does not depend upon wages but upon production. If the per capita production is high, the standard of living will be high regardless of wages. The thing which is important is that wages shall not be so high that it is impossible to compete with other nations, otherwise industrial stagnation, hard times and widespread suffering will follow. We want to make Canada a happy place for people to live in. We need no rich. We will have no poor. We want happy and contented Canadians.

THREE hundred years ago it was said, "He who is poor is a slave." The days of slavery should have gone. Let Canadians take this to heart. There is no reason why any one should be in want in Canada. Wages should be just and fair, rewarding each man or woman according to the fair value of his or her services rendered, and enabling the wage-earner to secure his or her fair proportion of the world's production.

A Canadian Government should see that Canadians are assured against want in old age or illness. To-day few can

afford to be ill. It is true that we have many splendid hospitals in which the rich can be cared for at a fair cost, and in which the poor are generously cared for at the expense of a patriotic and open-handed public, but the great majority of the middle-class cannot afford to pay the "fair cost" charged to the rich, and to beg they are ashamed. Hospitals should be supported by the State. It is wrong to expect the widow to spend her mite in the voluntary support of these ; it is absurd to expect our physicians and surgeons to sacrifice their lives in unremunerative service in their wards. The governing class have been so remiss in this that the widow and others, charitably disposed, have had to provide hospital accommodation for the labourers employed in our large corporations. Many of the corporations have made no real provision for their casualties, and the governments have neither insured these nor insisted that provision should be made by which they be insured at the expense of the corporation employing them and not become the recipient of the largesse of non-manufacturing Canadians.

It is the State's duty to assure Canadians against unemployment, but just as the citizen has a right to expect insurance against loss of work, so should the State be able to demand that each and every citizen be a producer and an asset to the State.

THE Canadian governments have been so negligent in respect to insurance against unemployment that our large corporations transacting business under special privileges granted by the Government have been permitted to discharge officials and other workers, when old or broken, without any recompense for long service, and without any hope for the future.

This government negligence and arbitrary treatment of a privileged corporation has been noted in the action of banks, which, though especially privileged by the Government, have on various occasions permitted old servants to retire without pensions, although morally entitled to this consideration. A somewhat similar case has come to notice which affects our own Militia Department. An older man who has served the country well and faithfully for many years, during the past six of which we have been striving at war, is expected to be retired at any time. It is now alleged that he is to be "let out" without a pension, because by length of service he is not pensionable. If this be true it is a scandal and a disgrace not only to the Militia Department and the Government at large, but if carried out will be a damning indictment against the personal character of the officials of the

Department of Militia and Defence responsible for it. It is alleged that such action is contemplated in order to please returned soldiers by creating vacancies in which to place them. But let the Government be assured that immoral acts will not please the majority of returned soldiers, who are patriots and not seekers after office.

There is another case of a man who having served as a soldier where ordered by the Department for twenty years is now unfitted for other than military life. He has been "let out" on a small pension, although by age and medical condition well able to "carry on" for at least fifteen years. Who is to pay for such mal-administration on the part of the Militia Department?

It is regrettable but true that our governments have been so remiss in all matters of social economy and paternalism that God alone can be depended on to save Canadians from the horrors of poverty.

LET Canadians realize, however, that just as they may reasonably expect such paternalism from their Government, as insurance against sickness, want and unemployment, so the Government, as representing the taxpayer, can reasonably command that the workers continue, without undue interruptions, to be producers, because the total production of the nation is not only an index to the happiness of the people, but on production depends the ability of a Government to assure the citizens of the country against future poverty.

The world seems to be tired of the old individualism of the past, and the individual right of self-determination which before was so greatly valued. Trades Unionism is a proof of this. Yet Labour must not forget that the brain of the inventor is just the contrary of the brains produced by specialization and the division of labour. The latter produces stonemasons, not architects, says Augustine Hanon, the celebrated French sociologist. While we must remember that the organization of labour has been, undoubtedly, advantageous in many ways, we must also keep in mind that any organization which limits production is detrimental to the nation.

The length of the work-day should depend on natural conditions. The concentration necessary in the life of the locomotive-engineer will demand longer rest and greater contrast between duty and pleasure than the leisurely occupation of the patrol-man or watchman. Again, in such occupations as those of the physician and the farmer the day's labour cannot be concentrated into eight consecutive hours. The physician is called

when illness enters the door. The farmer must milk early and milk late.

It is not just or fair to permit certain classes of labour, because they feel it easy to organize, to enjoy shorter work-days, and to pass on the loss and expense of this luxury to other classes who are often less able to bear it. When a reduction in hours results in a reduction in production there should be a corresponding reduction in wages. The way to decrease the hours of labour is to increase production during the working hours, otherwise a vicious circle is produced and higher prices for essential commodities result.

It is, again, the function of a government so to regulate the large corporations that the workman's hours of labour are not excessive; that the profits earned through the selling prices of their products do not, by exceeding a just share of profit, so increase the cost of living in the community that the happiness of Canadians generally is placed in jeopardy. But just as it is the function of a government to do these things, it is also the government's function to protect our middle classes by preventing the so-called collective bargaining which opposes efficiency, which is the primary requisite for a better standard of living for the Canadian people. Again, "collective bargaining" will antagonize class against class, because many cannot organize and thus share in the privileges of the organized classes. What means of defence against such organization have professional men such as teachers, artists, ministers, authors, scholars and even medical practitioners? What means of defence against the combinations of labour in restraint of trade have our small traders, salespeople, farmers, clerks and teachers? Indeed, any of these would find it difficult to organize, all of these are cut off, to a greater or a lesser extent, from the selfish benefits of organization. Lastly, suppose all were organized, wherein would lie the benefit of organization? It is all very well for Labour to consider it a victory when a new industry is unionized. It would be a victory if it meant an improved standard of living for men who labour, but instead, it very often means increased wages with decreased production. This means increased cost and a lower standard of living. Further, the burden is unloaded on the people of Canada—the unorganized workers, who are the least able to pay.

Theoretically Trades Unionism is all right, but practically the union man expects protection for himself and his selfish interests at the expense of the community at large.

All loyal Canadians sympathize with Labour's declared endeavour to improve the condition of other Canadians, but Labour is trying to do this in the wrong way when it consents to lower production to effect this end. Let Labour try to bring pressure to obtain legislation to secure insurance against old age, illness and lack of employment. This would assuage the ever-present dread in the hearts of nearly all Canadians to-day. The passage of such social legislation would do away with the alleged necessity for unionism and collective action. It would help to assure that Canada will be a happy place to live in. Let Labour realize that a high standard of living for the people depends upon a high average per capita production, and not in the least on the inflation of the wage level. The road of "Union" domination is the road of class favouritism. It should not be necessary for a class to unite to secure constructive social legislation. This is what Canada wants, and good Canadians must work for it; but we must realize that inevitably the effect of "Union" domination of our national industries would be lowered production and increased cost, resulting in increased cost of living.

CAN we expect the wage-earner to understand that his standard of living depends, not on the level of wages, but on the productive efficiency of industry? Labour sees but three things; first, that the workingman's wage controls his standard of living, second that his employers control his wages, and third that so-called capitalists are not only becoming increasingly rich, but increasingly strong in the councils of the nation, while he, the working-man, is becoming not only poorer but decreasingly strong in influence as a voting citizen. This is his complaint against Capital. But did he know more he would realize that the so-called capitalist, who in reality is often but a manipulator, becomes increasingly rich by using for his benefit not only Labour, but real capital, which represents not so much the ill-gotten gains of the manipulator as the savings of the provident Canadian workers who are willing to defer present enjoyment for future comfort.

WHAT is Capital? Capital is simply stored labour. Thus whether labour will be stored as capital or applied to produce commodities for immediate consumption, often mere pleasures, will depend upon the returns which it will respectively earn.

What then can be a greater function of our Canadian Government than the privilege of so regulating Canadian profits that

honest capital and honest labour shall be adequately rewarded, while stock-manipulating, stock-jobbings, stock-waterings and all acts which are nationally speaking immoral shall be punishable, and that those who engage in them shall be punished most severely.

The real remedies for Canada's ills lie in education, justice, efficiency, co-operation and production. Let us consider these separately :—

EDUCATION.—The best minds of our nation have for many years told us that our national education is a wasteful, disorderly chaos. But has any real attempt been made to set it in order with a clear perception, with a definite end? Have we left off building slums? Our Canadian farms have been neglected. Crowded out of towns, discontented with country life and hopeless of improving their condition in their native land, our people have emigrated to the United States. We want in Canada a system of education based on our national needs. Education is in the hands of the provincial authorities. Yet Canada cannot neglect her national obligations.

THERE is very much more in education than the acquisition of what may be called primary knowledge. Education develops and broadens character. In the schools the seeds from which germinate the scholar's after-life are sown. The Danish people have recognized this, thus "above everything else the life lived in the schools of Denmark imparts a deep confidence and trust in man to man, thereby making possible all the remarkable co-operative enterprises for which the country is famous. And, lastly, the folk school life has made clear to its students that success in life should be measured by standards other and higher than mere money standards, and with such practical results that achievement for land and people is in Denmark esteemed to-day far above successful accumulation of wealth. The teacher, the preacher, the economist, who gives his best for his country, holds higher rank than the man who has heaped up great fortunes."

We need schools in Canada which will teach our children about God and the Country which is their heritage.

OF God some schools say little. Of Canada few schools say much. It is a heinous error to leave our children's conception of God, truth and duty to the will or knowledge of the natural mother. A true Canada will be father and mother to her children, and with maternal instinct will teach her children

of God and good. But what of religion in schools? Surely all Canadians, irrespective of race or creed, must know that God must not be divorced from the schools. Surely all Canadians must realize that there is but one God, although there are many ways which lead to Him. If we realize that there are many ways, then we agree that the parent may naturally ask that God be taught his children as he, the parent, knows him.

If a knowledge of the goodness of God is well taught, Canada will fare well. Yet of Canada we must speak. What are our schools teaching the youth of Canada of citizenship, of our duty towards our neighbour, or of public morality? Recently a friend of mine endeavoured to have introduced in the schools of our large cities a weekly address on this very subject. His request was refused because the educationalists were so tied hand and foot by their precious curriculum that they could find no time for talks about Canada, about truth, about righteousness. But does not citizenship mean something? Does not consideration for our duty towards our neighbour mean something? Does not public morality—that desire to create and make in Canada a worthy heritage for our children—mean a something? In order to carry out a proper system of education we must have trained educationalists, and these should be highly specialized intellectualists, not persons driven into this profession for a pittance, but men and women who have adopted the education of Canadians as a loved and noble profession—men and women who will be suitably recompensed for their inestimable services. The labourer is worthy of his hire. Surely a highly trained instructor or instructress should receive more than a bricklayer, a journeyman plumber or joiner! Yet it is a fact that the majority do not receive the wage of unskilled labourers. What would a member of any of our recognized trades say if the wage for his skilled labour should be valued as equal to the wage of the unskilled, the casual labourer? Surely a teacher skilled in pedagogy, patient with her children and devoted to their interests should receive more than the uneducated and untrained domestic servant! Often, however, this is not the case. The boy is father of the man. The girl is mother of the nation. Surely we cannot afford to neglect our children at a time when they are developing the very qualities which will determine the character of their citizenship in this our beloved country.*

*The average salary of a professor in McGill at the present time is \$3,000, very much less than the annual earnings of a locomotive engineer, while the instructor can only look with envy upon the wages of the mechanic and the artisan.

PRODUCTION.—On all sides Canadians are urged to increase production. This should be done to raise the standard of living in Canada. Increased production means more comfort, greater opportunities—indeed a truer and better democracy in Canada.

The so-called Labour Party has been struggling against the high cost of living, but *Prices Depend on the Cost of Production*. Prices cannot fall below that point because people would not produce if it did not pay. As wages rise and fall, so will prices, which depend on them, rise and fall. At the outbreak of the war producers in England were not doing half of what they were capable of doing. This, with increasing wages, was allowing England to lag behind the United States. You cannot *have* more unless you *produce* more of something. You cannot consume unless you first produce. Modern society lives from hand to mouth. It depends wholly on production. You cannot raise the people's standard of living unless you first increase their per capita production. When you increase production you decrease the cost. At the same time wages must increase or prices must fall. When workers restrict output they hurt themselves much more than any others. So-called Labour makes a great mistake when it calls for high wages to improve the workingman's standard of living. Labour should set its face to improve the standard of living. This can be done only by increasing production. It is important that wages should be just and fair, rewarding each man according to the value of the service rendered to his country. These should enable each man to secure his fair share of the world's production. Labour demands a short day, but can we increase production and so improve our standard of living by making arbitrary laws which do not take into account the nature of the work performed? The first essential is that the nation as a whole shall accept the policy of high, scientific production as its "conscious aim," and work whole-heartedly for it.

CO-OPERATION.—The benefit of co-operation was best seen in Canada during the war. Canada, by a co-operative effort under efficient organization, was able to compete favourably in shell-making with any of the allied nations. The need of co-operation is seen most in the agricultural life of Canada. Canada, is essentially an agricultural country. Without farms and farmers we could not live. Eliminate from our national life any of the great manufacturing industries, and we shall still prosper; but kill agriculture and our country will be ruined. One of the most prosperous agricultural countries of

the world is Denmark. The Danish model is an extremely potent instructive implement, the essential feature of which is co-operation. The prodigious effect that combination of effort by the whole body of producers can exert in increasing output, in cheapening the cost of production, in improving the quality and the value of the produce and in ameliorating the lot of the labourer can be shown by Danish statistics.

At present the Canadian farmer buys at the country's dearest retail prices, and sells at the country's cheapest wholesale prices. For this reason co-operation in selling and co-operation in buying would tend to increase the country's prosperity. As has been said, production is the key-note to prosperity. If our cities are to be filled with parasites who neither toil nor spin, but live simply on the production of others, how can we expect to increase production, and how can we expect to raise the standard of living in Canada? The elimination of the middle-man, forcing the parasite into productive work, will assure co-operative buying and selling, and increase production and thus the happiness of the Canadian people. It has been too long the creed of Canadians that the cities are needed to give markets for the farmer's produce. The aim of the farmer should be to supply finished agricultural products for export. The cities should no longer be subsidized as a market for the farmer, nor indeed considered essential for the disposal of agricultural produce. The farmer, by co-operation in buying and co-operation in selling, can both provide himself with those things which his land will not produce at the cheapest possible price, and the best possible market for his produce.

TAXATION.—In Canada taxation has been so ordered that it serves two purposes. The first is to bonus the manufacturer, the second to provide the necessary income to maintain the public services of the country. The Tariff has been a most successful stimulus to manufacturers in Canada. Of these we possess all sorts. Manufacturers whose industries are protected against impossible competition, and again manufacturers whose industries are impossible in Canada—both are liberally protected by the charitably disposed Canadian consumer. The results are interesting. Canada, which is primarily an agricultural country, has been starving its agricultural population for the benefit of the cities. Canada, which should be a democratic country, has been creating a new and ruling caste,—the *nouveaux riches*. Canadian farms which should be centres of population are becoming barren and deserted. Canada,

which should be the land of opportunity, is even now a country of poverty and slums. Canada, which should be essentially British, is becoming the home of cheap foreign labour whose ideals are not Canada's ideals, whose gods are not Canada's God. Canada, whose Governments should be pure, continues to be governed by changing groups of political opportunists. Canada, who wants neither rich nor poor, harbours both—the poor man who steals a loaf for his starving children, and the rich man who steals his thousands through manipulations, mergers and other legal methods of robbery. The Tariff, while undoubtedly responsible for much good, is also responsible for much harm. A good, thinking Conservative said recently that the only objection to the Tariff is that it makes the price of commodities dearer, but there are other serious objections. It does not tend to create high ideals of citizenship. It is responsible for our rich, it is responsible for our poor. It is responsible for the alien, the Bolshevik and the Socialist. It is responsible for the strike, as well as government by the few. The Tariff penalizes the country for the benefit of the city. It is responsible for the manufacturer who prospers on the charity of the country, oblivious of the fact that his prosperity depends on the largesse of the common people. According to one authority indirect taxation in Canada amounts to approximately \$300 per annum for a family of five. One quarter of the tax, according to this authority goes into the Federal treasury, and three quarters into the pockets of the manufacturers. To relieve this anomalous condition it has been suggested that we adopt what has been called a "double-barrel-tariff," that say thirty per cent protection be granted, but allow the manufacturers to charge but half of this. This would mean that if boots cost \$5.00 in the United States, the Government, while charging 30 per cent. duty to prevent their importation into Canada, will allow only 15% or 75c. to be added to make the Canadian selling price.

MANUFACTURERS talk glibly of our great Home Market. They say that it is necessary for the prosperity of Canada as a whole, and especially the welfare of the farmer. We have a Home Market in Canada, but at what a cost.

"Examples of the monuments which were erected on the foundation of the home market during the merger period of Canada's history, are to be found on all sides. Their records, if space and time would permit, would be an interesting commentary upon the demands for continued protection which are

"being made at the present time. Consider the textile industry, which was represented here a few months ago by Mr. Pringle. It is one of the most splendid and imposing of all the monuments to the Canadian Home Market." It is alleged that :—

"The Dominion Textile Company Limited, which manufactures cotton goods for this country, was organized in 1905, embracing some 26 different mills. After having issued preference stock with which to pay off the different companies involved in the merger, the original incorporators of the new Dominion Textile Company issued five million dollars' worth of common stock, for which only \$500,000, or 10 cents on the dollar, was paid by the subscribers. They then proceeded to do business on the strength of a capitalization, 90 cents in the dollar of which was pure 'water'. What were the results? In the summer of 1919, it was shown before a special committee of the House of Commons at Ottawa, that in the year 1918, the Dominion Textile Company had been able to make profits amounting to 31 per cent. of its common stock, or 310 per cent. on the original amount of money subscribed for that stock. No doubt the Dominion Textile Company to-day can boast of showing value dollar for dollar for every dollar of its present capitalization, but the consumers of the products of that textile company may know that a protected home market obliged them to turn 90 per cent. of its watered stock into solid assets. The home market gave the Dominion Textile Company the privilege of tariff protection for its cotton goods to the extent of 25 to 32½ per cent., while at the same time permitting it to import for its own use, free of duty, all raw materials. In 1918-19, over 112 million pounds of raw cotton, valued at 34 million dollars, came into Canada free of duty." And people talk about the necessity of raising revenues to finance the nation!

THERE is no gain to the country by the lavish expenditure of those who make their money far too easily. Such expenditure merely diverts labour from relatively useful to relatively useless occupations. Further, it sets up a false ideal of life which infects the whole community. Indeed, not the least objection to the unjust privileges conferred by our indirect system of taxation is that they make possible lavish and ostentatious expenditures which are vulgar, corrupting and demoralizing. While we condemn the principles of indirect taxation, we contend that there are certain conditions which justify an interference with the freedom of trade. On the other hand a protective system should only protect against the unfair

competition of gigantic foreign interests, but, unfortunately, in proportion as it does this, it encourages the disappearance of competition at home, and leaves us to the dangers of domestic monopoly as has been seen in the history of Canadian industry during the past two decades. We may legitimately ask ourselves whether the cement merger—the organization of the Canada Cement Company—the disappearance of the smaller iron industries, grist millers and other manufactories, without corresponding reduction of prices, was for the benefit of Canada and Canadians generally, or only of benefit to those who conducted the merging.

THERE are certain things which Canadians are accustomed to accept without criticism. For forty years Canada has been hyper-protected ; thus we inherit and accept the doctrine of protection as being beyond argument.

For centuries the farmer has been made fun of and his occupation has been unappreciated by townfolk. Yet the farmer who makes the land yield the largest amount of food for the nation is a much more valuable and patriotic citizen than the corporation promoter or stock manipulator who may have received the adulation of his fellows for spectacular financial feats. For decades Canadian: have heard so much of mergers and combinations that to-day they almost accept as gospel truth that combinations, unions or mergers make for efficiency, cheapness of production, economy of administration and everything which is good. So strongly is this doctrine impressed upon some of our city business men that they are now even carrying it into their religious and social or philanthropic life. Indeed, we shall be fortunate if we escape dictation as to where we shall worship, where we shall lie when sick and afflicted, or where we shall die. The personal touch is not considered. The sentiment expressed in the words of Hamon is unknown by the stock-manipulator and promoter of privileged combinations, "Man is an animal living with a life of his own, and not a machine driven by a will external to itself." Theoretically union is strength, but practically the union which makes machines of men kills competition, and initiatives ; it is not only oligarchic and non-democratic, but also soul-destroying. Remember the words of Schiller :—"Organization has condemned to crawl like a snail him who should have soared like an eagle. Organization has not yet produced a single great man, it is liberty that gives birth to colossi and extraordinary beings." (Hamon.)

The maker of mergers repeats "L'Union fait la force," and by increasing production without increasing overhead charges we cheapen production. Yes, true, if we do not increase the so-called capital by water or by paying an exorbitant purchase price for the business. Again, there is such a thing as a unit of economic efficiency. Given more than this unit, and production is not cheapened. Further, the common people who are forced to deal with or to use our monopolistic groups such as public utility corporations and street railway companies fully appreciate what justice, what efficiency they get from them. Recently a lighting company took two weeks to connect its wires and pipes to the house of one of its clients. What did the client do for light and heat during those weeks? If there had been one competing company left out of the merger which created this privileged corporation this would have been done in twenty-four hours. In this decade it seems even fashionable to use the meagre earnings stored by the provident to further the cause and line the pockets of our financial manipulators.

WHAT would be the result of a graduate change in our present form of taxation? The protected industries would hardly be able to pay so great dividends. There might not be so much "watered stock," not so many melons, but there would be compensations. The stress of competition would lead to greater efficiency and better service. Exotic industries would decline, and the labour employed in them would be diverted elsewhere to the better advantage of the country. "Best of all," says Good in his recent work, "self-respect would be regained by the manufacturer, because it is difficult to maintain self-respect hat in hand."

The deleterious results of sane and moderate changes in our present system of taxation would be few provided the changes were neither too radical nor too sudden. Another important point is this: direct taxation as contrasted with indirect taxation if properly applied, should conduce to honest government. Not one man in ten realizes when, how much and how he pays to the States when purchasing the various commodities which he and his family consume. For this reason he is less likely to watch the expenditure by the Government of funds to which he is not conscious of contributing. Indirect taxes are shifted from one to another, and by the time they are actually paid are often undetected. Indeed it is very difficult to calculate what one pays as a tax on any single article. Let us calculate the protection money paid from ore to wire products, or the protection money

paid from ore to such iron and steel products as bars, bolts, spikes and drop forgings. In Canada we have, by human enactment, violated the moral law which commands a wide distribution of wealth. Our governments have been too ready to listen to the Circean song of the social parasite. Taxation has been an instrument for extortion.

LET Canadians study taxation ; let them realize the danger of indirect taxation. Let them see that it may be used by unscrupulous persons for the destruction of the fair competition of even our fellow Canadians. Ministers have been open to persuasion. Even with honesty of purpose they may fall again. Many are suggesting that a Tariff Commission for the gradual revision of our Custom Duties would be a panacea for the ills of our present system. I do not speak of this to condemn or approve of it. But I say one thing with certainty, that while it might be advisable to have such a commission to study and suggest various revisions, such suggestions should not become effective without the consent of Parliament.

Beyond doubt the farmers of Canada desire a considerable change in our tariff. And the farmers as a political factor are strong, and will soon be stronger. Let us then in a few words picture the crux of the situation :

FARMING is Canada's primary and most important industry. Our secondary industries cannot continue to prosper by preying upon our primary industries. Anything which will make agriculture more prosperous will react favourably on all other legitimate industries.

Let us consider taxation as it is, and taxation as it might be : The average amount of duties collected for the five years, 1911-1915, was about \$92,000,000 (Canada Year Book). But this does not by a long way, represent the sum which the people of Canada have paid to assist Canadian manufacturers.

The following will help as an illustration : The American manufacturers sell a pair of shoes to the American retailer for five dollars. The Canadian manufacturer makes the same quality, the same priced shoe, but knowing that he is protected to the extent of thirty per cent. (30%) he adds this duty of \$1.50, as "protection money," to the shoes, and sells them for six dollars and fifty cents, instead of five dollars. The same principle applies to all other protected goods.

It has been estimated by Good that this "protection" money in the years just preceding the war was about \$405,000,000 per

annum. This with the \$92,000,000 mentioned above makes a total sum of \$492,000,000 per annum extracted from the people in favour of Canadian manufacturers.

The Canadian manufacturer fears there may be great difficulty in raising sufficient income to meet our Federal obligations, without continuing this method of indirect taxation. We will, then, consider briefly the possibilities of direct taxation.

The first method of direct taxation which suggests itself is a so-called Land Tax.

Although there is much to be said in favour of the taxation of land for revenue and especially the taxation of undeveloped land, it is not suggested that Canada should depend upon a land tax to the exclusion of all other forms of taxation, but it is well to study Canadian land as a possible source of Federal revenue.

Estimates made in the United States show a land value averaging \$1,000 per capita. Let us assume that the per capita "land value" in Canada is eight hundred dollars. This would give a total land value of six billion dollars for the Dominion.

Let us repeat Mr. Good's estimates, that if the total tax collected from the Canadian people be \$497,000,000, about \$92,000,000 of it will go into the Federal treasury.

How could a similar sum of money be levied as direct taxation on land values? As it has already been assumed that the total land values in Canada is six billion dollars, it is fair to say that a tax of a little more than 1½% would be sufficient to raise the sum alleged to have been appropriated by the Government at the time under consideration.

Consider this question from another point of view :

IN 1918 the Canadian people paid taxes to the Customs Department of \$150,000,000. According to the Ottawa Citizen they also paid a toll of \$450,000,000 to the private interests who are protected from outside competition by the tariff. This \$450,000,000 represents, simply, the "protection money" already spoken of, or excess prices which the people of Canada would not be required to pay if there was no tariff to prevent competition. This enormous tribute paid by the mass of the Canadian people to a small interlocking group of protected "interests" is the high cost of protection.

In 1918 it would have been necessary to raise \$150,000,000 by direct taxation if our protective duties had been abolished. If the "land values" of the Dominion were only six billion dollars and it had been decided to raise the large Dominion revenue of one hundred and fifty millions by a land tax only, it would have

been necessary to impose a tax of between 2 and 3%. This would have meant an average personal tax of between sixteen and eighteen dollars on the landowners of Canada, because it has been assumed that eight hundred dollars represents the average land value in this country.

The manufacturer, quite naturally, protests that the valuation of the taxable land would be a matter of grave difficulty, but other countries have allowed the owner to value his own land while the Government reserved the right to sell the whole or any part of the land at the owner's valuation. This policy would aid the Government in securing a just valuation. Again, with a land tax it would be assured that the farmers pay their share towards the support of Government. Manufacturers claim that this is not done under the present system.

Under a land tax, then, computed on the basis of the indirect revenue in 1918, the average tax would have been \$16 to \$18 per capita, while under indirect taxation for protective purposes according to the Ottawa Citizen (15th June, 1919), it was twenty dollars per capita.

The critics of direct taxation will rightly ask, should Canadians object to a charge of \$2 to \$4 per annum per capita (the difference between the money collected by indirect taxation and what might have been collected by direct taxation) when this will assure the existence of our Canadian manufactories. The answer is that Canadians would hardly object to this levy if this was all, but if our authority is right, they are also compelled to pay a toll amounting annually to sixty dollars per capita to the tariff protected syndicates.

The proof of the pudding is the eating. There are more luxury, limousines and waste in our large Canadian cities than there have ever been before, and these at a time when Canada is seething with discontent; these at a time when the poorer members of the middle class find it difficult to get even the necessities of life.

IT is idle to talk of an abolition of the tariff altogether, and no responsible person would suggest it. No Canadian would willingly injure our factories or would deny protection to our infant industries, but surely after forty years many of our industries must have ceased to require their present protection at the expense of the Canadian people, and surely our Canadian manufacturers must have developed sufficient pride to desire to be independent of the charity of the people.

IF Canada is to be a prosperous country, if Canada is to be a country in which we have neither rich nor poor, farming at least must be made a remunerative occupation. To be such, the farmer must be able to purchase his implements and those essentials of life which are not produced on his farm at a reasonable price. Again, he must be able to sell his produce at a fair profit. No country as an agricultural country can be complete in itself. There are two main currents of economic energy—the agricultural and the urban ; these must be made to flow so that their action will not defeat each other. It is rational statesmanship to co-ordinate the wheels of industry. If agriculture is neglected the rural population will flow into the towns. It is because agricultural development has been neglected that Canada stands on the brink of an industrial revolution.

SO much for the Tariff and Canada's ordinary sources of income. But our country during the war inevitably contracted an enormous war debt. Most economists agree that this must be paid by increasing production, but there is another way which must be noted, although the suggestion comes too late for its practical application. As Hamon has said, "While some men were dying in the trenches, others were growing rich." Indeed, everywhere it is apparent that great wealth has been accumulated during the war. Originating during the war, much of this enlarged capital has escaped taxation, and a post-war levy made upon it is in effect a correction of the financial neglect and error which permitted this war-made wealth to come into the possession of its owners. It is contended that at a time when war claimed from everyone his proper sacrifices, such profits ought not to have been made, and that having been made, they ought to be reclaimed by the State, which could thus remedy in part the injuries by its loose war finance (Hobson). Speaking of Great Britain the same writer says :—"It is certain that several thousand millions of the money income saved during the war, and mostly capitalized in loans to the Government, represent swollen profits obtained from business pulls or other advantages attributable to war conditions. . . . It would seem a reasonable assumption that the capitalized war gains would amount to a considerably larger sum than 5,250 millions."

Hobson says that the *prima facie* case for assessing war-made capital in order to repair the negligence and folly which led to its creation is, therefore, extremely strong. This ill-gotten gain, entirely the product of war-destruction, war-want and war-

extravagance, has contributed nothing to the cost of the war. Its income has made some contribution during the latter years of the war,—the capital has made none. Hobson says : Why should not at least half of this be taken by a levy, either in a single lump sum, or if that be deemed dangerous, or impracticable, in a quick series of instalments, so that the capital and interest of the war-debt may be speedily reduced ?

REAL justice will do much to save Canada from greater ills. It is law, not justice, which we get from many of our courts. Indeed this question is so relevant that many fear to trust themselves to the Civil Courts no matter how just their case may be. All know of injustices meted out in the Criminal Courts.

All wonder how our Governments can allow such real cause for dissatisfaction at a time when true happiness should be the aim of all people. For many decades Canada has been a democratic country. We have had government by the people. Yet the people have groaned under the burden of government. Our governments have been no better and no worse than the electorate. They have been bought by manipulators and promoters, but so have been, so may be many of the people bought by those who have the price. Many members of governments have been profiteers, but members of labour organizations, and the people generally, have shown their ability to become profiteers during the Great War ; so "hereof quit !"

THE decades of pure democracy are passed. In Canada we want more than so-called democracy. Has Canada under so-called democracy been the land of opportunity ? In Canada the children of the poor might become, may become rich. Indeed they often have become rich. But what of the poor who did not become rich ? Canadians, glorying in their democracy, have been without regard for the aristocracy of breeding, education or worth. These qualities were considered of little account or nothing worth. In their place the aristocracy of wealth rules. The voice of the people, uneducated, unrefined, and unidealistic has been heard in the council chambers of the nation, provided always that voice had sufficient wealth to buy for itself a hearing. Yet Canada to-day is nearer radicalism, destructive socialism and anarchy than ever before in its history.

A NEW god has been created—WEALTH—whose votaries include both the rich and the poor. A new society has been created—the society of vain-glorious Wealth. Wealth without tradition, Wealth without service, Wealth without obligation, Wealth without ideals, Wealth rules the Canadian people.

Wealth is the voice of the people. Wealth is the product of the people. Wealth is the wish of the people. Wealth is the curse of the people.

Labour makes a class of Capital, and loudly demands the restriction, even the annihilation of that class. Yet capital is labour and labour is capital. Is it Capital, the product of the industry of Labour, the savings of the provident who were willing to defer present enjoyment for future safety, which is the natural enemy of Labour? Is it not rather the profiteer, the manipulator and waterer of stocks, the merger of companies, the creator of corporations? Is it not rather those who have become the trusted advisers of governments, the rulers of the people? These are the enemies of the people. These are the enemies of Canada.

A CANADIAN of some prominence, after spending a few weeks in touring the West, has recently made the broad statement that what Canada needs is population. This is true. What we need is population, but population of the right kind.

We want agriculturalists and we want our Governments to encourage agriculture. Hundreds are roaming the streets of our industrial centres without work. Many of these are men who have been brought to this country, although they had no knowledge that would enable them to take part in our natural industry.

Under present conditions agriculture cannot compete with the city in its attractions either financial or otherwise.

Farm labourers are justified in refusing to work from dawn till dark for wages below that paid in cities, and the farmer finds himself hard put to get help. The farm business must be made to pay enough so that for the same number of hours wages on a par with the cities can be paid.

Those who disagree with the suggestion that our farmers are not sufficiently rewarded for their industry should remember that until it is possible to pay an experienced farmer to operate a farm and it is possible to obtain a fair interest on the money invested in that farm, farming cannot be considered as a paying proposition.

As long as Labour's motto is a high wage and low production, as long as the policy of our succeeding governments is to encourage manufactories at the expense of the country at large, it will be impossible for the farmer to compete in the labour market with the manufacturer.

Just as long as it is the policy of our country to encourage manufacturers to the detriment of all others, we shall have unrest, Destructive Socialism and Radicalism.

If the city is to be developed at the expense of the country we shall have deserted farms and crowded cities ; we shall have the foreigner and the slums, crime and those impure doctrines which debase the electorate and threaten the peace of our country.

