

THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE

JULY, 1917

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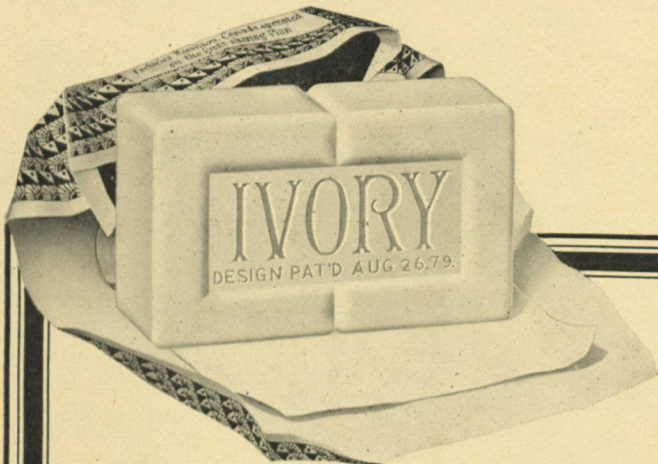
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The Canadian Magazine

Vol. XLIX

Contents, July, 1917

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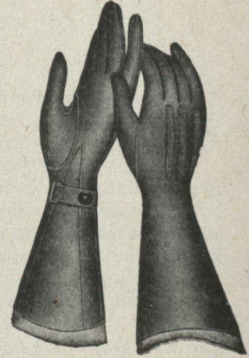
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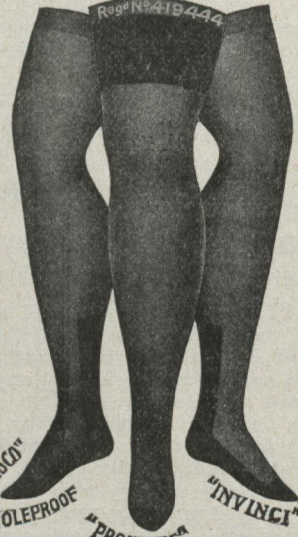
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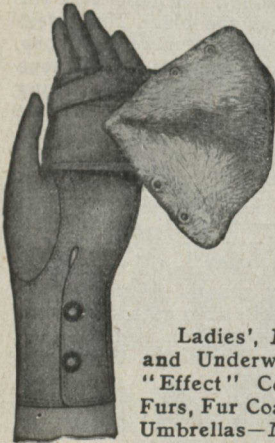
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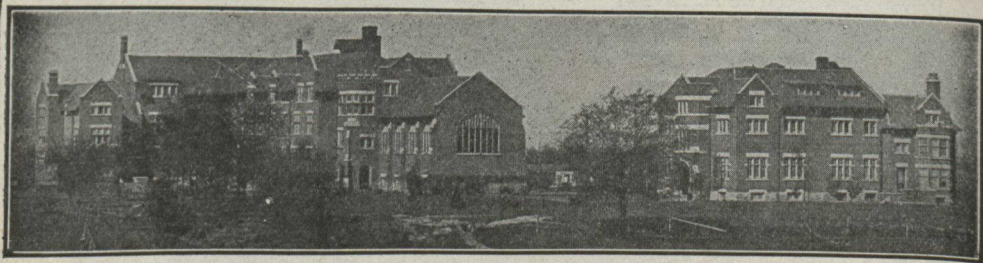
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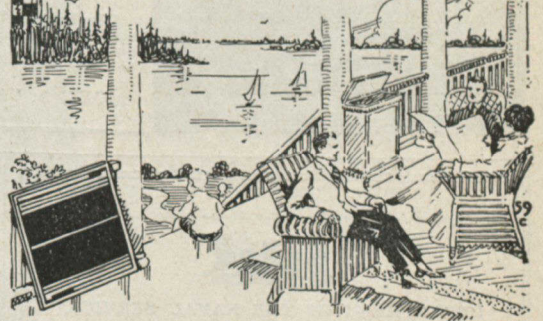
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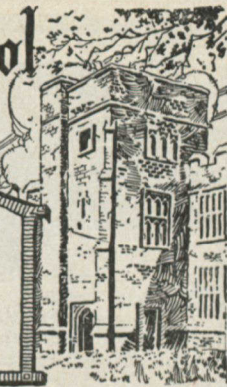
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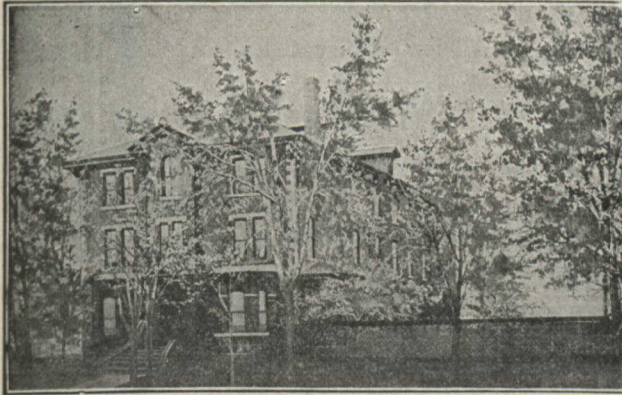
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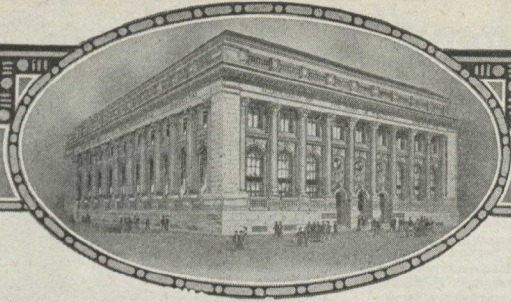
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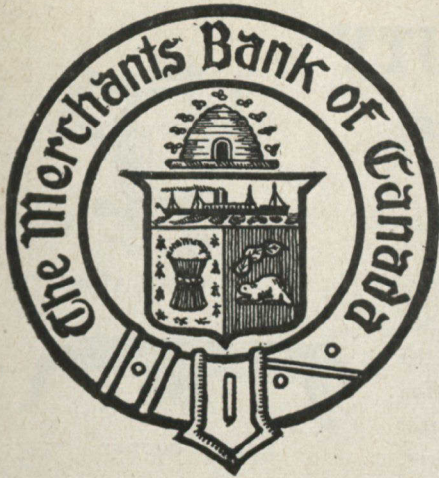
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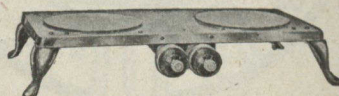
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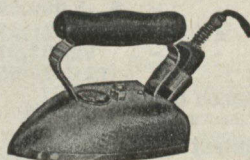
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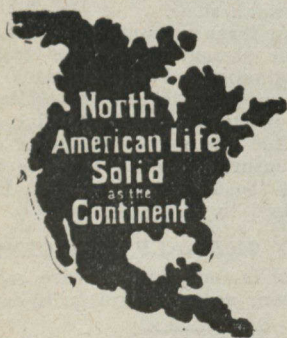


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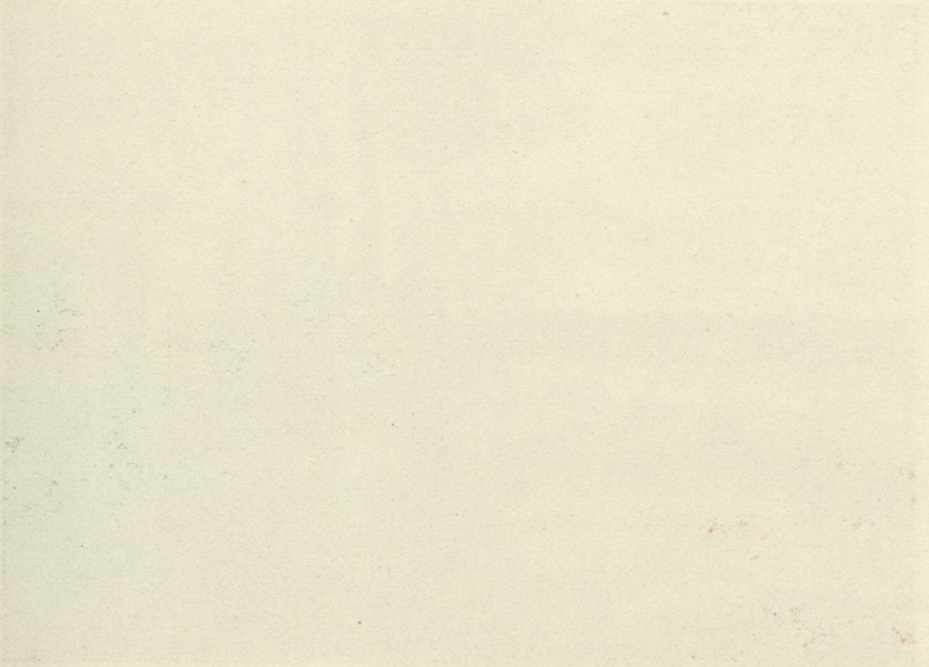
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From the Painting by G. Horne Russell

LOW TIDE IN NEW BRUNSWICK

When Bliss Carman wrote "Low Tide on Grand Pré" doubtless he had in mind some such a scene as this. But Grand Pré is in Nova Scotia, while this scene is in New Brunswick. There a vessel standing high and dry is one of the common sights when the tide is out.



THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE

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TORONTO, JULY, 1917

No. 3

The Jubilee of Confederation

BY THE EDITOR

NOTWITHSTANDING the doubts that prevailed fifty years ago, especially as regards the Province of Nova Scotia, the Canadian Confederation has been a conspicuous example of the successful operation of a self-governing dependency.

It began, everyone must admit, as an experiment, and it stands to-day, after many severe tests, with the powers of self-government completely expanded. Although the British North America Act, the instrument of Confederation, remains intact, we have expanded constitutionally almost in the same manner as the British Constitution has expanded. Although we have not the written right to negotiate a treaty with another country, we actually have exercised and are exercising that right. For the dis-

cussion and settlement of matters that commonly affect the United States and Canada—for instance, the International Waterways Commission—we appoint our representatives, and we know that whatever is done will be acceptable to the British Government. That is one of the remarkable developments under Confederation, and a glowing example of the democratic genius of the British system. Moreover, we are recognized now as a nation by our great neighbour, and our representatives receive at Washington practically the same status as if they were ambassadors. There is, then, no function of government that we do not operate.

Following immediately after Confederation, we had to settle for ourselves the question of provincial rights, and although slight difficulties still confront our statesmen, these

rights have been mostly, and happily, established, to the benefit of the Provinces, it must be confessed.

Fifty years ago the two Canadas embraced the people scattered along the waterways between Quebec City and the town of Windsor. There was no railway to the Maritime Provinces and what we now call the West was almost *terra incognita*. But we have built, not only the Intercolonial Railway, which was a condition of Confederation, but as well three great transcontinental railways. We have spent millions of dollars on our waterways and our great ocean and inland ports. We have opened up for settlement the vast grain Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and by peaceful exploration and absorption we have added greatly to our already immense territory. We have quelled two rebellions in the West, and have policed those vast regions so that the settler has been able to till the soil in safety. We have given of our blood

and treasure in the defence of the Empire, first in South Africa, and now upon the sanguinary fields of Flanders.

Our difficulties, some might think, have only begun, but those of us who are optimistic see in the present situation the elements that weld, even more securely still, the bonds that have held together the conflicting portions of the Dominion.

The statements of the present nine Provincial Prime Ministers and of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, given in this number, show a record of great progress and expansion. There is in every instance a spirit of pride and optimism, and in no instance is there any evidence of dissatisfaction. Confederation, therefore, is avowedly a success.

We begin these statements, not with the most westerly Province nor with the most easterly, but with one in the middle, Manitoba, the first Prairie Province to join the Union.

MANITOBA

BY THE HONOURABLE T. C. NORRIS
PRIME MINISTER



MANITOBA did not enter Confederation until July 15th, 1870. Prior to that time it did not even bear the name of Manitoba, being part of what was then known as Assiniboia. In 1870 the total population was 12,000, of which 10,000 were Indians and métis and the remaining 2,000 were whites or the half-breed descendants of the original settlers of Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony. In 1870 the population of Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, was 215.

Fifty years ago the little farms of the settlers did not even produce the necessaries of existence, and the community imported most of its food stuffs. The fur trade was the only commercial activity, and the traditional policy of the old fur traders has prevented us from knowing the value of the annual shipments of pelts. In 1870 the area of Manitoba was 13,500 square miles. To-day it is 351,000 square miles.

The population of Manitoba to-day is more than 550,000. Total production in 1915 amounted to \$300,000,000.



THE HONOURABLE T. C. NORRIS

Prime Minister of Manitoba

Of this \$261,000,000 was from agriculture. Manitoba's mineral production for years past has been confined to building materials such as gypsum, cement, clay and building stone, which have amounted to more than \$2,000,000 yearly. Recent discoveries of gold, silver and copper are now of proved value, and it is quite reasonable to believe they will make Manitoba one of the leading mining provinces of the Dominion. Mani-

toba lakes produce fish worth \$1,000,000 annually, and only those close to transportation facilities have been touched. But a fraction of Manitoba's arable land has been cultivated. Her natural resources of minerals, fish, timber and water power have been barely touched. They are yet to be developed. The incurable optimism of the people of Manitoba should be therefore not difficult to explain.

T. C. Norris.

CANADA'S COMMERCIAL PROGRESS

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE FOSTER
MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

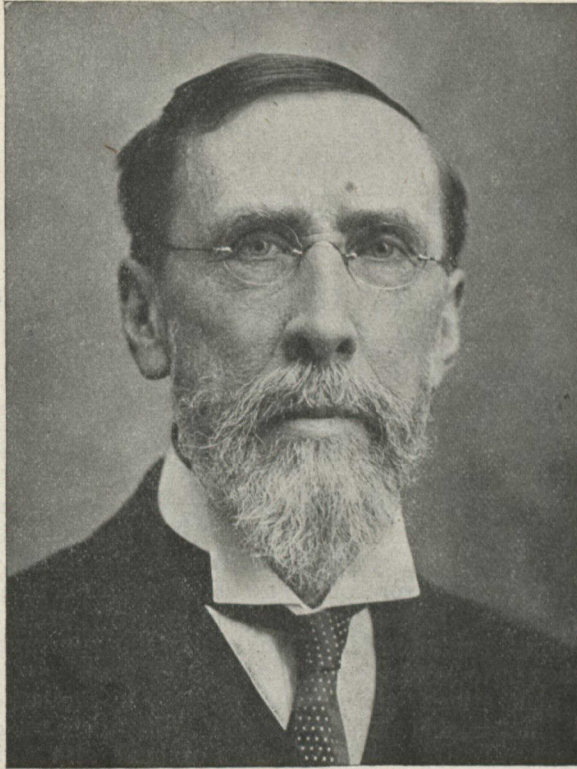
IT is impossible to show exactly by statistics the commercial progress of Canada since Confederation. In the collection and tabulation of trade figures our customs statisticians have always paid more attention to values than to quantities, probably because the primary object of the customs tariff has been the collection of revenue. Prices fluctuate so that a comparison of trade values in one year with those of another year is apt to be misleading.

When we look at the comparative tables of customs statistics we find that in the fiscal year that ended on March 31st, 1917, the value of imports of merchandise was more than twelve times as great and the value of exports of merchandise more than twenty-two times as great as in the fiscal year 1868. War prices now prevail and general conditions are so unusual that a comparison of the fiscal year 1868 with the fiscal year which ended March 31st, 1914, four months before the outbreak of the war, will give a truer idea of the commercial progress of Canada than a comparison with the fiscal year 1917. During the fiscal year 1914 the value of our imports of merchandise was more than nine times as great and the value of our exports eight times as much as in 1868.

But foreign trade represents only a small part of the total trade of Canada. If we had the figures of railway freights for every year since Confederation they would give a more complete conception of our trade expansion than the customs statistics, because they include freight carried both for home consumption and for export. The railway statistics are also particularly valuable for comparison, because they represent quantities and not values, so that fluctuations in prices do not affect them.

Our methods of recording and compiling transportation figures were not very complete in the early years of Confederation, but the railway freight figures are available as far back as the year 1875. In the year 1914 the quantity of freight carried by the railways was more than eighteen times as great as in the year 1875.

Although immigration from Europe has been almost completely cut off since the outbreak of the war and we have sent an immense army of men overseas, our railways carried 3,265,099 tons more freight during the year 1916 than they did in 1914. The total freight carried by the railways in 1875 was only 5,190,416 tons compared with 106,393,989 tons in 1914 and 109,659,088 tons in 1916. Thus during these three years of war, although our man power has been so



THE HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE FOSTER

Minister of Trade and Commerce

greatly reduced, the increase in the freight carried by our railways has been actually equal to more than sixty per cent. of the total quantity of freight carried by Canadian railways in the year 1875.

It will be noted that the great in-

dustrial expansion since Confederation has not prevented large increases in imports. Usually when a factory is started to supply the demand for a certain article the new industry creates a demand for other articles that must be imported.

ONTARIO

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM HEARST
PRIME MINISTER



ONTARIO'S early settlers were principally United Empire Loyalists who came to this country from sheer love of British institutions and ideals rather than from the prospect of material advantages. It was their lot to suffer many privations and hardships, but they have handed down to succeeding generations glorious traditions and inestimable advantages.

Fifty years ago this Province had a population of a million and a quarter inhabitants earning a somewhat precarious livelihood on the farm by primitive and laborious methods. At that time the outlook was obscure, and the thought of a great and Imperial destiny seemed merely a vision. On the faith of the leading men of Canada, irrespective of party, Confederation was undertaken. By virtue of their statesmanship, we in Ontario to-day have become the very heart and centre of a great democracy, rich in every endowment of nature and richer still in a noble inspiration of national and Imperial greatness and usefulness.

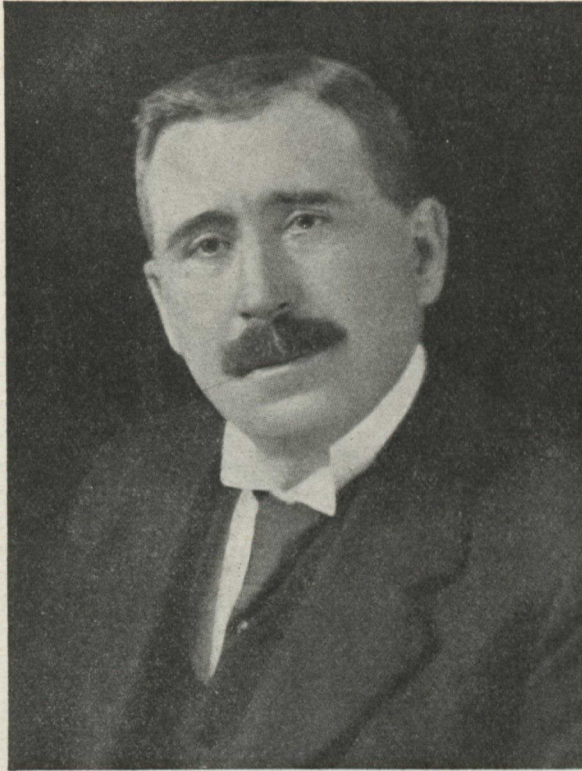
Our population has doubled; our wealth has expanded enormously; our future as a people has become settled and assured. In agriculture this Province has so improved its methods that though its farming population has increased only slightly, its production has doubled and trebled. To-

day the wealth of our farmers represents an invested capital of \$1,216,864,992. Great as has been the industrial growth of Ontario, and phenomenal as has been its mining development, we realize that the hope of this Province is in agriculture. No nation is truly great that does not live up to its opportunities in the production of food.

We have in Ontario as yet brought under cultivation some nine million acres of land with which we are endowed. There are still many millions of acres of tillable soil awaiting the husbandman, for this Province has a total area of 260,000,000 acres. With the improvements now made possible, so that one man will soon be doing the work that was formerly a burden to five, a new era is dawning for agriculture. Remembering that one ton of food produced in Canada to-day is the equal in the Mother Country, by the laws of transportation, to four tons produced in Australia, what an advantage we have in common with all Canada for food production.

When we add to this our unbounded forest resources, our great water powers capable of producing vast quantities of electrical energy, and our noble manhood and womanhood, which have not hesitated to sacrifice their highest and best on the altars of freedom, what limit can we place on the possibilities of this country?

Truly Ontario is fitted to do its share, hand-in-hand with its sister-



THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM HEARST
Prime Minister of Ontario

Provinces, in giving strength and vitality to this Canadian nation. The manifold resources and activities of our country, its unrivalled climate, the richness of its soil, the militant patriotism of its people, their love of everything Canadian and British,

their unflinching devotion to freedom—all these tell us that the Canadian Confederation is not a vision, but a glorious reality, with a still more glorious future under the flag we love so well and which means so much for us and for humanity.

W. H. Hearst

QUEBEC

BY THE HONOURABLE SIR LOMER GOUIN
PRIME MINISTER



THE remarkable progress of the Prairie Provinces is apt at times to overshadow the development in the older Provinces of the Dominion. We are all proud of what Western Canada has done and is doing, but I believe that Canadians generally have equal reason to be proud of the solid if less spectacular progress of the eastern portion of our country.

First of all, it seems to me to be important to re-state some facts regarding the area of Quebec Province. When this Province entered Confederation its area consisted of 120,000,000 acres. In 1898, the Territories of Abitibi, of Ashwanipi and of Mistassini were annexed to Quebec and, when the re-adjustment of the Provincial boundaries took place some years ago, the Territory of Ungava was also added. This had the effect of nearly quadrupling the area of the Province, which is now 452,373,760 acres, or 706,834 square miles.

This enormous extent of territory can better be understood when it is remarked that the Province of Quebec is the largest of all the Provinces of Canada. It constitutes one-fifth of the whole area of Canada, and is almost one-fourth the size of the United States of America. It is about three and a half times larger than Germany, France, or Spain, and six times larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

At the time of Confederation the population of Quebec was about 1,190,000. It is now about 2,400,000, or considerably more than one-quarter of the whole population of Canada. The density of population rose from about 3.30 to the square mile in 1867 to 5.69 to the square mile in 1911. It is now (owing to the annexation of Ungava) about 3.25 to the square mile. The railway mileage has increased from 575 miles at Confederation to 4,353 at the present time.

The value of our field crops is now more than \$100,000,000 per annum. The dairy products, which in 1871 amounted to \$124,000, are now in the neighbourhood of \$22,500,000 per annum. The mining products have increased from less than \$2,000,000 to \$13,000,000; and the forest products are now around \$30,000,000. Quebec's production from field crops, animals, dairy products, mining products, forest products and fisheries is now about \$300,000,000 per annum—a very respectable contribution to the wealth of the Dominion.

This Province has also made remarkable progress in manufacturing. The capital invested in the manufacturing establishments in the Province in 1871 amounted to \$28,071,868, and the value of the products to \$77,205,182. The census of 1911 showed that this capital investment had increased in the interval to \$326,946,925, and the value of the products to



THE HONOURABLE SIR LOMER GOUIN

Prime Minister of Quebec

\$350,901,656. The figures must be considerably higher now. Thus the total annual production of Quebec Province is now much in excess of half a billion dollars.

The exports of the Province have increased from \$39,021,706, or \$32 per capita of population, in 1871, to \$279,039,923 in 1916, or \$116 per capita, while the imports have increased from \$43,094,412, or \$36 per capita, to \$180,356,089, or \$75 per capita. Comment on these figures is superfluous. They speak for themselves. But I may be permitted to

point out the important bearing they have on the economic and industrial life of the nation, and how eloquent they are of the ultimate development of this Province.

We have a stable, industrious, clean-living, and progressive population. Education and scientific methods are making rapid progress. We look forward with every confidence to a glorious future, confident of fulfilling our destiny in fraternal emulation with the other Provinces of the Dominion, of which we are proud and happy to form a part.

Lomer Guoin

BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY THE HONOURABLE H. C. BREWSTER
PRIME MINISTER



THE first British Columbia Parliament was held in Victoria in 1868, and was followed conveniently by a Confederation at Yale in the same year, decision to enter Confederation being reached in 1870. The last meeting of the Legislative Council was opened on January 3rd, 1871, passing the terms of union on January 19th following.

Fixed settlement in the Province up to that date was confined practically to the Fraser Valley, the lower half of Vancouver Island, with adjacent islands and promiscuous isolated districts in several scattered parts of the interior. The rush of miners to the Cariboods in the fifties had resulted in the location of many sturdy pioneers in the country who had come in with the swarm of gold-seekers.

Not until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway could it be said that British Columbia, or even her oldest settlers, felt themselves to be an integral part of the Dominion. The population at that time was about 45,000. New Westminster, Victoria, and Nanaimo were the only noteworthy urban centres.

With the advent of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the construction of its branch lines, the establishment of transportation among the lakes and water-ways of the interior encouraged experimental settlement in

various sections, which since have become thriving agricultural communities. For the most part, however, agricultural settlement and development took place only in a narrow strip of the southern section of the Province contiguous to the American boundary.

Not until the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway—penetrating the northern hinterland of the Province and providing transportation from millions of acres of unequalled agricultural areas—with its terminus at Prince Rupert, were the eyes of settlers attracted toward the undoubtedly splendid agricultural, horticultural and stock-ranging possibilities of this section of the Province. Since this time another section of the Province has been traversed by the Canadian Northern Pacific Railway, and there is under construction the Pacific Great Eastern Railway, which, when completed, together with the railroads mentioned, will afford a network of steel transcending the immediate necessities of the Province and providing against the contingencies of many years. The population, in round numbers, now is 400,000, notwithstanding the considerable decrease incident to the large relative percentage of local enlistments for the war.

In common with other Western Provinces, the years from 1910 to 1914 were "boom" years. Speculative investments attracted the attention of



THE HONOURABLE H. C. BREWSTER
Prime Minister of British Columbia

companies, corporations and syndicates, which were among the first to realize the potential value of its natural resources, particularly in land and timber. Extensive purchases were made in respect of both these, which naturally procrastinated industrial development, and particularly the very necessary settlement and cultivation of the land. As early as before the outbreak of the present war the speculative exploitation of the Province had run its course and the inevitable depression followed, affecting commerce as well as industry.

In spite of the depression and

anxiety incident to the prosecution of the war—and I should say in this connection that because British Columbia is sharing her responsibilities to an extent pre-eminently to her credit and feeling the depression correspondingly—the stable interests of the Province have found their feet, are more than holding their own and are preparing for a generous participation in the revival of all varieties of prosperity which the termination of the war will substantiate and which must reach this Province with an incidence commensurate with the great potentialities of her resources.

H. C. Brewster.

SASKATCHEWAN

BY THE HONOURABLE W. M. MARTIN
PRIME MINISTER



ALTHOUGH the Province of Saskatchewan was formed on September 1st, 1905—something less than twelve years ago—its progress has been almost startling. It began with a population, according to the Provincial estimate, of only 136,000. Ten years later that number had increased to 750,000. In Eleven years 187,460 homesteads were taken up, representing 29,993,600 acres of land. In 1905 the amount of land under cultivation was 1,638,281 acres; in 1916 it was 11,623,710 acres. The following table shows the increase in the production of grain:

	1905	1915
Oats	19,213,000	171,765,000
Barley ...	893,396	10,497,000
Wheat ...	26,107,286	243,481,000
Flax	398,399	9,061,000

Since its beginning the Province of Saskatchewan has been a leader in progressive legislation. Not only was it the first Province to enact progressive temperance legislation, but it undertook early in its existence to give the people a Government telephone system, to establish creameries operated by the Government, and elevators under Government control. In 1905 the number of farmers supplying cream was 560; in 1916 it was 7,205. During that time the amount of butter manufactured had increased from 223,474 pounds, valued at \$47,577 to 2,538,061 pounds, valued

at \$771,092. Besides this, there were in 1916 fifteen private creameries making 1,772,608 pounds of butter.

In 1905 there were thirty-three agricultural societies. By 1916 the number had increased to 118. Although it is generally supposed that the increasing amount of grain and mixed farming throughout the Province had decreased the production of live stock, the statistics show the following increases:

	1906	1916
Horses	240,566	700,815
Cattle	472,854	987,454
Sheep	121,290	207,385
Swine	123,916	286,544

The amount of grain inspected from Saskatchewan during the "crop" year, 1905-6, was 22,871,730 bushels: in 1915-16 it was 271,385,600 bushels. The number of elevators of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, which is controlled by the Government, increased from forty-six in 1911-12 to 258 in 1916-17. The entire elevator capacity of the Province increased from 8,951,600 bushels in 1905, to 52,943,000 bushels in 1916.

There have been other astonishing increases. The railway mileage in operation in 1905 was 1,551; in 1915 it was 6,101. The number of subscribers to Government telephones in 1908 was 3,615; in 1916 it was approximately 18,000. In 1908 the mileage of the rural telephone system was 147; in 1916 it was 24,856. In



THE HONOURABLE W. M. MARTIN
Prime Minister of Saskatchewan

1908 the number of subscribers was 119; in 1916, 25,141.

Education has kept pace with this wonderful development. The number of school districts in 1905 was 940; and in 1915 it was 3,702. The number of teachers employed in 1905 was

1,011; in 1915 there were 4,949. In 1905 the pupils attending the schools numbered 25,191; in 1915 this was increased to 119,279. In 1906 the number of teachers trained at the Norman School was 188; in 1915 it was 1,222.

W. M. Martin

ALBERTA

BY THE HONOURABLE A. L. SIFTON
PRIME MINISTER



THOUGH in 1867 what is now Alberta was still in the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, the employees of which were its only white inhabitants, and fur-trading was its only settled industry, this and other portions of Rupert's Land were constantly kept in mind in connection with the Confederation plans. As early as 1858 George Brown urged that "with the people of Canada must mainly rest the noble task, at no distant date, of consolidating these Provinces, aye, and of redeeming to civilization and peopling with new life the vast territories to our north".

No time was lost, after the British North America Act went into effect, in securing the transfer of these territories to the new Dominion. What had to be done in redeeming them to civilization was shown by the report which Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir William F.) Butler made to the Government of Manitoba in 1871, following his famous trip to the Rockies.

"As matters now rest," he wrote, "the region of the Saskatchewan is without law, order or security for life and property; robbery and murder for years have gone unpunished; Indian massacres are unchecked, even in the close vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts, and all civil and legal institutions are entirely unknown."

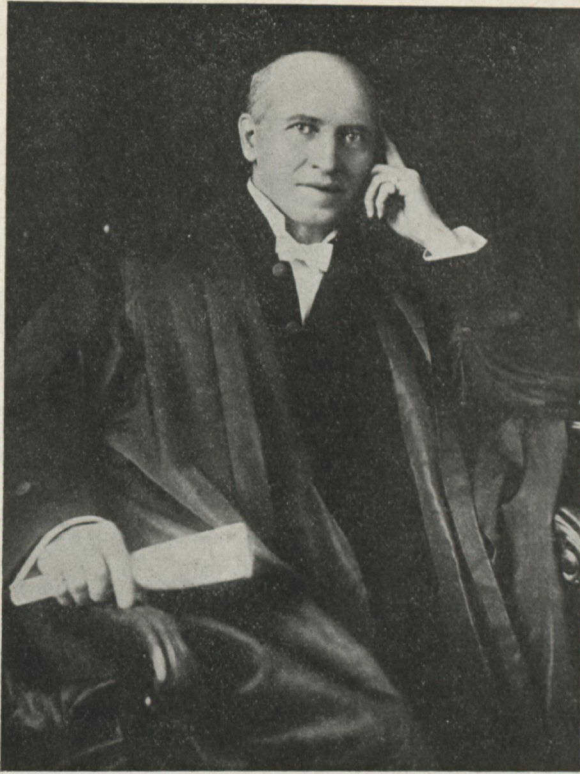
The change that has been wrought since then is a part, and an important part, of the general history of the Dominion.

The census of 1901 showed that the territory which four years later, on the granting of autonomy, was included in the Province of Alberta, had a population of 73,022. To-day it is estimated at 540,000.

In 1905 we had a total grain yield of 13,607,374 bushels; in 1915 this had risen to 164,332,483; in 1916 the yield was in the neighbourhood of 125,000,000. As yet only ten per cent. of our arable land is under cultivation. Live stock interests are developing rapidly, a value of \$120,000,000 being placed upon them.

Last year's coal production was 4,648,604 tons. Fourteen and a half per cent. of the world's coal supply is to be found within our provincial boundaries, and only a beginning has been made in its exploitation. Manufacturing, too, is only in its infancy, but it now accounts for \$40,000,000 worth of products annually.

While it is mainly to purely economic aspects of our expansion that attention has been directed, there has been consistent progress towards all the higher forms of civilized life. The lawless conditions pictured by Butler soon gave way to orderly government, and the self-governing principle has been gradually extended. Alberta to-day is an advanced democracy. Nowhere else in the Dominion is the de-



THE HONOURABLE A. L. SIFTON
Prime Minister of Alberta

sire of the people to control their own affairs directly more manifest.

Pride in the Province and steady regard for its particular interests are strongly developed. But the larger claims of the nation and the Empire are not overlooked. Our recruiting

figures are the best evidence of this.

Marvellous though the transformation of the past half-century has been, our achievements have been as nothing compared with those to which we look forward. To an exceptional degree Alberta is still a land of promise.

A. L. Sifton

NOVA SCOTIA

BY THE HONOURABLE G. H. MURRAY
PRIME MINISTER



CONFEDERATION implies that the union of the various Canadian Provinces was not a legislative union, which obliterates the individual State, but a federal union, which leaves each Province free to achieve its own destiny, although forming an integral part of the Dominion. Thus while managing its own local affairs, Nova Scotia has contributed in a distinguishable way to the life and progress of our united country.

At Confederation the population of Nova Scotia was about 330,000. It is now well over the half million. The agricultural industry has shown a regular growth, and the general financial standing of the Nova Scotia farmer has greatly improved. Organized dairying, which was non-existent fifty years ago, has made rapid strides recently, the output from the creameries increasing more than six hundred per cent. during the past ten years. We had then no agricultural college; to-day we have one of the best equipped colleges of this type on the continent.

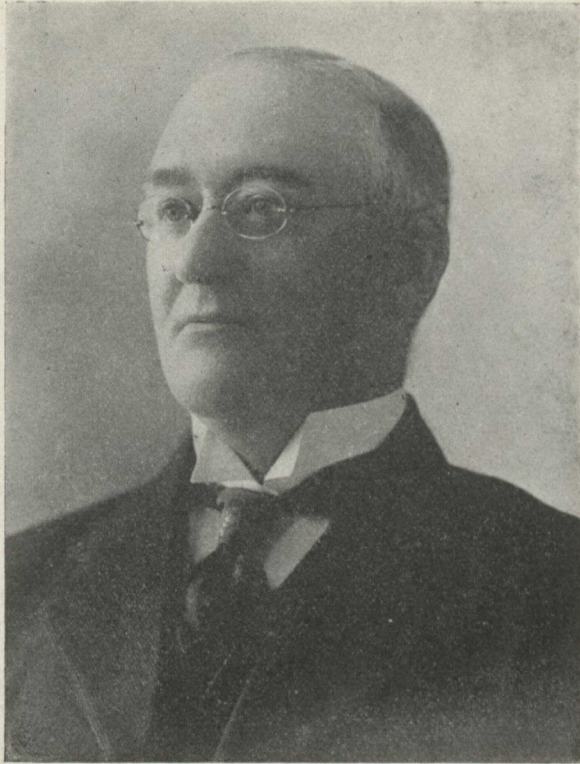
At Confederation Nova Scotia had not begun to export apples. Our export of this fruit, which began in 1880 with 20,000 barrels, reached its maximum in 1911, with 1,800,000 barrels. Fifty years ago our coal output amounted to 684,000 tons; it has now reached a value of more than eight millions. Eleven hundred and seventy public schools, with 72,000 pupils,

were then in operation; to-day we have 2,837 public schools attended by 109,189 pupils. We had then no facilities for technical training; we have now a complete system of technical education that covers the entire Province. At that time one small iron works was in operation; to-day the largest steel plants in Canada are located in this Province.

Nova Scotia has been described as one of the cradles of the Canadian race, and certainly the sons of this Province have accomplished their full share in peopling the wide spaces of the west. Indeed the production of material things takes second place in importance to the contribution of that rare product—strong men. We may justly lay claim to pre-eminence in the part our sons have taken in the educational and political thought of the Dominion.

The country that produced Howe, the accomplished orator and statesman, continues to give birth to public men of national distinction. Since 1867 Nova Scotia has given to Canada a whole series of constructive statesmen of whom three have become Prime Ministers of the Dominion.

It has been said that intellect is the chief element in the greatness of a people. In the increase of that element Nova Scotia has been an important factor. Many college and university heads have gone forth from this Province, together with a steady stream of college professors,



THE HONOURABLE G. H. MURRAY
Prime Minister of Nova Scotia

while geologists, naturalists and physicists of Nova Scotia origin have helped to carry on the torch of knowledge.

Nova Scotia will endeavour to maintain the tradition of a trained intelligence, a reverence for knowledge,

a supreme devotion to freedom and justice. Nova Scotians will aid in guarding the superb edifice raised fifty years ago and committed by our fathers to the keeping of all true Canadians without regard to race or creed.

G. H. Murray

NEW BRUNSWICK

BY THE HONOURABLE W. E. FOSTER
PRIME MINISTER

NEW BRUNSWICK entered Confederation on the wave of a popular demand for the Intercolonial Railway. In the fifty years since union was consummated the Province has made great strides, particularly in railway building.

It has been said that New Brunswick has more miles of railway per capita than any other unit of government in the world. The Intercolonial was provided, skirting the entire eastern and northern shores of the Province, and now it reaches across the Province as well, comprising three great arms—the St. John-Moncton section of the main line; the Canada Eastern branch, from Chatham to Fredericton, and the recently-acquired Intercolonial, from Campbellton to St. Leonard's. The Canadian Pacific Railway practically parallels the western boundary from St. Stephen to Edmundston in addition to the St. John-Vanceboro' section of the main line and several branches. The National Transcontinental Railway bisects the Province diagonally, and there are numerous other branches in the provincial gridiron, to say nothing of the St. John Valley Railway, now building from Andover to Westfield, and which was originally destined to run from Grand Falls to St. John, a distance of 225 miles.

Progress in all lines of development has kept pace with railway building.

In population, New Brunswick has added one-third to the total of 1867 with a satisfactory growth of 100,000, contributing at the same time very largely to the upbuilding of the Western Provinces. This Province has given two Prime Ministers to British Columbia, a Governor to Alberta, and men high up in every walk of life to every Province in the West.

In manufacturing, lumbering, the fisheries, and agriculture, New Brunswick has advanced with the rest of Canada. Some products of our factories are sold on the Pacific coast and on the prairies, while others go overseas. Pulp and paper mills mark advances in the lumber industry, while our canners and packers of fish products are invading the markets of the world. The threatened food shortage and the call for increased production as a patriotic duty has revealed an awakened and progressive spirit on the part of our farmers, who have kept in touch with the new ideas of the time.

New Brunswick's contribution to the war can be taken as proof that the Province has caught the real spirit of a self-governing confederation. We are now on our second army division, having enlisted, it is safely estimated, more than 20,000 up to May 1st, 1917, for the common cause of Canada and the Empire. Owing to the unfortunate necessity of infantry units having been broken up in drafts in England, New Brunswick has been represented



THE HONOURABLE W. E. FOSTER
Prime Minister of New Brunswick

on the firing-line during the first three years of war by but one infantry battalion, though our men have gone to re-inforce many other units. The original New Brunswick battalion has all but disappeared, but has been filled and re-filled with men and officers from our own Province and as an organization is still at strength and going forward to fresh triumphs.

To "Carry On" must be our watch-

word at home. New Brunswick has had no cause to regret undertaking the larger responsibilities which came from concurrence in Confederation fifty years ago, and we can look forward with confidence and with courage to entering the new period which will come to Canada and to the whole world with the downfall of autocracy and the universal triumph of liberalism.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

BY THE HONOURABLE J. A. MATHIESON
PRIME MINISTER



PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND became united with the Dominion of Canada on July 1st, 1873. Its progress since that date has been limited by its isolation in winter, by its lack of mineral and forest resources, the impossibility of geographical extension in which the central and western Provinces have shared, and the further fact that manufacturing development, except for local purposes, was impossible owing to inadequate transportation facilities. Its one supreme need was constant and efficient means of communication with the mainland and the outside world.

This great need is now about to be supplied by the inauguration of a car ferry service across the narrowest part of the Strait of Northumberland, where the water distance is but eight miles, and the widening of the gauge of our railway to that of the mainland railways. The decision of the present Government at Ottawa to undertake this important work gave great hope to our people, allayed the prevalent discontent and operated to check the exodus then going on. The opening of the car ferry service this year is confidently expected to greatly relieve the worst of our past disabilities, to stimulate production and trade, to enhance the value of our farm lands and of all our farm and fishery products, to promote the creation of new industries that will give

constant employment and to make Prince Edward Island an integral part of the Dominion in a sense that it has never been.

Although for the reasons stated the population of the Province numbers little more than at the time of union, there are many evidences of material progress. Since that date the Dominion Government has extended the railway to Cape Traverse, Murray Harbour, Montague, and Elmira, an aggregate distance of eighty miles; it has improved our harbours, provided rural mail delivery and last year took over the operation of the steamship service connecting the mainland railway systems and the Province.

Successive provincial governments have inaugurated various changes and improvements. The Legislature adopted the one-chamber plan in 1891 and the old Legislative Council ceased to exist. A prohibitory liquor law was unanimously adopted in 1901 and since then has been made more stringent. In more recent years, under the present administration, the highways have been greatly improved and permanent bridges of steel and concrete have been built. The educational system has been improved, teachers' salaries increased and more efficient inspection provided. The proprietary right in the oyster fishery has been acquired from the Dominion, and considerable areas have been surveyed and leased with a view to restoring this important industry. A plant has been established



THE HONOURABLE J. A. MATHIESON
Prime Minister of Prince Edward Island

for the excavation and shipment by rail and water carriage of mussel mud at cost, for use by farmers as a fertilizer, of which more than 1,300 carloads were shipped last year, the demand much exceeding the supply.

Other evidences of change and progress since the time of union are to be noted in the endowment by Sir Charles Dalton of a sanatorium for consumptives, which is now maintained by the Government; the incorporation of the towns of Summerside, Alberton, Kensington, Souris, Georgetown, and Montague; the extension of the telephone system throughout the

Province and the introduction of waterworks, sewerage and electric lighting systems in the large centres; the creation of the fur-farming industry and its development on an extensive scale. Generally speaking there has been since the time of union a very considerable increase in wealth and a higher standard of comfort in living, to which the widespread introduction of labour-saving machines and implements has contributed largely. High prices for farm products in recent years have made our farmers more prosperous than ever before.

J. Mathieson

The Fight for Confederation

BY M. O. HAMMOND

AUTHOR OF "CONFEDERATION AND ITS LEADERS"



TOWARDS the close of 1864 George Brown wrote to a friend that the "French Canadians are restive about the [Confederation] scheme but the feeling in favour of it is all but unanimous here [Upper Canada], and I think there is a good chance of carrying it".

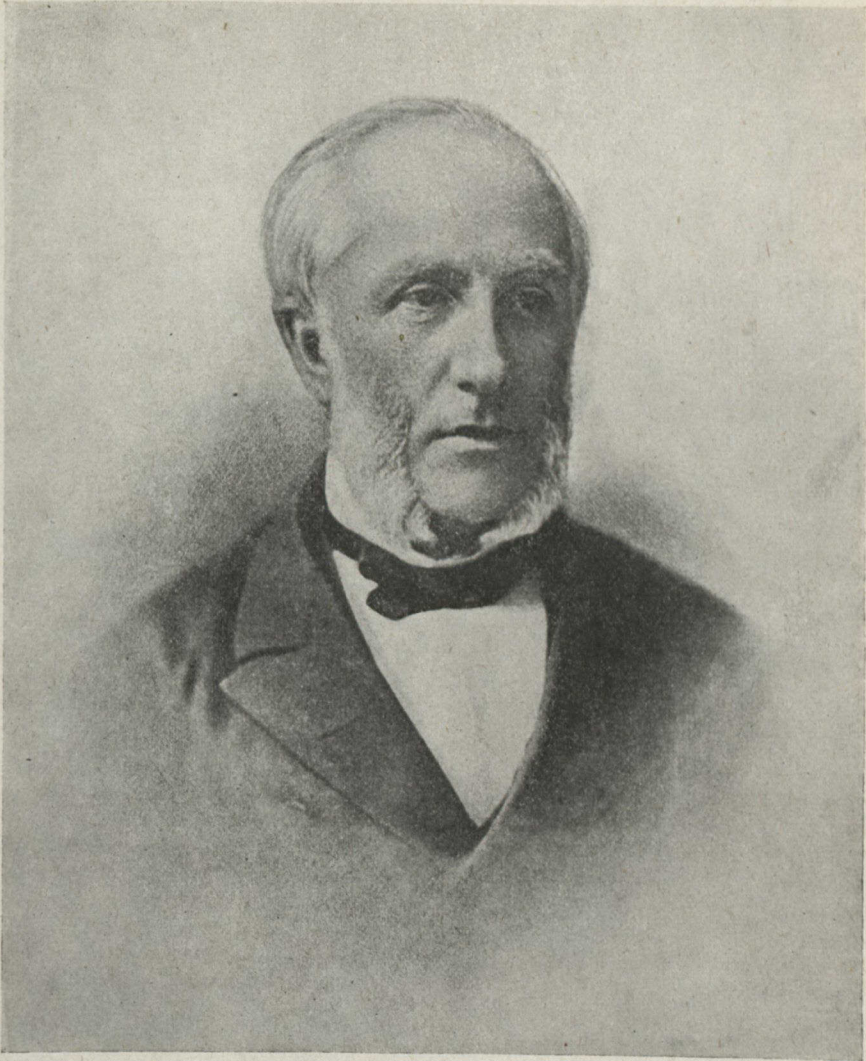
The Reform leader's diagnosis was correct. His own trumpet-calls for constitutional change during the previous decade had prepared Upper Canada for innovation, and the idea of a union with Lower Canada and the provinces down by the sea was not a new one. It is true his demand was for representation by population, in the two Canadas, and that he was not, until the coalition was formed in June, 1864, a convert to the idea of uniting all the provinces. John A. Macdonald had given passive support to the larger scheme when A. T. Galt entered the Cartier-Macdonald government in 1858 with the federation policy in his knapsack.

Macdonald was not, however, a serious propagandist of union until he joined Brown in the coalition. A few weeks earlier he had opposed the majority report of Brown's special committee on constitutional change, which favoured a federation of the two Canadas or, failing that, a federation of all the provinces. Galt had been the real pioneer of the Confed-

eration idea among the leaders of that day, for in his speech in the Assembly at Toronto on July 5th, 1858, he advocated a union of all the provinces and said that unless one were effected they would eventually drift into the United States. That speech converted George E. Cartier, the leader of the French Canadians, a circumstance most fortunate and far-reaching in the fight during the years to come.

Generally speaking, therefore, the leaders of the union cause in the Canadas began their battle in the summer of 1864 on a fair footing of equality. Brown had sown the seed which made Upper Canada ready for change. John A. Macdonald, once he espoused the movement, threw his dynamic personality at the head of it. D'Arcy McGee had preached far and wide the lure of a united Dominion. Galt was ready with abundant proof of its economic wisdom. Cartier, backed by the Church, was unrelenting and invincible in prosecuting the new cause.

Such opposition to Confederation as developed in Upper Canada came mainly from the secrecy which enveloped the negotiations, from mistrust of a measure not submitted to the people, and for a time, an antagonism to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. The Canadian delegates slipped away to Charlottetown for the first conference, almost unnoticed. The proceedings were



THE HONOURABLE GEORGE BROWN

Who joined forces with the Honourable John A. Macdonald to form a coalition Government and bring about Confederation

private and their real significance not realized for weeks. When the delegates passed on to Halifax and St. John they uncovered the plans with vague messages of good-will and then proceeded to Quebec, where the scheme was matured. Here the meetings were again in secret, but enough leaked out to prepare the Canadas for a scheme involving great change. When the Quebec delegates, their

work completed, came on to Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto, they were welcomed everywhere, though a minority of doubters remained in the background. The *Montreal Gazette* declared that "from first to last there has been a blunder committed in this matter of secrecy".

Against this was the buoyant leadership of Macdonald and Brown, supported by Oliver Mowat, William

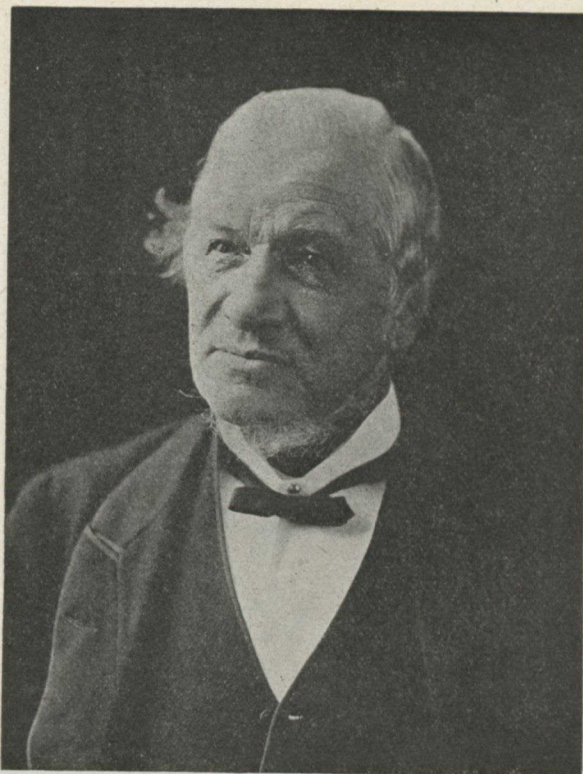


JOHN A. MACDONALD

Who invited George Brown to enter a coalition Government to bring about Confederation

McDougall and other skilful debaters in the Upper Province. There was first of all intense relief at the end of the deadlock, which had nearly paralyzed business for two years. "I

think there is no man from one end of this Province to the other," said Brown at Toronto, on November 3rd, "who will not say that whatever we may do after this union is accom-



SIR A. T. GALT

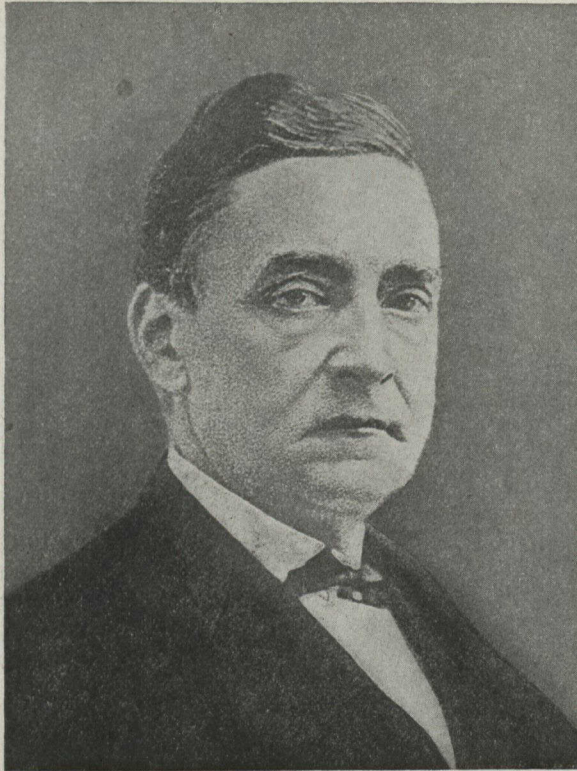
Who ten years before Confederation stated publicly that unless the Provinces united they eventually would drift into the United States

plished, we should at any rate forget our feuds for the present. It may be said that it is unnecessary for me to make this remark, but when I look over the meeting and see the friendly way in which Whigs and Tories are sitting together, I almost think the millenium has arrived."

While Brown and *The Globe* were leading the Reformers towards union, with here and there a dissenter, *The Leader* had misgivings which were uttered in varying form from day to day. "Public opinion favours a union of the Provinces," said the Conservative organ on November 25th, but it does not sanction the proposal of carrying it without giving the people an opportunity of saying whether they desire it or not." The sentiment was echoed by many smaller newspapers in the Province.

John Hillyard Cameron, an outstanding lawyer and member of Parliament in Upper Canada, had already taken the platform on the same issue, and before his constituents in Peel county had favoured a legislative rather than a federal union, and added: "Let no change be made without taking the voice of the people on the question".

Feeling on the Intercolonial Railway had been strong, but gradually weakened. Samuel Leonard Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, had made his position clear at the banquet during the Quebec conference. "The question of the Intercolonial Railroad had not been lost sight of," he said, "and if a union was to be consummated it would not be worth having without that road. It was, in fact, impossible to have a union without it."



THE HONOURABLE A. A. DORION

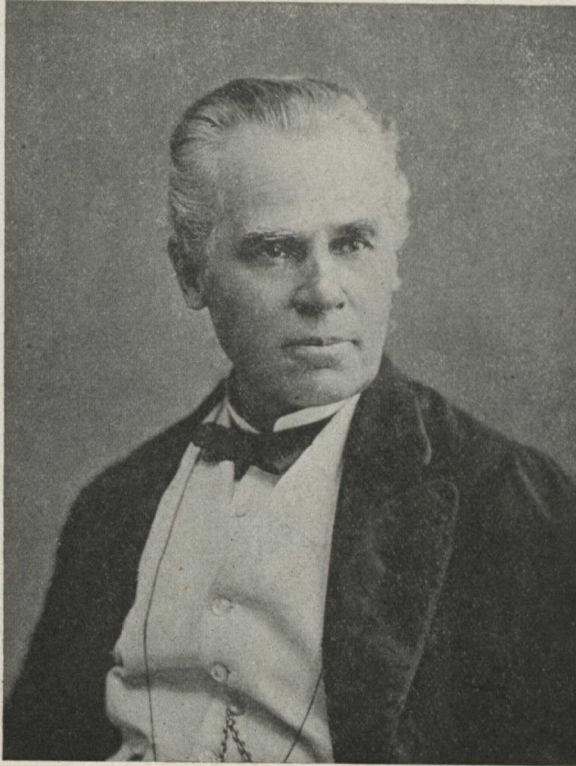
Leader of the opponents of Confederation in the Province of Quebec

Such an ultimatum was something to handle carefully in Upper Canada. Observe the delicacy of George Brown, as he unfolded the details of the union scheme to a Toronto audience in November.

"Mr. Mayor," he said to the banqueters, "I now approach a rather delicate question—delicate, that is to say, as regards the people of the west [Upper Canada]. We have agreed—I announce it frankly—to build the Intercolonial Railway. [Cheers and laughter]. I have not been in favour of that scheme, *per se*, constituted as we have been. But I have at the same time been willing to admit—and I repeat it heartily today—that without an intercolonial railway there can be no union of these Provinces. [Cheers]. And after a careful consideration of the

question in all its bearings, and after counting the full cost, I am prepared to advocate the building of that road in order to accomplish the great objects we have in view in the scheme of federation [Cheers]. . . . In agreeing to build the Intercolonial, it should also be stated that due regard was had to the interests of the west. I am happy to be able to say that with the unanimous consent of the members of the conference, we have resolved on the extension of our canal system" [Cheers].

Opinion on union drifted on in a vague form until it was crystallized in the great Confederation debate in Parliament at Quebec in February and March, 1865. The stage was set for a historic occasion in a historic city, and the Canadian Parliament never rose to greater heights. John



SIR GEORGE E. CARTIER

Leader of the advocates of Confederation in the Province of Quebec

A. Macdonald and George Brown reached a lofty plane in their appeals for support of Confederation, and no Upper Canadian opponent approached them either in force or logic.

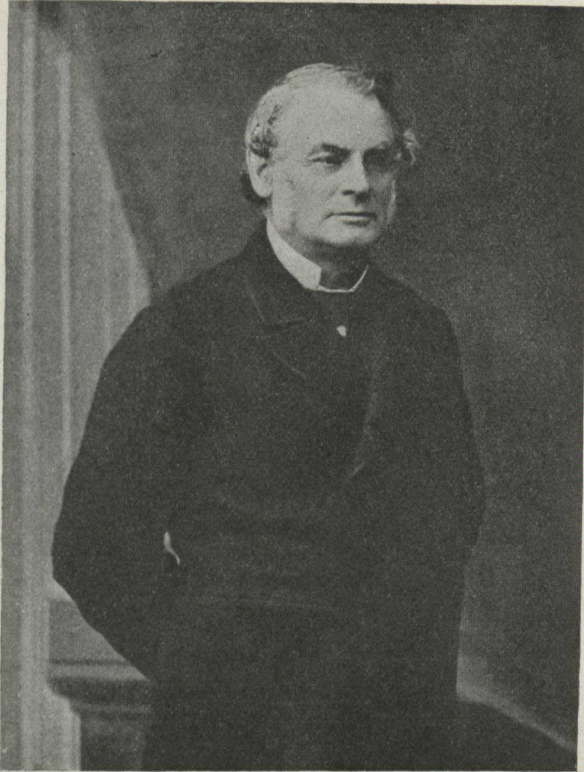
"If we do not take advantage of the time," said Macdonald in closing, "if we show ourselves unequal to the occasion, it may never return, and we shall hereafter bitterly and unavailingly regret having failed to embrace the happy opportunity now offered of founding a great nation under the fostering care of Great Britain and our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria."

Brown's speech was equally noble and was marked by close reasoning in support of the scheme. He presented seven principal reasons for the adoption of Confederation, as follows:

(1) Because it will raise us from

the attitude of a number of inconsiderable colonies into a great and powerful people; (2) because it will throw down the barriers of trade and give us the control of a market of four millions of people; (3) because it will make us the third maritime power in the world; (4) because it will give a new start to immigration into our country; (5) because it will enable us to meet without alarm the abrogation of the American reciprocity treaty in case the United States should decide upon its abolition; (6) because in the event of war it will enable all the colonies to defend themselves better and give more efficient aid to the Empire than they can do separately; and (7) because it will give us a seaboard at all seasons of the year.

Oliver Mowat was not in Parlia-



SIR LEONARD TILLEY

Who strongly urged the building of the Intercolonial Railway

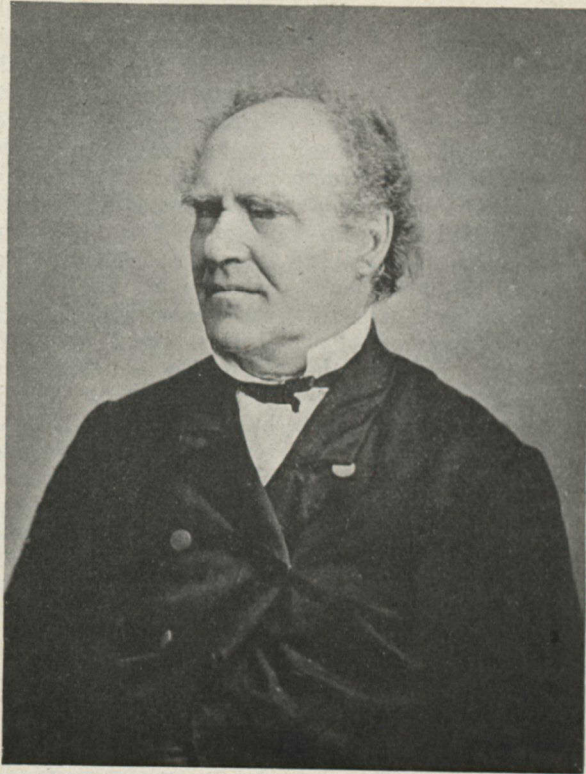
ment at this time, having been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Ontario in the autumn of 1864. William McDougall, the other Reformer in the coalition government, took no part in the debate.

Upper Canada's minority voice was heard in the speeches of John Sandfield Macdonald, Matthew Crooks Cameron, John Hillyard Cameron, Joseph Rymal, and one or two others less prominent. Naturally conservatism was reflected in the attitude of John Sandfield Macdonald, whose speech as a whole was not a worthy performance. "Sir," he said. "I never was myself an advocate of any change in our constitution; I believed it was capable of being well worked to the satisfaction of the people if we were free from demagogues and designing persons who sought to

create strife between the two sections." "I think it is most monstrous," he added, "that this House should refuse the people an opportunity of expressing themselves before their constitution is taken away from them."

Sandfield Macdonald was a reluctant convert to the cause when it prevailed in 1867, but he accepted the offer of Sir John A. Macdonald to become the first Premier of Ontario, declaring at the same time his independence of the Conservative party. He lived to "hunt in couples" with Sir John and to face a formidable Liberal opposition which finally overthrew him in Ontario in 1871.

M. C. Cameron was a silver-tongued lawyer who was afterwards in Sandfield Macdonald's Ontario Cabinet and later Opposition leader in



THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE

The leader in Nova Scotia of the opponents of Confederation

the Province. "I feel it was not the interests of this country that have brought about these resolutions," he told the House, "but that it was the factious conduct of honourable gentlemen on the floor of this House." He opposed the Intercolonial Railway and the joining with the Maritime Provinces, because it meant much additional frontier and expenditure without men in proportion. He favoured a legislative rather than a federal union, and declared: "We should feel that if we are to be united it should be in fact as well as in name; that we ought to be one people and not separated from each other by sections; that if we go into a union it ought to be such a union as would make us one people. . . with strength to protect our interests in all time to come."

Picturesque "Joe" Rymal, whose appearance and language alike arrested attention, charged that John A. Macdonald had broken faith in preventing amendments being moved, while the Reform members had broken faith in not bringing down a measure for the federation of the two Canadas. The refusal to submit the scheme to the people was to him evidence there was something in it which the promoters did not wish the people to know.

"Now, the strength which we would obtain by consummating this union," he declared, "is just that kind of strength which a fishing rod would obtain by fastening to it some additional joints."

John Hillyard Cameron moved on March 13th that union be not effective until submitted to the people,

but the main resolution was carried by 91 to 33 in the Assembly.

*

While the members were debating at Quebec other far-reaching voices were heard in the distance. New Brunswick, the first Province to hold an election after the Quebec conference, had registered an unfavourable verdict in March, and the news caused the debate to "drag heavily". "It appeared," said a correspondent, "as if the members felt they were speaking on a dead subject, and the tendency was to cut the speeches short".

South of the border events were happening which were to stimulate union feeling more or less in all the Provinces. The American civil war was nearing its close, there was bitterness between the North and Great Britain, there was a fear of demobilized soldiers, and there was a real menace from the Fenians then spouting fire in various parts of the Union. A sample utterance is that of Colonel Mahoney, President of the Fenian Brotherhood, at Boston in February, 1865.

"Ours is the policy that can right the wrongs of Ireland," he said. "The day of peaceful agitation, of petition mongering and parliamentary humbug is passed forever in Ireland. The sword alone can win the liberty of that Green Isle. Away then with all associations that do not propose to win Irish liberty by the stalwart arms of Irishmen."

It is enough to add that the Fenians invaded Upper Canada in 1866, and also reached the border of New Brunswick, in time to help solidify sentiment there in favour of union.

Lower Canada was, as George Brown said, "restive" regarding Confederation. Brown's own anti-Catholic utterances and editorials accounted for much of the feeling in the Province against Upper Canada. When the coalition brought Brown and Cartier into the same Cabinet, after years of political and racial strife, it

went far to reconcile the Lower Canadians, if it also mystified them. "I am now allied with the Honourable George Brown," Cartier told the banqueters at Montreal after the Quebec conference, "with whom I have been in a state of almost continued antagonism for nearly fifteen years." The impetuous Cartier had been a radical with Papineau in the rebellion of 1837, but in later years was the natural political foe of A. A. Dorion, the leader of the Rouges. From his adoption of the Confederation policy from Galt in 1858 he had been a believer in it, and from 1864 to 1867 his beliefs and his strength were put to the severest test. Cartier feared absorption by the United States if Canada did not improve her condition, and with that, apart from severance from the Crown to which he was devoted, would go the peculiar privileges enjoyed by his race and religion in Canada.

While one party told the French Canadians they would be swamped under Confederation, another told the English Canadians in Lower Canada they would be threatened by the French majority. Cartier, backed by the Church, steered a resolute course, calmed the fears of both races, and appealed to the enterprise of the people. His speeches were dry as dust but he plunged ahead, risking much but carrying the majority with him. He was ably supported by A. T. Galt, who dominated the Protestant sections of the Eastern Townships, where he was brought up.

"The Provinces of British North America," Galt said in his memorable speech at Sherbrooke, in November, 1864, "if united would form a power on the northern half of this continent which would be able to make itself respected and which he trusted would furnish hereafter happy and prosperous homes to many millions of the industrial classes from Europe now struggling for existence."

The Quebec conference was not long concluded before the opponents

of union in Lower Canada found voice. Leadership naturally fell on A. A. Dorion, "a statesman," as J. S. Willison has said, "scarcely less great than any that Canada has produced". Dorion had favoured a federation of the two Canadas as far back as 1856, but now he opposed the wider scheme because of what he termed the excessive generosity to the eastern Provinces.

The gentle, courteous Dorion was no match for Cartier in the rough and tumble of politics; besides, he faced the power of the Church, which was to remain master and ally of the Conservatives in Quebec until 1896. Immediately after the Quebec conference Dorion issued an address to his constituents in Hochelaga denouncing the scheme. "It has appeared to me," he said, "that the present circumstances of the several provinces do not render such a union desirable, and that we might by a treaty of commerce and reciprocity assure to each province all the advantages which might be procurable or derived from a union." Dorion's utterances in the Confederation debate were an appeal for the rights of his race. "A million of inhabitants," he said, "may seem a small affair to the mind of a philosopher who sits down to write out a constitution. He may think it would be better that there should be but one religion, one language and one system of laws, and he goes to work to frame institutions that will bring all to that desirable state; but I can tell the honourable gentlemen that the history of every country goes to show that not even by the power of the sword can such changes be accomplished."

Christopher Dunkin voiced the protest of the Protestant minority against Confederation, in a lengthy and powerful speech. Dunkin was a skilful lawyer and his mass of objections to the proposed constitution form an interesting exhibit of the fears of the opponents, few of which have been borne out by experience.

Two other Lower Canadian Protestants, later to take a prominent place in public life, supported Dunkin—L. H. Holton and L. S. Huntington. "Everybody is in favour of a union, providing the details are satisfactory," said Huntington, who protested against providing imperfect details and trusting to the future. Holton sought to make strife between the members of the coalition. He recalled that in the session of 1856 or 1857 George Brown had "described the path of the Attorney-General West (John A. Macdonald) as being studded all along by the gravestones of his slaughtered colleagues". "Well," Holton said significantly, "there are not wanting those who think they descry in the not very remote distance a yawning grave waiting for the noblest victim of them all."

When the vote was taken in the Assembly, of the forty-nine members from Lower Canada twenty-six had followed Cartier for union and twenty had gone with Dorion against it. A lively campaign in the Province followed, during which a score of counties declared for a plebiscite, and 20,000 persons signed petitions against final action without a popular vote. Dorion was supported by L. O. David, Méderic Lanctot and others, while Wilfrid Laurier, then a budding young lawyer, also appeared on the Dorion platform. Cartier was no less active, and with the appeals of the Bishops and the vigour of his own personality his party won a signal victory in 1867, only twelve seats out of sixty-five being carried by the anti-unionists.

The resistance to Confederation develops the farther east one surveys the field. Upper Canada was ready, but not enthusiastic. Lower Canada was lukewarm, with considerable opposition. New Brunswick resisted it for nearly two years. Nova Scotia was rebellious, and Prince Edward Island threw it over and waited eight

Etienne
Paschal
Taché

John A.
Macdonald

George
Etienne
Cartier

George
Brown

Oliver
Mowat

J. C.
Chapais

J.
Cockburn

Thomas
D'Arcy
McGee

Col. John
Hamilton
Gray

William
McDougall

Alexander
Campbell

Alexander
T.
Galt

Samuel
Leonard
Tilley

W. H.
Steeves

E. B.
Chandler

Charles
Fisher

Charles
Tupper

Hector
Langevin

J. McCully

Ambrose
Shea

W. H.
Pope

George
Coles

Edward
Whalen

Thomas H.
Haviland

A. A.
Macdonald

E. Palmer

Adams G.
Archibald

R. B.
Dickie

F. B. T.
Carter

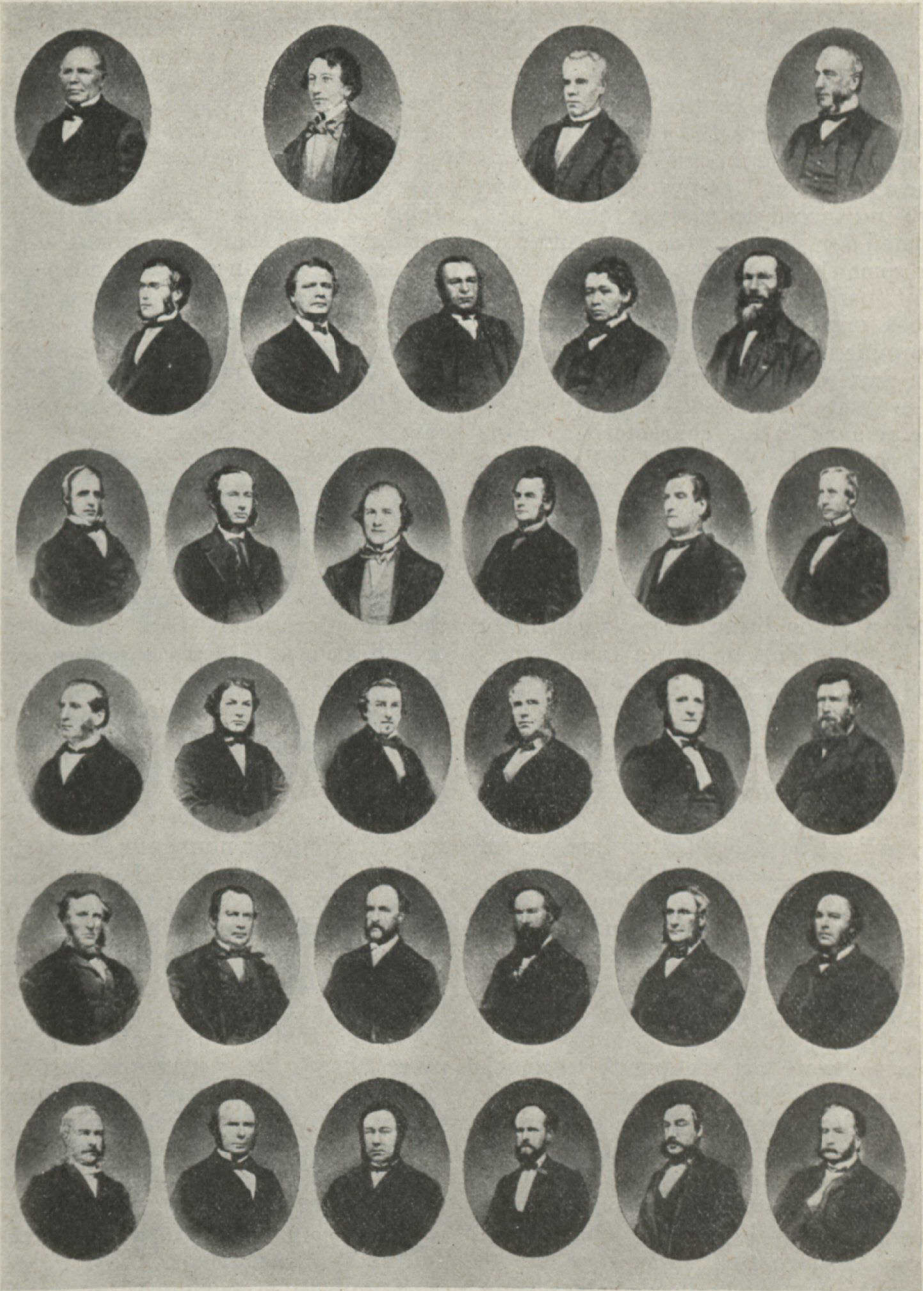
W. A.
Henry

Peter
Mitchell

J. M.
Johnson

J. H.
Gray

Names, in corresponding positions, of the portraits opposite to this page.



THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION

From Portraits in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa

years. Some years ago Senator John Costigan said at Ottawa of the Confederation fight in his Province of New Brunswick: "I hope the history of how it was carried will never be written. It was the case of the end justifying the means." The bitterness in Nova Scotia against union "being forced down their throat" persisted for years and is still voiced in a somewhat modified and even wistful manner by a few old men who took part in the battle. The jaunty impudence of Prince Edward Island in immediately cutting adrift from the Quebec scheme led D'Arcy McGee to remark in his characteristic vein: "Prince Edward Island will have to come in, for if she does not we will have to tow her into the St. Lawrence." Newfoundland, though represented at the Quebec conference, also dropped negotiations, being under a trade boom from reciprocity with the United States, and subsequent discussions have failed to result in an agreement on terms.

The ink on the Quebec resolutions was scarcely dry in the fall of 1864 before the people of New Brunswick were "filled with alarm and consternation". The delegates to Quebec, led by Samuel Leonard Tilley, the Premier, were soon on the defensive, with speeches and roseate pictures of the wide markets and prosperity that union would bring. Tilley had frankly told the Canadian delegates at Quebec that the Maritime Provinces "were not seeking this union". They were, he might have said, in later day jargon, "from Missouri". He now, however, backed the project energetically, but before 1864 closed he was committed to an appeal to the people of his Province. The "alarm and consternation" was now at its height, pamphlets flooded the country, picturing the disaster to follow union with overpowering Canada, and there was no chance for general explanations and the spread and assimilation of facts. The Tilley government was signally defeated in

March, 1865, and the setback to Confederation was felt through all the Provinces.

It was now that the real battle in New Brunswick began. Tilley had been a unionist as early as 1860 when he heard Dr. Charles Tupper advocate federation in a lecture at St. John. He now took to the stump in earnest and declared he would cover the entire Province in his advocacy of the Quebec scheme. He was ably supported by Peter Mitchell, a resolute character of much capacity and platform ability, who divided with Tilley the honours for final success.

The election of 1865 resulted in Albert J. Smith, a successful lawyer from Shediac, becoming Premier, and therefore naturally the leader of the anti-union forces. The battle of the hustings proceeded for a year, but in the end the result had diplomatic complications. Tilley's imposing presence and powerful voice made friends for the cause in every county. Mitchell's bluster and practical appeal carried conviction likewise to many minds. But Albert H. Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, was contributing unexpectedly to the history of the period. He had opposed union at first, but following a visit to England had evinced a change of heart. When the Legislature met in March, 1866, Gordon's speech contained these words:

"I am further instructed to express to you the strong and deliberate opinion of her Majesty's government that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one government.

There were cheers from outside the rail of the Assembly at these words, thus indicating a change of sentiment. Gordon already had been negotiating with Peter Mitchell concerning ways and means of carrying union. The Legislative Council, of which Mitchell was a member, promptly responded to the Govern-

nor's speech with an address approving the sentiment regarding union. Gordon accepted this without asking or receiving the advice of his Cabinet, with the natural result that Albert J. Smith and his colleagues resigned. The retiring Premier maintained a dignified fight to the end. He sent a lengthy remonstrance to Governor Gordon, complaining that the latter course was not "in accordance with the true spirit of the constitution," and that "such proceeding violates every principle of responsible and self-government and is subversive of the rights and liberties of the people". Gordon replied with asperity, accusing his former advisers of vacillation and declaring that a vast change had taken place in public opinion on the subject.

As the crisis developed on the constitutional question the Fenians were reported in force at Eastport, on the Maine border. Troops were called out, and the external danger did much to strengthen the union cause. When the elections were held in May and June the confederates won a great victory, and the Province took part in the conference at London in the following December to frame the B. N. A. Act. Tilley and Mitchell joined the first Confederation Cabinet and had long and useful careers, while Smith became a member of the Mackenzie Cabinet in the 'seventies and leaves an honourable record in the wider field.

It is difficult for inland Canadians to appreciate the opposition of Nova Scotians to Confederation. Their leaders, Howe and Tupper, had been among the first to look beyond the sky line and crave union, but nowhere was the feeling so bitter and persistent when the issue was faced. To be sure, Canada wanted an eastern outlet, as her communications to the outside world through the United States were menaced by the complications of the civil war. As early as 1851 Joseph Howe, one of the greatest orators of his time, and the idol of

the Province, had looked forward to a railway to the Pacific, and in 1854 had aspired to a national existence for the scattered colonies. At intervals he voiced a sentiment for union, and as late as August, 1864, addressing the Canadian delegates of good will who preceded the Charlottetown delegation, said: "I am not one of those who thank God that I am a Nova Scotian merely, for I am a Canadian as well."

Those who accepted all these declarations at face value knew not their man. Howe was a powerful, gifted, masterful, but vain man. He could not brook opposition or a division of the honour accruing from a public service. He was already a bitter rival of Dr. Charles Tupper, and this rivalry throws much light on the fate of the union cause in Nova Scotia. Tupper was an aggressive, bulldog type of man, firm in opinions and resolute to implement a policy. He had favoured a federation of the Provinces since 1860, and in the spring of 1864, abandoning for the time the larger scheme, called a conference at Charlottetown to consider a union of the three Maritime Provinces. "I do not rise," he told the Nova Scotia Assembly, "for the purpose of bringing before you the subject of union of the Maritime Provinces, but rather to propose to you their reunion".

Impressed by Howe's sympathetic speech at Halifax in August, Tupper invited his rival to join in the Charlottetown deliberations, but the latter declined on the plea that he could not be absent from his duties as an Imperial fisheries inspector at that time. A few weeks later Howe wrote from Newfoundland that he had read the proceedings of the Charlottetown conference, and was "glad to be out of the mess". Later in the year he attended meetings at which the proposals were discussed, but his own attitude was in doubt until a series of articles in the Halifax *Chronicle* in January, entitled "The Botheration Scheme", revealed the hand of the

old master. Opposition rapidly crystallized and Tupper, then Premier of Nova Scotia, was forced to remain inactive and await events. Howe naturally took the lead of the anti-unionists, and with the aid of William Annand and others roused bitter feeling against Canada and the whole scheme. Early in 1865 Howe, writing to Lord John Russell, said that "if the Canadians, always in trouble of some sort, and two or three times in open rebellion, should repeat such eccentricities, we should be compromised and our connection with the mother country endangered".

Early the following year, as the situation was clearing in New Brunswick, Tupper regained his courage and taking advantage of a change of attitude of William Miller, a prominent "anti" up to that time, secured the passage in the Legislature of a resolution to open negotiations with the Imperial authorities. The Province was thus virtually committed to union and met the delegates from the other Provinces in London the following December. The new danger roused the opponents to fresh activity, and the League of the Maritime Provinces was organized. Howe and others of his party left for England in the summer of 1866, and for six months carried on a vigorous, resourceful, but finally hopeless propaganda. Howe's letters at this time, recently published by the Royal Society, are a somewhat pathetic chapter, as his own buoyancy is seen to fade and finally vanish in an expression of satisfaction at duty done. On January 19, 1867, a few weeks before the B. N. A. Act was passed, he wrote: "We are now approaching the crisis. . . . We are prepared for the worst, and if it comes the consciousness that we have done our best to fight it will always console us."

Confederation became law in Nova Scotia as elsewhere in 1867, but the motto in Halifax's first Dominion Day, "Yesterday a Provincial town:

to-day a continental city," had for most of its inhabitants a hollow sound. The anti-unionists swept the Province almost unanimously for both federal and local parliaments in the elections of that summer. Howe went to Ottawa with a weighty contingent of anti-confederate members, opposed only by the redoubtable Tupper. The two leaders faced each other in Parliament in a stirring debate early in 1868, and then Howe disappeared on a last quest in London for repeal. Tupper followed, and fought anew the old battle on English soil. In an historic interview he reminded Howe of the hostility of the English Parliament to the anti-union cause, and asked him what he would do next. There was a long discussion, and Howe wrote home that Tupper saw in a junction of their forces great power in the Dominion in the future. But Howe was already a broken man, and when he returned to Nova Scotia, having failed in his mission, he was an easy prey to the blandishments of Sir John A. Macdonald. "Better terms" for Nova Scotia was the offer held out and accepted, and Howe reluctantly entered the Dominion Cabinet in 1869. By so doing he alienated many of his old friends, who never forgave him for the desertion. The anti-unionist leadership fell on William Annand, who had become Prime Minister.

Senator William Ross of Halifax said in 1909 that Howe had told him in 1873: "It is a mistake to say that I was opposed to Confederation, because I was in advance of it. My position was that it should not be forced upon the people of Nova Scotia against their will." Howe served in the Cabinet at Ottawa until 1873, retiring to the Lieutenant-Governorship of his Province a few weeks before his death. Tupper's life was full of action and service until his retirement in 1900, and his death in 1915 removed the last Father of Confederation.

EPITAPH

By ARTHUR S. BOURINOT

Editor's Note.—Arthur S. Bourinot, who is reported missing from his place at the Front, has been a frequent contributor to "The Canadian Magazine", and is the author of a small volume of verse entitled "Laurentian Lyrics". He is a son of the late Sir John Bourinot and Lady Bourinot. Recently he sent to "The Canadian Magazine" this poem, which, it is hoped, will not be his own epitaph. To our June number he contributed these lines:

And I shall see the cottage on the hill,
With all the loveliness of summer days,
Whose memories to me are haunted still
By love's sweet voice, the witchery of her ways.
And I shall climb the path and ope the gate,
When peace has come, if peace come not too late.

What a great thing it is to be a hero of the battlefield and to give also to the peaceful arts lines like these and the poignantly pathetic beauty of what here follows:

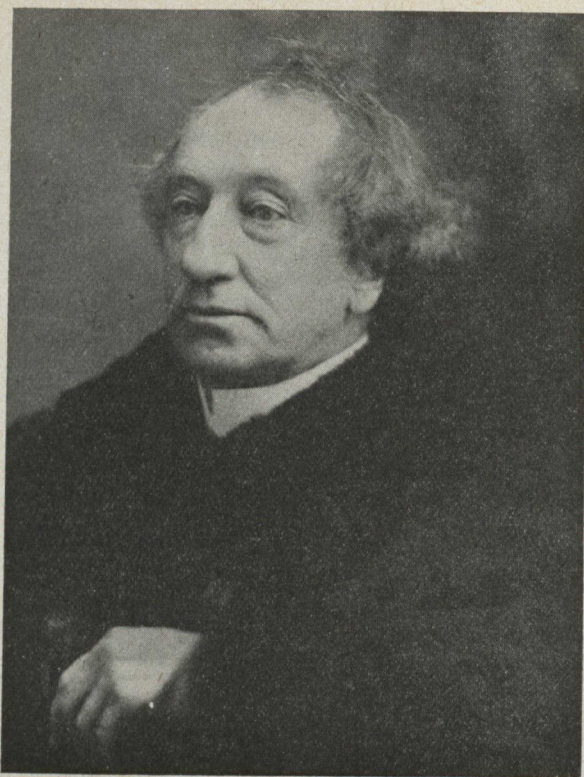
EPITAPH

L YING in No Man's Land, he sleeps,
Sleeps as well as they who rest
In the gardens by the sea,
In the grave-yards of the west.

Sleeping in No Man's Land, he dreams,
Dreams of those in other lands;
Friends he left with pensive lips,
Those he left with waiting hands.

Dreaming beneath a foreign sky,
Death was but the Evening Star,
Setting now to rise again
Past the Paradisal bar.

Lying in No Man's Land, he sleeps,
Sleeps as well as they who rest
In the gardens by the sea,
In the grave-yards of the west.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

The First Prime Minister of Canada after Confederation

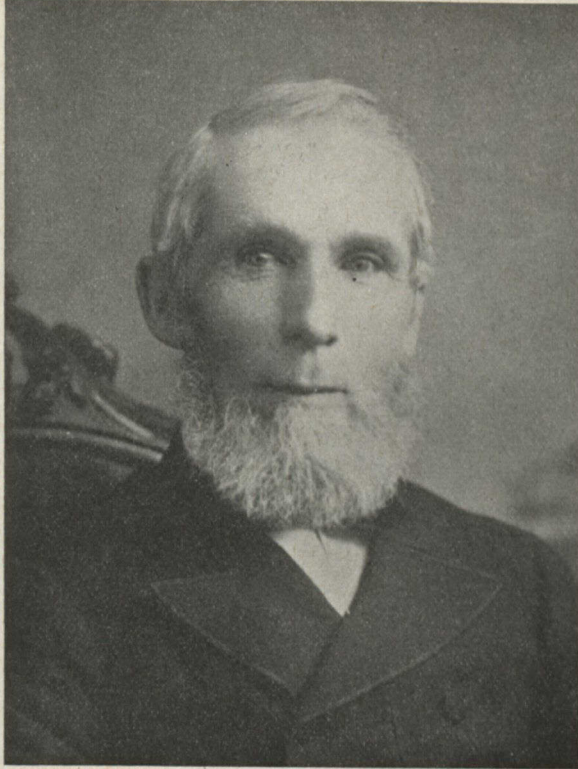
Our Eight Prime Ministers

BY A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

DURING the past half-century Canada has had eight Prime Ministers. Only two of them, Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, served for periods long enough to illustrate the effect of a commanding personality in prolonging the power of one party. Their united terms of office account for thirty-four years of the life of the nation. Each enjoyed an undisputed leadership, the more remarkable in the case of the younger

man because his previous career, unlike Macdonald's, had not definitely marked him out for the supreme place. Macdonald was the creator, as well as the leader, of his party, and had been Prime Minister of the smaller Canada before the Union.

The withdrawal of George Brown from the Coalition Ministry which carried Confederation left Macdonald master of the situation. When Lord Monek called upon him in 1867 to form the first Dominion Cabinet the selection was an obvious one. For



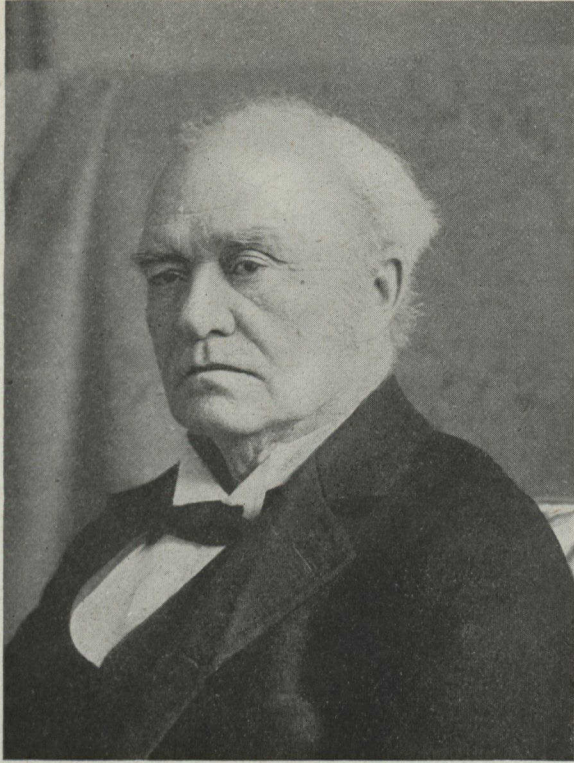
ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

Who as Prime Minister divided Sir John A Macdonald's two periods
as leader of the Dominion Parliament

twenty years he had been an indispensable factor in and out of Parliament. He had become the representative man in the Confederation group of statesmen. The influence which moulded his political opinions were restrictive, and never entirely lost their force. To the end he remained a party man in many things and keenly enjoyed the game. His qualities clearly indicated the talent for leadership, and to this aptitude were added intellectual gifts of a high order. His admirers have not over-rated his abilities. In any country at any period Sir John Macdonald would have filled a foremost place in public affairs.

When in 1844 his Kingston friends, who accurately gauged his powers, drew him into politics, the position of

the party was as hopeless as possible. The remnants of the old Family Compact formed the basis of a real Toryism. The rebellion had taught them nothing and they could not grasp the fact that the new Parliament, with half its membership from Lower Canada, created a new situation. They looked askance at the young barrister who actually shook hands cordially with the French members and who was not even a member of the Family. To keep him in his proper place was difficult, but at least he could be thwarted at every turn. Macdonald, with some misgivings, but encouraged by a group of ardent supporters, set to work at his task. He was optimistic or he never would have attempted it; he had a hardy constitution or he would have died young.



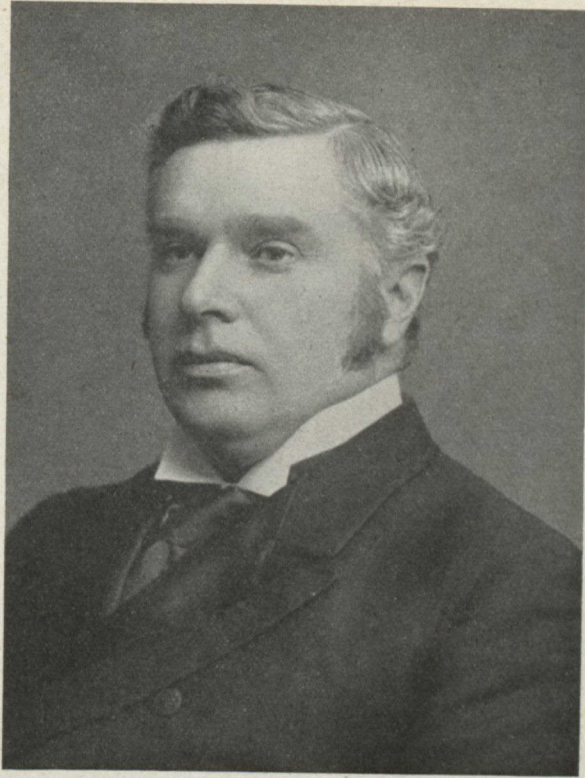
SIR JOHN ABBOTT

Who succeeded Sir John A. Macdonald as Prime Minister

Within three years after entering Parliament he was a member of Draper's Ministry when it was on its last legs. It was defeated in the elections of 1847, as Macdonald foresaw it would be, and for seven years the government passed into the hands of the liberal and progressive element under Baldwin, Lafontaine, and Hincks. One measure of this government brought on the outbreak of 1849 when the Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned and the leaders of the Family Compact contrived to earn more than their share of the obloquy. "Our fellows lost their heads," was the philosophic comment of Macdonald long afterwards. At the moment his device, and he was full of devices at all times, was to support the British American League and thus divert his friends from the

snare of the annexation movement. This plan, after a time, succeeded, but the row over the Rebellion Losses Bill still further estranged the French, and it seemed as if all Macdonald's labours had been in vain. There did not exist, of course, what is known in our time as the Conservative party and the element with which he was identified permitted itself to be dominated by a reactionary and intolerant spirit.

In the strict sense Macdonald was never a Tory. He fought stoutly against the Liberal Government of the day, but he belonged to the Baldwin school of thought and was essentially a man of enlightened views, incapable of narrow bigotry and unhampered by stupid prejudices. He saw that to govern he must attract to his side men who had no mind to per-



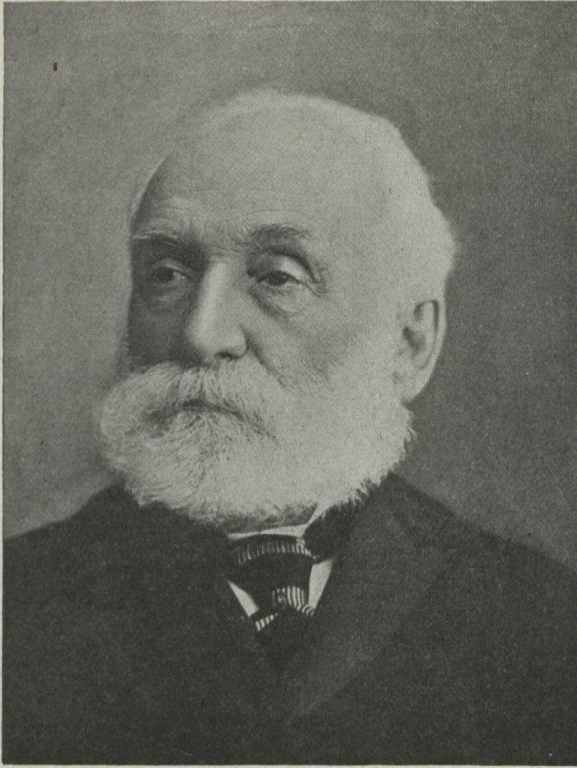
SIR JOHN THOMPSON

Who succeeded Sir John Abbott as Prime Minister

petuate the traditions of the old Compact but were equally lacking in sympathy for radical measures. Some support from the French must be secured. Success crowned both these designs. In 1854 under the guise of a Coalition he proclaimed the birth of the Liberal-Conservative party which began its life with the official blessing of Robert Baldwin and which became in course of time an effective instrument for governing the larger state. It was a hard school of experience which produced our first Prime Minister.

He formed a Ministry of all the talents, for it included Howe, Tilley, Tupper, Cartier, and McDougall. There were giants in those days, lacking however the strength of unity, and Macdonald's long absence at Washington during the fisheries ne-

gotiations produced a form of political chaos which greatly weakened the Government in the general election of 1872. When the veil of secrecy was lifted from the subscriptions to the campaign funds by the discovery that Sir Hugh Allan, the head of the company formed to build the Canadian Pacific Railway, had made vast contributions to help Ministers carry the elections, the country revolted and Macdonald and his party were overwhelmed. Many thought he would rise no more. They reckoned without realizing his assured place in the popular imagination. By advocating protection he returned to office in 1878 and remained Prime Minister until his death in June 1891. It is the statesman of this period whom the present generation remembers—wielding unrivalled authority, recog-



SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL

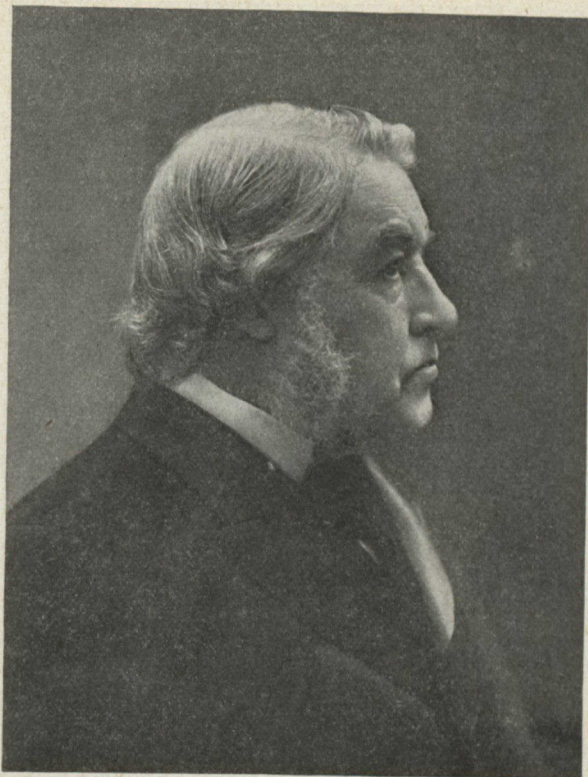
Who succeeded Sir John Thompson as Prime Minister

nized in Great Britain and the United States as a force of growing importance, possessing a personality unique and fascinating, holding fast the affection as well as the confidence of the people. The best tribute to Edward Blake's leadership of the Liberal party is that Macdonald (a skilful judge of events) was doubtful of his own victory in the contest of 1887.

The ungenerous practice of estimating a man's merit by his success at the polls has detracted from the fame of Alexander Mackenzie. How he came to be Prime Minister in 1873 instead of Blake is not fully known. That he urged Blake to accept the position, offering to serve under him, is certain, because we have his own word for it. He had occupied the secondary place in the Ontario Govern-

ment, and when they gave up their Provincial labours and moved on to Ottawa, Blake's aloofness, or the nominal seniority of Mackenzie in the federal sphere, or some other cause never explained, led to the summons of Lord Dufferin going to Mackenzie. We may guess that George Brown preferred Mackenzie, but there is no evidence that this could have been the determining influence. John A. (who was also familiarly called the "Chieftain" or the "Old Man") was wont to picture Mackenzie as the henchman of Brown. This is one of the agreeable diversions of politics, but it gave a wrong impression of Mackenzie. His political creed, summed up in 1876 by some one speaking for him, reveals the genuine Liberal:

"Has always held those political principles—which by some in England may



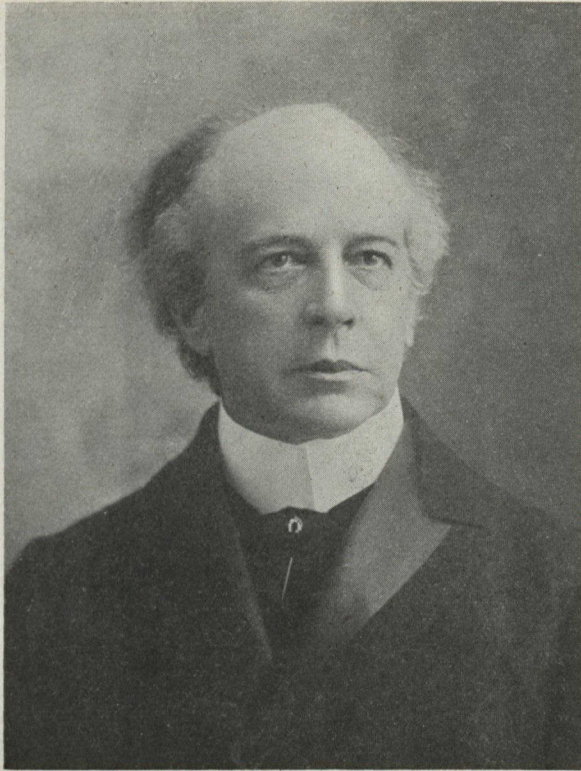
SIR CHARLES TUPPER

Who succeeded Sir Mackenzie Bowell as Prime Minister

be considered peculiar—of the universal brotherhood of man, no matter in what rank of life he may have taken his origin. Has believed and now believes, in the extinction of all class legislation, and of all legislation that tends to promote any body of men, or class of men, to a higher position, for the mere fact of their belonging to a body or class, to a higher position politically than any other class in the country. . . . Believes thoroughly in party government and that it is utterly impossible to conduct the government of a new country without it. . . . While an earnest advocate and upholder of the present connection with the Mother Country he will always endeavour to maintain Canadian rights and to bring Canada into prominence in the eyes of the world.”

The spirit of his Administration was precisely what might have been expected from a man with these views. He took up his difficult task with courage, earnestness and sincerity. The people had voted emphatically

against dubious election methods and would, he felt convinced, welcome economy, a straightforward policy, and devotion to duty. Doubtless the country wanted these things, but it wanted prosperity more. A serious commercial depression had begun to settle down upon the world and Canada bent under the burden. Instead of improving, conditions grew worse. Brown failed to secure reciprocity with the United States; there were annual deficits in the revenue; and a hostile majority in the Senate hampered the new Government at every turn. Perhaps Mackenzie was uncompromising. Having no command of the arts that keep parties together, he assumed that appeals addressed to the intelligence, rather than the selfish interests of the people, were sterling coin. But protection car-



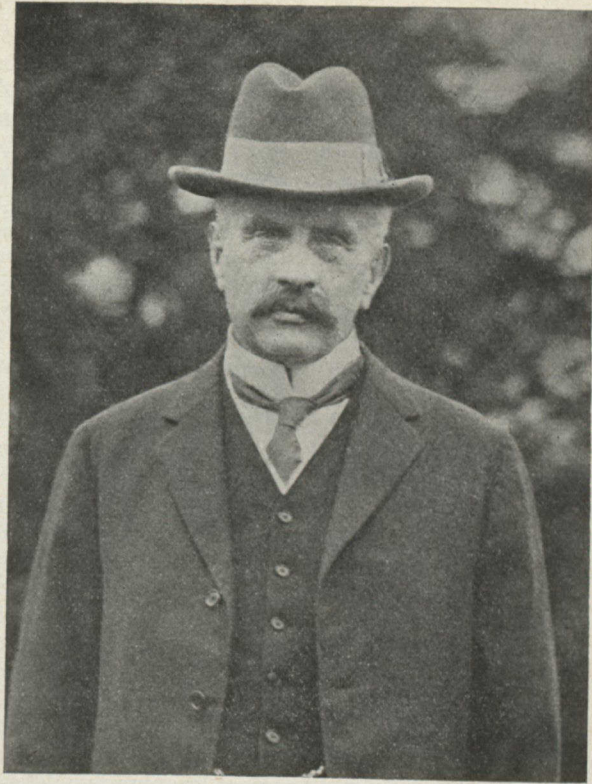
SIR WILFRID LAURIER

Who succeeded Sir Charles Tupper as Prime Minister

ried all before it and the Ministry fell. Mackenzie passed out of office, as he had entered it, a poor man, but rich in integrity and the consciousness of having given the best of his energies and talents to the service of the state.

The death of Sir John Macdonald, whenever it came, was bound to be a shattering blow to his party. He not only kept discordant elements together, but in the eyes of the public he was the Government. He might gather around him colleagues who were not lacking in vigour and in ability. But he himself was the attraction which kept the Conservatives in office year after year. He died in June, 1891, during his second term, when the political conditions were more threatening than they had been for many years. Parliament was in session;

serious charges of scandal hung over the Ministry; the majority in the House of Commons was materially reduced by the recent general election. No one could really fill his place, and yet a successor must be chosen in a few days. There were not wanting persons who felt that they would adorn the post of Prime Minister, but in point of fact the possible candidates were limited to one or two. The senior Privy Council, Langevin, being implicated in the pending inquiry, had to be passed over. Sir John Thompson, the most brilliant of Macdonald's late colleagues, marked out by personal character and intellectual discernment for the highest honours, was open to attack on one ground and one only. When a young man, acting from motives of sincere conviction, he had joined the Catholic



SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Who succeeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Prime Minister

Church. The two most disturbing issues in the politics of Canada have always been race and creed. Thompson was a man of singular reserve and delicacy of feeling, and he shrank from any step that would make his religious views a subject of bitter controversy. Although urged by his friends to accept the position, he recommended the Governor General to send for Mr. Abbott, the Conservative leader in the Senate, and he prevailed upon his colleague—who, like himself, was neither selfish nor ambitious—to enter the breach. John Abbott, therefore, became the third Prime Minister of Canada. The selection caused surprise. Those who form cabinets (on paper) had not thought of his name. His promotion was not hailed as a master stroke of policy, and by many it was thought that the

days of the Ministry were numbered.

But Abbott was a man of sagacity, shrewdness and force of character. His parliamentary experience, it is true, was not great, but the leadership of Thompson in the Commons supplied that want. He had stipulated for a short period of service, because his health was failing, and he felt unable to address meetings or to endure the storms which beset an active political leader. In the Senate there were all the attractions of a quiet country home where constitutions, except that of the state, are mended and kept in good repair. But Sir John Abbott, as he soon became, exhibited unsuspected qualities, and it was discovered that behind the imperturbable countenance and courteous manners of the Prime Minister there was concealed a vigorous and

resourceful personality well fitted to rule a distracted party and to restore its confidence in itself.

Nothing is more futile in politics than to speculate upon what might have happened if some event had not occurred. Sir John Abbott possessed abilities of a high order; although an Orangeman, he was generally acceptable to the French; his legal skill had helped to frame the bargain between the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Government; and time might have enabled him to leave his mark upon Canadian development. But his health, as he had expected, broke down. He resigned his high office in less than six months and died shortly after.

The opportunity of Sir John Thompson had now come. A few months had proved his fitness to rule the state, and if there were elements in the Conservative party which were hard to reconcile, the general verdict of the country was in his favour. The long-delayed reconstruction of the Cabinet took place, and the Thompson Government began to make a good impression by reason of its vitality. The Prime Minister went to Paris as one of the Imperial Commissioners upon the Behring Sea Arbitration, and as a result Canada tasted the unusual joy of a victory over the United States in an international dispute. The prestige of Thompson, already marked, became secure, because it was seen that he was equal to any situation calling for the display of courage, decision and knowledge. His reserved demeanour and moderation in debate gained the confidence of Parliament and the respect of the people. There were hopes that when Sir John Thompson secured the ascendancy which success, a firm will, and lofty principles are bound in time to produce, the tone of political life would improve and new issues would take the place of old. The unexpected and lamentable death of the Prime Minister, after but two years of service, came as a shock to Can-

ada. In the Autumn of 1893 Sir John Thompson had gone to England on official business and the fact that he was suffering from a serious affection of the heart was known to very few. He had over-worked himself and the end came, suddenly and dramatically, at Windsor Castle where he was the guest of Queen Victoria. The honours paid to the memory of this able and distinguished man indicate the impression he had made both in Great Britain and in Canada. His remains were brought across the ocean in a vessel of the Imperial Navy and he was laid to rest in his native Province of Nova Scotia.

Political confusion once more reigned supreme. The decline of the Conservative party was now apparent, and its fall was seen to be not far off. Two leaders had tried, with some effect, to stave off the inevitable, but the loss by death of three leaders within as many years could not be repaired. There is never in any party, at a given time, an unlimited supply of the stock out of which prime ministers are made. The Conservatives had practically exhausted their supply of this material in the year of grace 1893.

There followed two more brief tenures of the office of Prime Minister, first by Sir Mackenzie Bowell and then, for a few weeks before the crash came, by Sir Charles Tupper. The political events that caused these changes need not concern us here. They do not make pleasant reading. Some of the actors in the drama yet live. Among those who survived the fray with untarnished reputation is Sir Mackenzie Bowell, still in Parliament at the advanced age of ninety-four. That a man is able to act in a great crisis, full of temptations, distractions, and pitfalls, with a scrupulous regard for his own honour and for the traditions of a historic office, is no slight tribute to his qualities. Tried by this test Sir Mackenzie Bowell was a success, but he was unable to dominate a situation which, even

before he essayed the attempt, had passed beyond control. A native of Suffolk, he came to Canada in youth, was a printer's boy in Belleville and ultimately by gradual stages attained a recognized place on the press, in Parliament and in the Government, finally reaching the chief position on account of the trust inspired by his integrity, zeal and simplicity of character and perhaps also by the accidents of politics which often designate a man for a post he has not consciously sought. Sir Mackenzie Bowell's career is one that a Canadian boy may, without injury to his prospects in life, contemplate with respect.

Sir Charles Tupper would certainly have risen to eminence in the medical profession if he had not left it for politics. In 1896 he was in the position of a skilful physician called in consultation regarding an illustrious patient who is about to die. The relatives and immediate friends of the sick man are in despair, but no great concern is felt in any other quarter, and the physician remains quite collected. Imagine such a case, and we have a fair idea of the situation with which Sir Charles Tupper was called upon to deal. He had no time to prove the sort of Prime Minister he would have made. He bore his part with intrepid courage, ingenuity, and the vigour of a young man. Already he had achieved enough to satisfy ambition and as a Father of Confederation—almost as essential in that movement as were Brown and Cartier—his fame was secure. It was not to any error in his tactics that a second career in a larger sphere was denied him.

The country turned with relief to fresh woods and pastures new. The chief of the Opposition in the elections of June, 1896, was Mr. Laurier who had held that post since the withdrawal of Edward Blake in 1887. His selection for leader was due to the advice of Mr. Blake, who afterwards declared with grim humour, at a meeting in Toronto, that, a political

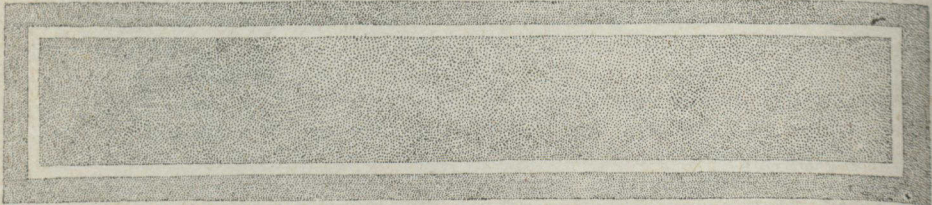
failure himself, he should be credited at least with knowing how to pick successors who were not failures—Mowat and Laurier. The new Prime Minister had been a member of the Mackenzie Government, and in his native province, despite a long fight on a losing side, he had acquired an assured place in the realm of politics. He had also made headway in the English provinces by reason of his eloquence and the respect inspired by his character. But there was no positive assurance that he would measure up to the standard of previous Prime Ministers. That was to be shown. He began well by forming a strong Cabinet. It included men who were not far behind their chief in prominence and experience. The diamond Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria's reign, when the various Prime Ministers of the Empire were invited to visit London, first brought the Canadian statesman into bold relief and compelled comparison with others. His oratory, his skill as a tactician, and his distinguished appearance in State ceremonies drew forth the plaudits of the English people. One of his triumphs was the termination of the British treaties with foreign countries which had hitherto fettered Canada's tariff policy. Never before had the influence of colonial statesmanship upon Imperial policy been revealed with the same emphasis. Perhaps for the first time the vision of a wholly new relationship between the mother and the daughter states definitely entered the British mind.

These events are now twenty years old and part of the history of the country. It is possible to think of them and to write about them with the calmness of mind and the detachment from the issues of to-day which are requisite to a true understanding of national development and of those who contribute to it. When we reach our own time it is not so easy to comment freely upon the careers of public men or to estimate their qualities with convincing candour. During Sir

John Macdonald's lifetime his name could scarcely be mentioned in a mixed company without evoking disputes. He had been dead but a brief period when the unveiling of monuments to his memory drew from men so strongly opposed to his views as Sir Oliver Mowat and Sir George Ross the kindest tributes to his work and services. No more eloquent speech in his honour was delivered than that pronounced in Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was soon to fill with dignity and distinction the same high office and to fill it for the longest continuous term which the Dominion has known. The personality of the seventh Prime Minister was in his favour and exercised the influence which integrity, charm of manner and eloquence have always produced in democratic communities. Lecky the historian complains of the readiness of democracy to succumb to rhetoric. But that gift alone does not long sway popular opinion. As Mackenzie believed, opposition and criticism are essential in a new country and in due course they prevail.

The head of the present Government was chosen leader of his party in 1900, when Sir Charles Tupper, defeated for the House of Commons in the elections of that year, relinquished the post. The task was a

thankless one. The fortunes of the Conservatives had reached their lowest point since the débacle of 1874. To shepherd a beaten party and revive its energies and faith is a dreary business. In Canada the cold shoulder is turned to Oppositions. The idea that a heaven-born genius sitting to the left of Mr. Speaker can eject a Ministry by some clever move, or can quickly evolve a policy that shall capture the electorate (the technical term is "sweep the country"), is one of the illusions of youth. In practical affairs it is not so. Mr. Borden prepared his party for the day when it would be called to office, by unwearied attention to parliamentary duty, by discussion of current questions, and by exhibiting the qualities of public spirit and personal honour which, to our credit be it said, have always been indispensable qualifications for the chief of the State. These are the methods and these the virtues which fit a man to become Prime Minister, and if there is some secret process in addition it has never been revealed. The period which includes the Great War must make Sir Robert Borden's tenure of his office forever memorable, but, for obvious reasons, the events themselves and his part in them cannot appropriately be discussed here.





From the Drawing by Louis Raemaekers

SEDUCTION

Germany to Belgium: "Aren't I a lovable Fellow?"

ENGLAND IN ARMS

By Lacey Amy

PART III—LABOUR AND THE WAR

NO one is qualified to speak didactically concerning the relationship of English labour to the war. The medley of events that should form a reliable basis for deduction is apt to leave one more at sea in the selection of general terms for describing that relationship than would a less complete sum of information. The Labour Party of England has been perhaps as consistent and fair in its attitude as would be any other organization that held together for entirely different purposes two and a quarter million men, including many thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—who, from lack of opportunity or time or ambition, have not developed that equilibrium of reason which alone is competent to control the daily routine of one's existence to rational lines.

Labour has lent itself to the most uncompromisingly inimical deeds—deeds which if persisted in, would have accomplished that which the enemy can never effect. It has struck with seeming ruthlessness and disloyalty at the very foundations of the Empire. It has demanded that which to grant would have been to yield to the Germans. It has thrown down tools absolutely necessary to victory. It has declared for peace at any price. It has, in fact, permitted itself to run

the entire gamut of treason at one time or another, in one locality or another.

But to judge from those black chapters in the history of an aggregation that must, like any other organization, be of motley sentiment in matters that do not immediately touch its *raison d'être* would be as disastrous to authoritative conclusions as to estimate the calibre of the German from isolated acts. If one must deduce from individual incidents, there are those which stand out with unquestioned authority, with undoubted right to claim precedence in any consideration of the manner in which Labour in England has conducted itself towards the great struggle. Put to the vote, Labour has expressed itself in no ambiguous terms. It has given of its numbers in millions to the perils of the front. And its leaders have stood out almost en masse as examples of British patriotism and determination to overcome the enemies of the Empire.

The chapter of Labour treason is black, but it is only as black as a few of its unlicensed leaders whose hold on the imagination of the workingman has been their ladder to everything their perverted intelligence has considered worth while. Such men as Ramsay MacDonald and Phillip Snowden, types of the agitator who along with a certain cleverness and

misused mentality, possess a keen appreciation of their sole claim to distinction, have never for a moment been Britons, even under the dire threat of the terrible war. And in their wake follow a number of lesser lights who are willing to emulate the worst of the "big" men they see as the simplest way of obtaining influence.

No consideration of the stand of Labour in England can arrive anywhere without first of all informing itself of the power of Labour before the war, as well as of its methods. Any numerically inferior political party that holds the balance of power in the nation's legislative chambers is certain to go astray in some vital particulars. However honest its legislative representatives, its unearned power will make it lust for more at the cost of fairness and unselfishness, will render unreliable its sense of proportion. And Labour was in that position in the British House before the war. Only a small fraction of the strength of the two parties in the House, it was yet of sufficient numbers to hold the weaker of the two in power, a condition which British law does not avoid even while fully conscious of its dangers. The Conservatives, easily the Government in point of numbers, were forced to remain in opposition. But only so long as the Liberals conceded to Labour its demands. The result was unavoidable without a change of Government; and the Labour Party was in a position to effect that at any moment it wished and as often as it wished with either party.

It might not be fair to say that Labour controlled Great Britain, but in theory it was so, and in fact, even as it is apparent to-day, it was nearly so. That Great Britain is what it is sums up the moderation and wisdom with which Labour must have yielded its almost unlimited power. The one outside restraining influence was that it knew it had little to expect from the party it has kept so long in opposition.

That accounts for the first stage in Labour's official connection with the war, as well as for most of the unfortunate acts of misjudgment it has indulged in since. Premier Asquith, perhaps the *cleverest* Prime Minister England has ever had, was not a free agent. Labour responded to the voluntary appeal for soldiers in a manner that did it credit, but when conscription was introduced it naturally, as the real party in power, refused to submit without question to that which it had not dictated. As has appeared since, the South Wales miners proved themselves the irreconcilables. Bluntly they refused to acknowledge conscription as applicable to them. And, since their number was so large and the stress too immediate and serious to risk coercion, Asquith could see nothing to it save submission. His political position did not depend upon it—at least not immediately—for by that time the Government was Coalition, but his impotence during the previous few years to fight Labour had put muscle into Labour's arm, and that muscle it was now exercising.

There was plausible ground for submission, since skilled labour was even then recognized as a necessity at home. Subsequent events have proven that the same principle should have been applied in a score of industries that did not fight to remain out of khaki. But both reason and subsequent events have more unquestionably proven that no body of men should be exempted as a body. The success of the miners put the idea into many other unions, and what had been granted to one could not be denied others of as great, or even greater, importance to the country. By November, 1916, no fewer than twenty-four unions had been exempted from conscription and Labour was creeping more and more beyond the encompassing arms of the recruiting officers. Only the substitution of Lloyd George for the weakening Asquith put an end to a condition that

was growing more intolerable every day. And even the new Premier, as the latest attempt at combing out reveals, is unduly the slave of Labour, since he has agreed that no member of indispensable unions should be forced into the army save by the decision of a tribunal composed half of Labour.

Of these agreements of exemption for entire unions we have one sample. On September 28, 1916, Asquith had given out an undertaking that "skilled men (by which I mean men who from natural ability or training, or a combination of both, have special aptitude for particular and indispensable kinds of national work here at home) ought not to be recruited for general service". A month later the Amalgamated Society of Engineers demanded something specific for themselves, and Asquith granted it. The terms of that agreement are interesting as an example of failure by a war Prime Minister to reconcile union rights with the necessities of the nation. The first clause granted that the engineers, whenever they ceased to be fully employed should enroll—not as soldiers—as War Munitions Volunteers, "in accordance with arrangements now in existence under the new War Munitions Volunteer scheme". That is, an engineer—and he was but one of twenty-four unions similarly treated—should never under any condition be exposed to the trenches, even when his work ceased to be of a nature for which exemption was supposed to be granted. The second clause limited the application to men who were journeymen or apprentices prior to August 15, 1915, a year after the war started. Clause three stipulated that, when enrolled as Munition Volunteers, they be given exemption cards which prevented their removal without the consent of the War Office, "which will not be given without reference to the Ministry of Munitions and the executive of the man's union". In clause four it was inserted that statutory powers

might be used as a last resort if the unions failed to supply sufficient skilled men for the Artificers' Corps in the Army or as Munitions Volunteers. And clause five assured the union that if it would furnish the names of its members now in the Army they would be transferred out of danger to the mechanical units.

These details are essential to an understanding of the powerful grip the unions have had on legislation. It was an unfortunate result of this immunity from service that many of the unions openly solicited membership on the ground that it carried with it such immunity. Scores of every-day incidents in factory life today might be added to prove Labour's power, but they are unnecessary here.

With such a record of irresistible strength it is no wonder that certain sections of Labour have shown instances of the seamy side of some of their members, even while it has in the mass demonstrated its loyalty. Strikes have been frequent, but fortunately of limited duration. Some of them—most, indeed, when Asquith was Prime Minister—were settled by the submission of the employers under pressure from the Government. Since Lloyd George took the reins the experience has changed. And once again Labour has shown its honesty by backing the new Premier as it never did the old.

The record of strikes during war-time will always stand to the discredit of Labour in England. Even Russia has been free from them in the nation's peril. But back of it all stands the spectre of Capital's treatment of it throughout the ages. For Capital in Great Britain has exhibited to its most disastrous extent the ridiculous distinctions of class that have done more than any other single thing to handicap England.

Just a word on this feature of English life. There never has been sympathy between Capital and Labour in England. The entire idea of the employer was to get all he could out of

his workmen at as little cost as possible. The workman was but a cog in a wheel that was supposed to turn out dividends. As a human being he did not seem to count. No better proof of this calamitous relationship can be given than by mentioning the one insuperable obstacle to Labour contribution to the War Loan in hundreds of factories. "No," objected the workman, "I won't contribute to the Loan, because I do not want the boss to know I'm saving money. He'll cut my wages if he does." I do not speak from hearsay; I personally faced such a refusal many a time.

So that it was no wonder Labour, feeling its power in the individual as well as in the organization, went to excess in spots.

The first menacing strike occurred most fortunately within the sphere of Lloyd George, although he was not then Prime Minister. In March, 1916, a serious strike was declared on the Clyde among the shipbuilders. It was the more serious in that it was engineered by the men themselves, directly against the leaders' wishes. Some half dozen shop stewards, who have since been declared to be in German pay, roused the men against the dilution of labour, and, catching them at an hysterical moment and after months of unbroken and unusual strain, combined them in a walk-out. As it happened, the Department immediately concerned was Lloyd George's. With a firm hand he promptly deported the six leaders and the strike broke up. It is interesting to follow the incident through. In January, 1917, one of the deportees appeared unexpectedly at the Labour Congress at Manchester—unexpected to the rank and file but not to the leaders, for the Government had given its consent that he should attend—and, wild-eyed and fervent, declared his intention of returning to Glasgow. The Congress cheered him, although the leaders tried to turn the tide. Kirkwood, the deportee, was as good as his word, although the Gov-

ernment, now under Lloyd George, immediately announced that he would be arrested. The Government, too, was as good as its word. And Kirkwood, finding the Government not now to be trifled with and his friends few, signed an undertaking to keep quiet. As that was all the Government had ever demanded of the deportees its victory was complete. Also the Labour Party, by staunchly refusing to support Kirkwood, proved its virtues.

Another threatened strike that would have disorganized the conduct of the war throughout the Allied countries was proposed by the South Wales Miners. This was their second interference with the course of the war. Both sides seem to have been to blame, the employers for the low level to which they had always ground the men, and the men for their unpatriotic demonstration at a moment when Italy and France, as well as England, were absolutely dependent upon English coal. The story is too long to tell here, but the South Wales miner, already having obtained various advances in wages since the beginning of the war, amounting to seventy per cent., was still unsatisfied. And the employers, although making higher dividends than ever before, thought they saw an opportunity of increasing them. While the miners demanded a fifteen per cent. increase, the owners asked for a ten per cent. decrease. Where the miners secured public sympathy was in agreeing to submit their case to an audit of the owners' books, which the owners refused. The crisis crowded closer and closer, and at last the Government stepped in and took over the mines, immediately granting the miners their higher wage. This, too, was in Asquith's time.

There have been other strikes and threatened strikes by the dozen, but none of equal seriousness, largely because nipped in the bud. The different attitude adopted by Lloyd George has had its effect. Since he came into

power strikes have been of short duration because the Government was not minded to parley to the nation's menace. The new Premier's metal was tried on the very day Asquith resigned. The boilermakers of Liverpool took advantage of administrative chaos to declare a strike. But Lloyd George took the Labour Party into his Cabinet by means of some of its strongest and most patriotic leaders, and thereafter he could not be accused of lack of sympathy. Hodge, the new Labor Minister, a Labor man himself, simply wired the boilermakers that no consideration whatever would be given their case unless they returned immediately to work. It was a new system, and it worked. The boilermakers returned. They realized what subsequent strikers are finding out, that the nation will not stand for strikes until the war is over. The Tyne engineers declared a strike towards the end of March, 1917, led by the shop stewards and opposed by the leaders. Once more the strikers were informed that their demands would not be listened to while they were idle, but this time they thought to make a real test and voted to remain out. When, however, a wire reached them from the Government warning them that if they did not return to work immediately drastic measures would be taken, they knew their stand was hopeless and took up their tools.

But the two great obstacles to the production necessary to victory came from the threatened breach of union rules demanded by conditions. One was the dilution of labor. The Clyde strike arose from the workingman's opposition to the introduction of women into domains that had always been his; and a hundred smaller strikes and a thousand disagreements have had their origin in the same cause. The Government could not but insist, however strong the opposition. Without women the war would never be won, for there are not enough men to do the fighting and

the work. But even yet daily opposition arises from individual unions or branches of them. Labour has, however, sized the necessity as a body and has yielded to it.

The other handicap was the recognized scale of output by the English workman. It is almost incredible that any man would openly support the deliberate limitation of his output as a system vital to his well-being. The idea has sometimes been secretly preached in America. But in England it was a recognized union principle to "ea' canny". In that, too, the employers were largely to blame, for the wages they persisted in paying were unbelievably small. No workman could do good work on them; no workman could maintain his self-respect on such inadequate and miserly pay.

And along with the limitation of output came the attendant evils that assisted its development. Absenteeism was a habit. In part it was due to liquor, but there was nothing in his life to make a workingman desirous of limiting his potations to reasonable quantities. Every holiday—and the English year is full of them—was followed by two for recovery from the effects of the day's sport. In a few words, England was producing much less than half her capacity and had grown accustomed to it. That was why she was losing her grip on the world's markets. But half-production did not gibe with war necessities, and an alteration was demanded. To a great and surprising extent it has come about. Many a labourer has seen the necessity as well as the Government and has buckled down. To some extent liquor was put beyond his reach, by shortened hours of sale, by the closing of the more dangerous saloons, by an increase in prices, and by the anti-treating law. But some effect also was wielded by the hearty way in which the women assumed their share of production. They were not broken to limiting production as a principle, and factories have boom-

ed for no other reason than that the men see that their very living after the war depends upon a demonstration of their capacity. Pride does the rest.

There are, of course, certain sections of the Labour Party which as a whole have opposed the war. The Socialists are divided, one group expressing its unalterable fidelity to the national cause, the other exhibiting only the worst side of Socialism. The Independent Labour Party is frankly for peace as a body, although a few of its leaders cannot agree to peace at any price. But these two disloyal sections count very little in the numerical strength of Labour and less in influence, despite the publicity given the peace meetings that are usually broken up by fellow unionists or soldiers.

It is in Labour's vote that it shows its soul. The Congress of 1916 supported Asquith's war policy by something less than four votes to one. In the Congress of 1917 the support for Lloyd George was more than five to one. When Lloyd George proposed to comb out the unskilled from the South Wales miners for the Army, thus daring much in the teeth of the most troublesome union, the union at first voted against the proposition and then rallied and supported it by three to two. And whenever a complete vote has been taken there is unmistakable evidence of the patriotism of Labour.

In its leaders Labour has been favourably represented. There is no hesitation there, no willingness to sacrifice the nation to union principles that held in peace time. With very few exceptions the chiefs of the organization are patriots. Much of their active co-operation has been induced by their incorporation into Government offices where they not only see the need of the times more clearly but are on their honour to cater to it. From the beginning, however, they have aided the authorities in bringing home to their fel-

lows the demands of the fighting front. "Whatever is needed to win the war will be given," says the secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions. J. H. Thomas, M.P., general secretary of the Railwaymen, one of the strongest unions, while watching the Government closely, is a staunch supporter of any measures that promise to win the war. The heads of the British Workers' National League condemn all labour disputes in war time. The British Socialist Party has repudiated enemy Socialists. Will Thorne, M.P., is a tireless advocate of aggressive war measures. Bent Tillet, whose influence over Labour has been frequently proved, visited the front early in the war and returned one of the best recruiting agents the country has had.

The effect of the war on Labour no man can foresee with accuracy. The longer the struggle continues the better the results for England and the workingman, so far as the establishment of desirable principles and methods are concerned. Much depends upon the attitude of the returned soldier—and where he will stand even he himself does not know. Should he settle down with the idea that he has completed his life's work and that hereafter the country should keep him, there will be years of unsettlement and disorganization. Should he resume his tools under the spur of years of military discipline, of widened outlook, of gratitude for peace, English Labour will carve a new groove for itself. There is talk in some unofficial corners of a great strike to come with peace, intended, it is said, to revive immediately the old methods and laxness. But against that will stand determinedly a nation and many Labour leaders who see that only in grim hard work will England be able to hold her own in the world's reconstruction. Did Labour stop to think it would realize that anything it does to interfere with that great end will react upon itself.

The strike among the engineers en-

gaged on munitions was not a Union affair. Indeed, it was strongly condemned by the leaders. It was organized entirely by the shop stewards, who had a secret union of their own, and was the result of the fear of youthful shirkers in control of the local unions that they would be taken from their jobs for service at the Front. Other strikes had to some extent the support of their immediate

leaders, but there were conditions that mitigated the treason of downing tools when the Empire was at stake, although nothing could justify such an act. Thoughtful union leaders tremble lest Trade Unionism has dug its own grave, for, after all, it is the rank and file that make up the Union.

One thing is certain, that Capital and Labour will work on new levels, new understandings, new agreements.

ODE FOR DOMINION DAY, 1917

(In commemoration of Vimy Ridge)

By ALFRED GORDON

WHAT song of ours, O England, were not shrill
Beside thy silence? Though art old, art old,
The memory of centuries is thine.
Though thy throne crumbled and at length there rolled
The fate of Greece and Rome upon thee, still
Thou shouldest live on, a portion of God's will.

For thou, indeed, as time itself art slow,
As slow and imperturbable as God.
And 'tis small marvel if some fret, Is this
She from whose arm Spain reeled as from a rod,
Who crushed Napoleon, and once more—ah no!
Glories are these, but of times long ago.

So long, so long, thou hardly dreamest them;
Thou makest for them neither fast nor feast—
Only a note within thy calendar:
Yet what would he not give to boast the least,
(Aye, he, thy foe and ours), the smallest gem
Thou settest not in any diadem?

Thou art too scornful of a proper boast,
And men mistake thee. Lo, she lies asleep,
Sated with triumphs. They know not the pride
Towered in silence in the soul's last keep,
Where speech were sacrilege, and ghost on ghost
Rises in splendour and an endless host.

No statue hast thou set within thy gate,
Thou hast no charter on a blazoned scroll,
Yet for all this is freedom thy heart's core
And liberty thine everlasting soul:
Who stemmed the onset of a despot's hate
Not in its death-throe, but its first, white spate.

Thou didst not cover thine extremity
 With unctuous horror. Thou didst draw not back
 To have war thrust upon thee in the end.
 Never in Armageddon didst thou lack:
 No *word* man's solidarity to thee
 Who staked thine all therefor, what e'er might be.

Therefore, thou reignest of a natural right,
 And needst no braggarts to proclaim thy need;
 Royal by carriage, stature, and the mien
 Of one accustomed to command and lead,
 Not by the baubles of a child's delight,
 Nor even the great names of thy great might.

England, our mother, we, thy sons, are young;
 Our exultation this day cannot be
 Bounded as thine: but thou wilt pardon us.
 Thou wilt forgive us if we cry now, "See!
 See now, our mother, these are they that clung
 Once to thy breasts, and are they not well sung?"

Not that we had not glories in past days,
 Yet did our fathers have their home not here:
 These, O our mother, loving thee not less,
 Cherished in Canada one yet more dear:
 They were our fathers—well won were their bays:
 These are our sons and have our greater praise.

Our fathers fought for and obtained this land
 When but an outpost, and it was but part
 Of thy great history. Our sons now fight
 For thine whole Empire shaken to the heart.
 The names they wrote they did not write on sand,
 But this these write before the world shall stand.

Aye, not since France herself first stood at bay
 To conquer or to die on Marne's green banks,
 Driving at last across its crimsoned flood
 The flower of Germany in shattered ranks,
 Has there been crowded in a single day
 More breathless glory for heroic lay.

England, our mother, once our boasting hear!
 And in thy streets let flags and banners fly!
 To drums and bugles let the people march
 While Vimy Ridge is shouted to the sky!
 Aye, although *there* so many that were dear
 Lie yet unburied, still let cheer drown cheer.

Thereafter of our pride let nought be said,
 Saving on stone, inscribed with but one line:

CANADA—VIMY RIDGE—1917

Our hearts the tablets of a secret shrine:
 Though henceforth we shall lift a higher head
 Because of Vimy and its glorious dead!

Life, Latent Life, and Death

BY PROFESSOR D. FRASER HARRIS



O the ordinary person nothing seems easier than to distinguish between life and death or, to be more exact, between a living and a dead animal. Such a person at once thinks of the warm, breathing, moving organism with its beating heart and its perceptions of the outer world in contrast with the cold, still, unconscious corpse in which the heart has stopped forever. But there is a state known as "latent life", which is a particularly interesting one, for the organism, having all the appearance of death, can nevertheless once again manifest vital characteristics. Ever since the discovery of the dried rotifers by the diligent Dutch histologist, Leeuwenhoek, in 1719, we have known that animal organisms can exist for years in a dried-up state in mud or dust and "come to life again", as it is said, on being moistened.

Of course, they have never been dead, for death is the permanent impossibility of manifesting life in that which once lived. Not only rotifers, or wheel-animalcules, but tardigrada, or bear-animalcules, can survive this extreme degree of desiccation. Both these classes of animals are by no means of the most primitive type, for they actually possess digestive and nervous systems. They take from twenty minutes to an hour or two to

revive on being moistened. Other animals capable of withstanding the abstraction of water are the *anguillulidæ* or paste-eels, and certain infusoria, if we set aside as apocryphal the tales of frogs shut up inside pieces of marble and jumping out of them when the blocks were broken open. In the plant world we have dried seeds retaining their vitality for very long periods; although the stories about grain from Egyptian mummy cases being able to germinate are not now believed. We know that grain dug up from subterranean granaries in Roman camps is carbonized or black as though scorched, and that it does not germinate on being planted. Mariette, the Egyptologist, definitely denies that mummy-wheat can germinate; when placed in water it disintegrates to a clayey pulp. Nevertheless, it is quite true that seeds in a dry state for as long a time as two hundred years have produced seedlings, in other words, have been alive. Bacteria, the lowest plant organisms, have enormous powers of resisting conditions that tend to death. The late Professor Macfadyen showed that bacteria of certain diseases frozen at the temperature of liquid air (about—200 degrees centigrade) were not killed, but could survive so extremely drastic a procedure as this and yet retain their specific, vital, pathogenic characteristics. When frozen so brittle that they could

be powdered in a mortar, they were nevertheless in a state of latent life. Coming to the cold-blooded animals, we have many instances of suspended animation among such creatures as snails, water-beetles, frogs and fish. Fish seem to withstand great cold. Sir John Franklin, in his polar expedition of 1820, reported carp frozen so solid that the intestines of some of them could be taken out en masse, and yet others of them, thawed before a fire, "revived and moved about actively".

Preyer, the German physiologist, had evidence that frogs frozen solid could be revived if their internal temperature had not fallen below 2.5 deg. C. Fishes frozen in a block of ice to -15 deg. C. have been known to revive, although some of their companions were frozen so hard that they could be powdered up along with the ice. According to the French experimenter Raoul Pictet, frogs endured a temperature of -28 deg. C., and fish a degree or two below -15 degrees C. These are all cases of latent life at low temperatures. The application of this principle of cold arresting life is that of the storage of carcases killed abroad, in New Zealand or Australia, for instance. The bacteria of decomposition are in a state of latent life all the time of the "cold storage". They are not killed, for when the temperature rises putrefaction can set in, as everyone knows, and destroy the meat. The meat is, of course, dead, but not the bacteria on it. Sir Ernest Shackleton reports that in the South Polar seas there are marine organisms frozen motionless in the ice for ten months of the year, so that they move about actively only during the other two.

Ascending to the warm-blooded animal and coming to man himself, we do not find such extreme instances of suppression of vitality as in the lower organisms, creatures with more sluggish and, therefore, less easily deranged metabolism. All states of trance or narcolepsy, extremely deep

and prolonged apparent sleep, such as the famous case of Colonel Townsend, belong to this category. It was very carefully reported on by Dr. Cheyne, of Dublin. The case is well known to medical men, but is perhaps not so familiar to others that the following quotation of Dr. Cheyne's words would be superfluous:

"He could die or expire when he pleased, and yet . . . by an effort he could come to life again. . . . He composed himself on his back, and lay in a still posture for some time. . . . I found his pulse sink gradually, till at last I could not feel any by the most exact and nice touch. Dr. Baynard could not feel the least motion in the heart, nor Mr. Skrine perceive the least soil on the bright mirror he held to his mouth. . . . could not discover the least symptom of life in him. We began to conclude he had carried the experiment too far, and at last we were satisfied that he was actually dead. . . . By nine in the morning. . . as we were going away we observed some motion about the body, and upon examination found his pulse and the motion of his heart gradually returning; he began to breathe heavily and speak softly."

Still more extraordinary are the narratives of fakirs of India, who are said to allow themselves to be built up in sealed tombs for weeks without food, and to be alive at the end of the time. Reports of these cases of human suspended animation are now too numerous and too well authenticated by European eye-witnesses of unimpeachable integrity to be set aside as either in themselves untrue or as due to collective delusion. James Braid, the first investigator of hypnotism, has narrated a case typical of many others, in which a fakir was tied up in a sealed sack, which was placed inside a locked box, which was left for six weeks in a sealed-up dark room in the palace of Runjeet Singh. The man's ears and nostrils had been blocked up with wax, which was still

there when the body was brought into the light at the end of the six weeks. On the sack being opened the muscles were found quite stiff, the jaws tightly clenched, and no trace of a pulse-beat was anywhere to be detected. By degrees the man revived, the muscles softened, the pulse began to be perceptible, and in a feeble voice he asked, "Do you believe me now?"

The interesting inference from all these cases of latent life or suspended animation is that, though vitality cannot be said to have vanished, yet the organism during the time of the latency is giving none of the signs of the possession of vitality. It is not taking in any food, oxygen, or water; it is not giving out carbon dioxide or other chemical result of livingness; it is not moving; in the higher animals both the cardiac and respiratory activities are in abeyance. No state could be more like death, infinitely more like it than sleep. Latent life and not sleep is the true "image of death". Revivability, however, was there; life was depressed, inhibited, masked but not abolished. Recently some interesting and successful efforts have been made to revive the apparently dead heart in the actually dead body. The following quotation is not from a book of fairy tales, but from a highly technical work on physiology published several years ago:

"Hearts can be revived many days after death, even the hearts of children dead of disease. In ten such cases only three gave negative results. The heart of a boy dead of pneumonia revived in all parts twenty-four hours after death. In the case of an ape, Hering recovered the heart after four and a half hours and then froze it. After twenty-eight hours thirty minutes the heart was again resuscitated."

Of course this does not mean that these hearts were effective in carrying out the circulation again, but that they had been sufficiently revived to give a series of spontaneous

beats. Now, on reflecting on these examples of latent life it will be seen that we must here have cases of interference with the full mobility of the molecules of the living substance, whether that has been brought about by abstracting water or by abstracting heat. The absence of food as in hibernating animals tends very much in the same direction, enfeeblement of the vital processes, so that the bears, dormice, hedgehogs, tortoises, frogs, and many other animals which enter on a winter sleep and eat nothing during that time, although they are not in the state of typical latent life, are yet in a state of extremely depressed vitality. Some of them actually cease to breathe though the heart continues beating; it is a question of *degree* of livingness.

We must, in fact, recognize that there are degrees of life or of livingness in each cell, tissue, organ, and organism. Some tissues are intensely alive; some are already dead, for instance, enamel of tooth and horn of nail. At the very time when Horace said—"Non omnis moriar," he was not even altogether alive. We can, in fact, construct a scale passing through all degrees of corporate livingness from the tremendous physical and mental power of a Gladstone, a Kelvin, or a Helmholtz, down to the somnolent stupidity of the country yokel or the hopeless sufferer from acute melancholia. In melancholia all the tissues are demonstrably less alive than in the normal person, less oxygen is taken in, less urea and carbon dioxide are excreted, and less heat is evolved. There is, in other words, for any given tissue no hard and fast line between the fullest vitality at one end of the scale and eternal death at the other. As we near the death-point we pass through the stage or state of "latent life". While the extremes are quite distinct, the intermediate stages are indistinguishable from one another. Just as in the case of the visible spectrum, no one can fail to distinguish the red from the

violet, yet there is an infinite number of gradations of colour between red and green and between green and violet.

Assuming in the meantime that we can get no better conception of the modus operandi of living matter than by conceiving of it as due to molecules—no doubt of great complexity—endowed with chemical affinity, and therefore obeying certain chemical laws, we seem to have to admit that, within limits, life is more intense as the temperature rises, and less intense as the temperature falls. This behaviour is exactly that of substances capable of chemical interaction, so that, viewed from the purely physico-chemical standpoint, life is the outcome of chemical activities. This is by no means a new position, but it is at present the only position from which one can advance to explain latent life. Latent life is the temporary immobilization of the molecules of living matter without the destruction of those atomic affinities which are the chemical basis of life, whereas death is such permanent, molecular immobilization that certain characteristic atomic affinities are abolished.

Of course, death is not the destruction of all atomic affinities in molecules of the once living stuff, but it is the abolition of such that enables the living matter to link on to itself material from outside, incorporate some, oxydize some, and reject the rest—in short, feed, absorb, and excrete. In intensely living matter the molecular whirl is at the intensest, in latent life the molecular whirl is arrested, but when the arresting state, loss of water or heat, is removed the whirl can recommence. In latent life the weights

of the protoplasmic clock have been seized by a mysterious hand, in death they have descended to the utmost length of the cord. The vital clock in the one case has only been arrested and can go again, in the other it has run down and cannot ever be wound up. To take another analogy, in life "the sands of time" are rapidly running out, in latent life the stream has stopped, in death the sand is all in the lower globe. To abolish consciousness, we administer chloroform, a substance which, by uniting with certain of the chemically active radicles constituting the living matter, immobilizes the whole molecular complex. This immobilization of the molecules of the cells of the brain has its psychical correlative in the disappearance of consciousness. Thus the solution of our problem—What is latent life?—seems capable of being stated in terms of what is already known. The organism in latent life is not dead, for it is capable of living again; it is, however, very far from being actually alive, for it is manifesting none of the attributes of livingness. Without a chemical theory of living matter, "suspended animation" would be inexplicable; and while one would freely admit that a chemical conception of vitality is at present only a partial one, yet at the same time we gain a greater insight into what life is and what death is not than if we attempt to describe either state in terms outside of physics or chemistry altogether. In a sense very different from what the author of the lines meant, yet in a sense profoundly true,

'Tis not the whole of life to live,
Nor all of death to die.

Our Governors-General Since Confederation

BY WILLIAM LEWIS EDMONDS



SINCE its birth at Confederation fifty years ago the Dominion of Canada has had eleven Governors-General. Of these five are still alive. They are the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Aberdeen, Earl Grey, the Duke of Connaught and the present occupant, the Duke of Devonshire.

When, on the 3rd of February, 1865, Sir John (then Mr.) Macdonald submitted to the Canadian Parliament the resolutions which had been adopted the previous year at the Quebec Confederation conference, among his references to the Governor-Generalship were the following:

"Whether, in making her selection, she (the Queen) may send us one of her own family, a royal prince, as a viceroy to rule over us, or one of the great statesmen of England to represent her, we know not. . . . But we may be permitted to hope that when the Union takes place, and we become the great country which British North America is certain to be, it will be an object worth the ambition of the statesmen of England to be charged with presiding over our destinies."

That this hope has in the main been realized there can not be much doubt. There may be some doubt as to whether or not every occupant of the Governor-Generalship has been a

great statesman. But all have at least been outstanding men in the Empire, while some of them can undoubtedly be classed as statesmen of great ability. Sir John's hope that we might have as one of our Governors-General a member of the Royal family has also been realized, although the appointment was not made until a grandson, and not Victoria herself, occupied the Throne of Great Britain and the Dominions beyond the seas. While no proof of merit, it is interesting to note that of the eleven men which have been appointed to the Governor-Generalship since Confederation nine were members of the House of Lords at the time of their appointment, and that of the two remaining, one, Sir John Young, was gazetted during his term of office, while the other, the Marquis of Lorne, later reached the Upper Chamber by right of succession.

At the Quebec conference of 1864 it was agreed upon by unanimous vote, and subsequently embodied in the British North America Act, that "the Executive authority or Government shall be vested in the Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and be according to the well understood principals of the British Constitution, by the Sovereign personally, or by the representative of the Sovereign duly authorized."

While this clause met with general approval in the country, its acceptance can scarcely be said to have been characterized by the same unanimity as appeared to prevail at the Quebec conference when the draft constitution was being prepared. Goldwin Smith, who then as always was critical regarding the terms of Confederation, wrote an article in a British magazine while the Quebec draft was before the Canadian Parliament in 1865, in which he sarcastically remarked that "the authors of this solemn declaration know perfectly well that they would never permit the representative of the British Sovereign, much less the Sovereign personally, to ever perform a single Act of Government".

The delegates at the Quebec conference and the various legislatures which subsequently concurred recognized this just as clearly as did Goldwin Smith. But what other alternative was there? The framers of the constitution could have insisted that the Governor-General should be appointed from the ranks of resident Canadians. This was the least acceptable of all, for this would have meant the introduction of party politics into the Governor-Generalship. They could have suggested, as the Queensland Government did in 1888, namely, that the name of a proposed governor should be submitted to them before the selection was definitely decided upon. On this occasion her Majesty's Government went so far as to invite Sir John Macdonald to express his opinion on the point at issue. "The Canadian Government," he replied, "consider the present system of appointing the Governor-General perfectly satisfactory, and would greatly regret any change. Reference to Government here for nomination or approval would introduce a disturbing element, and might eventually lead to the election of Governor, a change to be deplored." That he and his colleagues were of similar opinion in 1865 there can be no doubt, for

during the course of a speech in Parliament in that year he declared that "we have provided that for all time to come, so far as we can legislate for of the Executive power the Sovereign of Great Britain. . . . By adhering to the monarchical principle we avoid one defect inherent in the constitution of the United States". The framers of the Constitution might have resorted to a still more drastic alternative, and declared for independence, pure and simple. While that might have found favour in Great Britain, where there were at that time a number of statesmen who were quite ready to assist in "cutting the painter", such an innovation would have been decidedly unacceptable to the great mass of the Canadian people. Sir John, in the words quoted above, was expressing Canadian sentiment as well as that of himself and the framers of the Constitution.

After an experience of fifty years the fact must be acknowledged that the principles upon which the Governor-Generalship was established have worked satisfactorily. The Governor-General possesses the powers of prerogative. He may give his assent to a bill which has passed Parliament, he may veto it, or he may reserve it for the Crown's approval. But he has never adopted either of these courses, at any rate upon his own initiative. Sir John Macdonald, who served under five Governors, once declared that his Ministry had never submitted a bill to a Governor without obtaining his assent. This, of course, in the language of the clause above quoted, is "according to the well understood principles of the British Constitution".

As a matter of fact the powers of the Governor-General have been a diminishing quantity since the birth of Confederation. The Governor still has the right to select Canadians upon whom honours may be conferred by the Crown. But it is said that even in regard to this it is now the practice of submitting such names to

the Premier for approval before they are forwarded to London.

When the Quebec resolutions, after being endorsed by the respective provinces entering Confederation, were submitted to the Home Government exception was taken by the latter to the clause which provided that the pardoning power should be reposed in the Lieutenant-Governors of the different provinces. "The reason assigned for the Imperial objection," wrote Sir John Macdonald some years later to Sir Oliver Mowat, "was that the Crown could not part with its prerogative of mercy, which must be vested in, and alone administered by, her Majesty's representative, the Governor-General". And yet eleven years after Confederation had been consummated, among the instructions which the Marquis of Lorne carried in his pocket was one to the effect that henceforth the Governor-General was to act upon the advice of his Ministers in regard to pardons and not upon his own initiative. The secret of this change was the propaganda which Edward Blake had carried on while Minister of Justice in the Mackenzie Administration.

Another memo in Lorne's revised instructions was to the effect that it was no longer the rule that measures enacted by the Dominion Parliament imposing differential duties should be reserved for sanction by the Government in London.

Although the prerogative powers of the Governors-General have, through disuetude, become more apparent than real, the office of Governor-General has not been a mere sinecure. It can be said without exaggeration that each and every occupant of the office since Confederation has exercised an influence, both in the Government of the Dominion and in the general development of the country's industrial and social life.

In a new country like the Dominion, with a constitution that was a new experiment in British colonial enterprise, there were necessarily in

its working out many problems to be solved and many difficulties to be surmounted. This was particularly so during the first twenty-five years of Confederation. To the solving of these problems and in the surmounting of these difficulties some of the Governors-Generals lent, by their counsel and judgment, valuable assistance. Monck, Lisgar, Dufferin, and Lorne were of particular value to the Dominion during the first two or three decades of its history.

To Lord Monck, the Dominion's first Governor-General, Canada owes a debt of gratitude. During the negotiations that were carried on between the different provinces with a view to Confederation, he was Governor-General of Canada and British North America, and was as keen for the consummation of Union as any Canadian born. This keenness he manifested in more ways than one. It was he who during the dead-lock of 1864, when Canadian politicians were at their wits' end, persuaded George Brown to enter the Cabinet in order that the machinery of Government might again be put in running order and the scheme of Confederation advanced. Brown, although a strong advocate of Confederation, was adverse, on principles, to associating himself in a Cabinet with Macdonald. Brown, however, was eventually brought into line by Monck, who, in a letter dated June 21, 1864, declared that "the success or failure of the negotiations which have been going on for some days, with the view to the formation of a strong Government on a broad basis, depends very much on your consenting to come into the Cabinet. Under these circumstances I must take the liberty of pressing upon you, by this note, my opinion of the grave responsibility which you will take upon yourself if you refuse to do so". That clinched the matter, and within a day or two Brown was in the Cabinet as president of the council, having acknowledged in a private letter to a political friend

that it was the extreme urgency of the Governor-General which induced him to do so.

Two years later Monck took a stand which was even more imperative than that which he had taken in regard to Brown. And the circumstances under which it occurred were anything but pleasant. During 1866, the year following the adoption of the Quebec resolutions by the Canadian Parliament, a period of inaction developed, and there was a disposition to give precedence in the House to certain measures which were of minor importance, instead of to those bearing on the subject of Confederation. According to Young, however, the root of the inaction was conviviality. "It is too widely known to be a secret," he says in his "Public Men and Public Life in Canada," "that during the lengthened political agitation the customs of the period led to a good deal of conviviality among a small circle of leading statesmen both at Quebec and Ottawa."

At any rate the inaction burned into the soul of Monck, who, by-the-way, was a warm-hearted and impulsive Irishman, while, to add to his discomfort, the Imperial Government was urging him "not to remit his exertions in the course of Union". Patience having any longer ceased to be a virtue with him, he accordingly sat down on June 21, 1866, and wrote a long letter to Macdonald in which he severely took the Government to task for its delay in passing resolutions providing for the local Legislatures of Upper and Lower Canada, until which no action could be taken by the Imperial Parliament. In this letter he expressed himself as getting uneasy at the inaction of Parliament "with respect to the completion of our portion of the Union plan" and saw "a great many accidents.

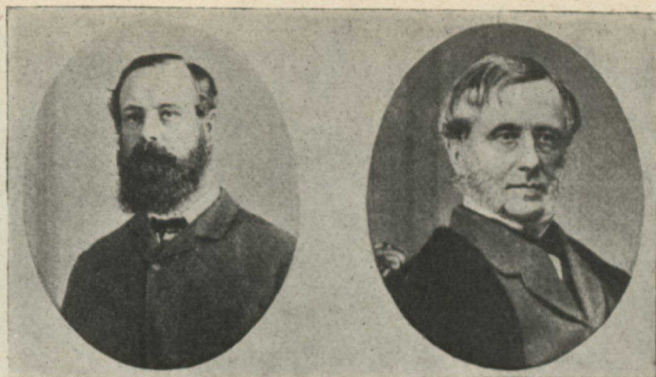
. . . which might change the mood of the House, and so render it impossible to keep the members together and complete the scheme this session". But his strongest language was couch-

ed in these words: "I entertain so grave an apprehension of the evil results which might flow from such an occurrence, that I shall feel bound to take the strongest measures to dissociate myself personally from all responsibility for it. Under ordinary circumstances, my constitutional course would be to break up the Ministry and have recourse to other advisers. I am quite aware, however, that I have it not in my power to adopt this line. . . . I have come to the deliberate conviction, if from any cause this session of Parliament should be allowed to pass without the completion of our part of the Union scheme . . . that my sense of duty to the people of Canada and to myself would leave me no alternative except to apply for my immediate recall."

This letter had the desired effect. The necessary legislation was passed in due time. But it is quite possible that had not Monck taken the vigorous step he did the Dominion would not this year be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation.

Another direction in which Lord Monck rendered good service to Canada was in the handling of the various subjects which concerned her and the United States. As he became Governor-General of Canada and British North America in 1861, he was in office during the whole of the American war, during which the relationship between the two countries was at times of such a delicate nature that a little spark might have caused a great fire. But we have it upon the word of Sir John Macdonald that Lord Monck "managed the relations between Canada and the United States ever since he had become Governor, and during all the American war, with infinite discretion".

But in spite of his good offices Monck was not popular in Canada, and when in the 1867-'68 session of the new Dominion Parliament it was decided, in spite of the protests of the



MUNCK, 1867-'68

LISGAR, 1868-'72

Government, to cut the salary of the Governor-General down to \$32,000, he was very much hurt and in November, 1868, resigned. His unpopularity seems to have been largely due to his supposed leaning toward the anti-colonial party, which at that time was an influential force in Great Britain.

The circumstances under which Lord Lisgar, at that time Sir John Young, was appointed Governor-General were rather peculiar. The original appointee was Lord Mayo, but when he learned that the Canadian Parliament had reduced the salary of the Governor-General from \$50,000 to \$32,000 he refused to accept the office. So did a number of others to whom it was subsequently offered. But just then Sir John Young, who had completed his term as Governor of New South Wales, arrived upon the scene with the intention of returning to politics. Although a Liberal he was opposed to Gladstone's ballot policy, and so when he was invited to accept the Governor-Generalship of Canada he readily consented to do so.

Although a colonial by birth, having been born in Bombay, Lisgar sympathized with the school of British statesmen and saw little value in colonial connections, and six months after his arrival in Canada delivered a speech at Quebec which was interpreted by many Canadians as a suggestion to the new Dominion to seek political independence.

"Canada," he said, "has its destinies in its own hands, and its statesmen and people are recognized as competent to judge of their interests as to what course to pursue to conciliate those interests. England looks to them for her guidance, and whatever their decision may be, either to continue the present connection or in due time and in the maturity of their growth to exchange it for some other form of alliance."

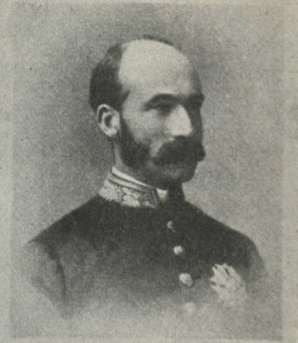
If it was really independence that Lisgar had in mind it will be seen that he did not so definitely state it. But at that time, when *The London Times* was thundering against the colonies and British statesmen were considering them as millstones around the neck of Great Britain, it was not a difficult thing for the Canadian people, by implication, to take this meaning from his words. At any rate, whatever the real meaning of his words may have been, he made a good Governor-General. "In Sir John Macdonald's opinion," to quote from Pope's authorized life of the latter, "Lord Lisgar was an ideal Governor, the ablest of all those under whom he served." He even found favour with Goldwin Smith, who in an article published in 1881, declared that "Lord Lisgar was a veteran public servant. . . . He had no objects of personal advancement, or desire to fill the papers on his own account. . . . If, among English noblemen



DUFFERIN, 1872-'78



LORNE, 1878-'83



LANSDOWNE, 1883-'88

and public men his counterpart could be found, supposing that the office is to be retained, Canada might go further and fare worse."

During Lisgar's term of office Canada passed through both a trying and interesting period in her history. The first Riel rebellion came upon the boards during the second year of his régime, and this no doubt gave him as well as the Government a great many uncomfortable half hours. In the preliminary negotiation which led to the creation of the famous Treaty of Washington, Lisgar necessarily played an important part, he being the medium through which the early correspondence passed, but it was not until the year after he had retired from office that the treaty, which was satisfactory to neither party to it, came into operation.

One thing for which the régime of Lisgar was noted was the further rounding off of Confederation. When he took office the Dominion consisted of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Before retiring he had the pleasure of assenting to measures which included all the territory lying west of the Great Lakes, Prince Edward Island alone being left out.

Lord Dufferin, who in 1872 succeeded Lisgar, was probably, as a statesman and diplomat, the greatest all-round Governor-General that Canada has so far possessed. And during

his régime he was more than once called upon to exercise these qualities.

The first occasion on which he was called upon to exercise his diplomatic qualities was during the Ministerial crisis which followed the exposure of the Pacific Railway scandal. The storm which the scandal had created had burst three months before Dufferin arrived in the country, but it had lost none of its force. Dufferin's difficulty was in steering a course which would be straight, fair and just to all concerned.

Five days after Huntington had made his charges in the House, a committee, on motion of Sir John Macdonald, had been appointed to investigate them. As it was deemed necessary to examine witnesses under oath a special Act was also passed empowering the committee to do so. There were two things, however, which caused the investigation to be deferred. One was the absence in England of two members of the committee. The other was the opinion of the law officers of the Crown in Great Britain to the effect that it was ultra vires of the Constitution for the investigating committee to examine witnesses under oath. It was this latter decision that was at the root of Lord Dufferin's subsequent troubles in connection with the railway scandal.

When the House, which had in the meantime adjourned, met according



STANLEY, 1888-93

ABERDEEN, 1893-98

MINTO, 1898-1904

to prior agreement, on August 13 to receive the report of the investigating committee it was of course not ready, no investigation having been made. The Government then proposed a royal commission in order that witnesses might be examined under oath. When this proposal was rejected the Opposition, through a petition signed by some ninety of its members, urged the Governor-General to reject the advice of his Ministers and insist that Parliament, instead of being prorogued, should proceed with the investigation. Dufferin, first verbally, and subsequently in a carefully written document, refused to comply, holding that it would be contrary to the "maxims of constitutional Government" to reject the advice of his Ministers and act upon that of the petitioners.

The wrath of the political storm then extended itself to the Governor-General. In the press and from the platform he was denounced as no occupant of the office had before or has since been denounced. He was compared to King John, to James II., and to Charles I.

But Dufferin lived it down. And we have it from Cartwright, who was one of the petitioners, that "Lord Dufferin acted with strict impartiality all through".

Another matter of importance in which Dufferin displayed his skill as a diplomat was in regard to the diffi-

culty with British Columbia over the settlement of the railway terms under which that province came into the Confederation. James D. Edgar had been sent to British Columbia in 1874 to try and unravel the difficulty, but had failed. Then the matter was submitted to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for arbitration. His decision, one part of which provided for the completion of the transcontinental railway by 1890, was accepted by the Dominion Parliament, but the fat was again in the fire when the Senate refused to concur.

It was at this point that Lord Dufferin stepped in, feeling it was a case for his intervention. He accordingly journeyed to British Columbia, and in a speech at Victoria, which we are told was a masterpiece of diplomacy, showed that responsibility for the delay lay, not with the Mackenzie Government, but with the Senate. As a result of this speech, and the subsequent efforts that Dufferin made, harmony was restored in the Pacific Province, and in 1885, five years ahead of time, the last spike in the great transcontinental railway was driven, and the Dominion had fulfilled its promise to British Columbia. While Dufferin had not the honour of being Governor-General when this last-named event took place, he was of course in office when the Intercolonial was completed from Halifax to Quebec, when another perplexing condition of Con-

federation was complied with by the Federal Government.

Among other important events during the régime of Lord Dufferin were the creation of the Supreme Court; the entry of Prince Edward Island into the Confederation; the Halifax award, whereby Canada obtained \$5,500,000 from the United States for the use of her fisheries; and the according by the Imperial Government the right of Canada to determine whether or not she should be included in any treaties which the former saw fit to make with foreign countries.

Not only was Dufferin a man of outstanding skill as a diplomat and statesman, but he possessed a high sense of duty, while his speeches, touched as they were by a fine sense of poetic fancy, stamped him as an orator of more than usual ability.

Canada's interest in the Marquis of Lorne when in 1878 he assumed the duties of Governor-General centred around the two-fold fact that he was the husband of a royal princess and the scion of the House of Argyll. He had been a member of the House of Commons for ten years, but it was from his marriage and his birth that his fame came. When he arrived in Canada the Letellier case, which was destined to give him much perturbation before it was finally disposed of, was already on the boards, it having been projected there some eight months before by Letellier summarily dismissing his Cabinet because it had failed to consult him regarding a certain measure before submitting it to the Quebec legislature. As Lieutenant-Governor Letellier was a Liberal and the Government he had dismissed Conservative, the matter at once became a political issue. Sir John Macdonald brought the matter up in the House of Commons with a motion condemning Letellier. But while the Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, thought Letellier had been imprudent in his action, considered it was a matter the people of Quebec should settle themselves, and so the motion was nega-

tived. But Sir John was not to be outdone. A few months later, having in the meantime again returned to power, he induced the House of Commons to pass a resolution condemning Governor Letellier. His next move was to advise the Governor-General to dismiss him from office. As this meant the establishing of a precedent new in colonial experience Lorne thought it best to consult the Colonial Secretary. This, with the consent of his Ministers, he did. The reply of the Colonial Secretary was to the effect that while the Lieutenant-Governor had the right to dismiss his Ministers, the Governor-General must act upon the advice of his Ministers. This he ultimately did, and the head of the impulsive Lieutenant-Governor ultimately fell into the basket.

The year following Lorne's assumption of office was conspicuous for the inauguration of the National Policy, on the issue of which the Conservative party had been returned to power the preceding election. In 1880, he gave his assent to the annexation to Canada of all that part of British territory lying within the arctic circle, thereby making the Esquimaux citizens of the Dominion. The same year also saw the appointment of Canada's first High Commissioner to Great Britain. Nineteen-eighty-one was conspicuous for the turning of the first sod on the C.P.R., and on July 1st, of the following year Regina was selected as the seat of Government of the North-West Territories.

During his tenure of office Lorne did considerable literary work, some of which had a distinctly Canadian flavour, while both he and H. R. H. Princess Louise did much to the cultivation of art in the Dominion. The Royal Society for the promotion of literature and science in Canada was distinctly the outcome of his effort. For his efforts toward the promotion of literature and art he received a warm encomium from Goldwin Smith, while from Sir John Macdonald we

learn that he always worked in harmony with his Ministers.

Lord Lansdowne, who in 1883 succeeded the Marquis of Lorne, was described by Sir John Macdonald as the "ablest Governor under whom I served, with possibly the exception of Lord Lisgar".

During his régime several events occurred which had an important bearing upon the industrial and political development of the Dominion. The year following his assumption of office saw the settlement of the boundary question between Ontario and Manitoba. The question was a relic of Confederation, and during the ten years preceding its settlement had been a bone of contention so serious that it was feared at one time that bloodshed might ensue, thanks to the machinations of politicians who were engaged in playing off one part of the country against the other. By this settlement Ontario acquired an addition of about sixty million acres to her territory.

An event which extended the Dominion's powers of self-government occurred in 1884, when the Imperial Government consented to allow the Canadian Government to hold direct negotiations with foreign countries through its own representative acting in conjunction with the British ambassador. Before this all intervention had to be done through the Colonial Office. The following year was

marked by two important events in the Canadian West. The one, and an untoward one, was the outbreak on March 26 of the second Riel rebellion. The other was the driving of the last spike in the process of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, four years and six months from the turning of the first sod under the régime of the Marquis of Lorne. The year 1887 was noted for the extension of the protective tariff to the iron and steel industry, the meeting of the first Colonial Conference, at which Canada was represented by Sir Alexander Campbell and Mr. Sanford Fleming, and the inauguration of the first line of C.P.R. steamers between Vancouver and Yokohama.

Lord Stanley of Preston, who assumed the duties of Governor-General in June, 1888, had prior to his coming to Canada occupied the portfolio of Secretary of State for the Colonies. Consequently he already had some acquaintance with Canadian affairs.

His régime was marked by several historical events. One of these, and probably the one of first importance, was the inauguration of the McKinley tariff in the United States, which, while indirectly, at least, aimed at Canada, greatly stimulated the efforts of Canadians in the direction of cultivating their export trade with Great Britain and other countries. Then came the sharp and vigorous Com-



GREY, 1904-'11

CONNAUGHT, 1911-'16

mercial Union campaign of 1891 and the subsequent death of Sir John Macdonald, followed a year later by the death of his old political opponent Alexander Mackenzie. Eighteen-ninety-three was marked by the retirement of Abbott from the premiership and the elevation of Thompson to the position. This year was also marked by the formal opening of the Court of Arbitration for the settlement of the long-deferred and irritating question regarding the seal fisheries of Behring sea.

Lord Stanley was a man of kindly and unaffected disposition, and although practically nothing occurred during his term of office to call for the exercise of great talents in statesmanship or in diplomacy, he was highly respected and on his departure left many friends behind him.

The most important and far-reaching event during the régime of the Earl of Aberdeen, who assumed the Governor-Generalship in September, 1893, was the inauguration of the Preferential Tariff. This, it will be remembered, took place in 1897, the year following the advent of the Laurier Administration to office. As originally introduced the tariff allowed for a preference of 12½ per cent. on British imports. Owing, however, to the favoured-nations treaties with Germany and Belgium the preference had necessarily to apply for the time being to the imports from these and several other countries. On August 1 of the following year, the treaties with Germany and Belgium having in the meantime been abrogated by the Imperial Government, the preference was increased to twenty-five per cent. and confined wholly to imports from within the British Empire. Subsequently this was increased to 33 1-3 per cent.

The year following his assumption of office Aberdeen had the honour of welcoming to Canada the delegates to the Colonial Conference. He termed the occasion "in no small degree unique". And it was, for it was the

first, and so far only, occasion on which the Conference had met outside the British Isles. It was also unique in still another respect, for among the resolutions passed was one which urged the Imperial Government to abrogate those treaties which stood in the way of preferential trade within the Empire. Although this was only three years before the treaties were actually abrogated, the Imperial Government at that time was by no means ready to comply with the wishes of the Conference, as the subsequent correspondence of Lord Ripon, the Colonial Secretary, clearly shows.

"Such denunciation," he said in course of one of his lengthy letters to Lord Aberdeen, "would be a step of the greatest gravity, and while her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the desirability of removing any treaty stipulations which may hamper the action of the Colonies in regard to trade relations, they consider that the advantages to be derived from such a step should be very clearly shown to outweigh the disadvantages before it could be properly resorted to." He even went so far as to assert that the Colonies themselves would suffer from the abrogation of the German and Belgium treaties.

But three years later, when the Canadian Parliament adopted the Preferential Tariff, and Mr. Chamberlain was in command of the Colonial Office, the Imperial Government viewed the matter in an entirely different light and forthwith abrogated the offending treaties.

Eighteen ninety-eight, the last year of Aberdeen's régime, was noted for three things. One was the decision of the Privy Council to the effect that while the exclusive power to make fisheries regulations is vested in the Dominion, the issuing of licences and the collection of revenue belonged to the provinces. The other was the submission of a plebiscite on the question of legislative prohibition of



THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE
The present Governor-General of Canada

the liquor traffic. Although the vote was 278,380 in favour as compared with 264,693 against, Parliament pigeon-holed the subject and took no action. The third was the creation of the

Joint High Commission for the purpose of once more trying to settle the outstanding difficulties still existing with the United States. Among the questions at issue were the Alaskan

and Atlantic fisheries, the Alaskan boundary, trade relations, and war ships on the Great Lakes. The Commission first met in Quebec and subsequently at Washington. The Commission, however, came to naught, for while on the one hand Canada insisted that the boundary question must first be disposed of, either by agreement or reference to arbitration, "Congress was adverse to any liberal agreement with Canada, either for the extension of trade or for the adjustment of other disturbing questions".

Earl Minto, who became Governor-General in November, 1898, was no stranger to the Dominion, he having for three years served as military secretary to Lord Lansdowne. By profession he was a soldier, and consequently when the war broke out in South Africa in 1899 he was in his element. That he strongly sympathized with the proposal that Canada should participate in the affair there can be no doubt. In sentiment he was a strong Imperialist, and no doubt with pleasure assented to the legislation in 1900 which increased the preference on British products to 33 1-3 per cent. of the general tariff.

The third year of Minto's régime was marked by the death of Queen Victoria, the ascension of King Edward and the visit to our shores of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, now the King and Queen. Still another interesting event of that year was the taking of an Empire-wide census, which showed that the population living beneath the British flag was 397,659,316. As far as Canada was concerned the census was not very satisfactory, the population during the ten-year period having only increased a fraction over eleven per cent.

Earl Grey, who became Governor-General in December, 1904, had the honour of occupying the office for seven years, a longer period than any of his predecessors. Before coming to Canada he had served six years as

a member of the British House of Commons and one year as administrator of Rhodesia. From the first he took a live interest in Canada and its affairs, and probably saw more of the Dominion than any other Governor, before or since his advent to office. He saw every province and nearly every district. He even took a journey through the arctic regions. He was also in closer touch with the United States than any of his predecessors, and in this way did much toward increasing cordial relations between the two countries. With Roosevelt and Taft he was in close relationship, and during his term of office made frequent trips across the border.

One thing for which he will be greatly remembered was the effort he consistently made during his régime to establish closer relationship between the British and French races of the Dominion, and to encourage the study of the French language in the English-speaking parts of the country.

The most important political events in Canada during his term of office were the creation in 1905 of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and the attending bitter controversy over the question of separate schools, and the reciprocity campaign of 1911. A month after the close of the latter his term of office expired.

During his régime he had the gratification of seeing the ratification of a treaty providing for the demarcation of the boundary line between Canada and the United States. In the same year as this took place occurred the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec, in which celebration he was an active participant, while for the acquisition of the plains of Abraham as a national park credit is due more to him than to any other man.

When the Duke of Connaught was appointed Governor-General in 1911 there were not a few people in Canada who looked askance at the appointment. They feared that it

might mean the creation of a court, with all its attendant flummery. But it was not long before they realized that their fears were ill-founded. The Duke was a member of the Royal family which Sir John Macdonald hoped at Confederation might some day occupy the Governor-Generalship, but in practice he was about as democratic as any of his predecessors. From the very start he exhibited great interest in the Dominion and solicitude for its welfare, and when he departed from our midst no Governor carried away with him a greater measure of popularity. When appointed it was for a period of two years only, but the outbreak of the war upset these plans, with the result that he served for the usual five-year term.

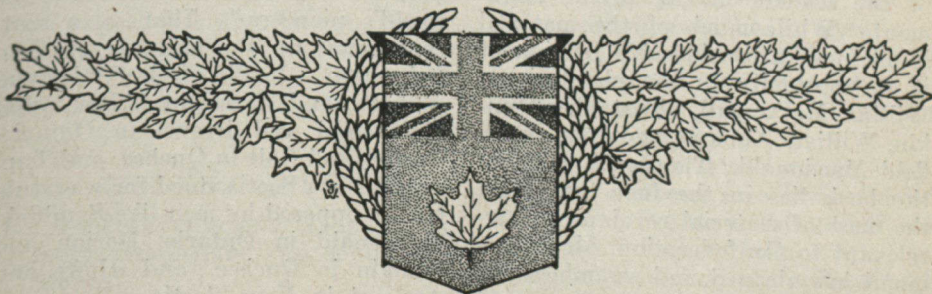
The most important political matter before the Canadian people during the Duke of Connaught's régime was that which was precipitated by the proposal of the Government to appropriate the sum of \$35,000,000 for the purpose of constructing and equipping three battleships and placing them at the disposal of the British Admiralty, which, while endorsed by the House of Commons, was defeated in the Senate.

The Duke of Connaught's Governor-Generalship was not the first and

only capacity in which he had served Canada, he having, when a lieutenant, participated in the ranks of the Canadian volunteer militia in the Red River Expedition of 1870. The name Prince Arthur's Landing, the point at which the inland route of the expedition began, was so designated by Colonel Wolseley as a tribute to the young prince who accompanied him.

The present Governor-General is the ninth member of the Cavendish family to bear the title Duke of Devonshire, having succeeded to it on the death of his uncle in 1908. For seven years prior to that he was member of Parliament for West Derbyshire. His wife, being a daughter of Lord Lansdowne, already had some acquaintance with Canadian life when she landed in Canada last Autumn to preside over the destinies of Rideau Hall.

The nature of the duties the Duke of Devonshire may be called upon to perform is known only to the gods. In the meantime he is evincing a great deal of interest in Canadian affairs, and like his predecessors in office, seems to be a man of good judgment, with a disposition to lead where he can without in any circumstance attempting to rule.



THE LIBRARY TABLE

CONFEDERATION AND ITS LEADERS.

BY M. O. HAMMOND. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart.

ALTHOUGH the war has prevented the people of Canada from celebrating the jubilee of Confederation as openly and elaborately as under other and happier conditions they might have celebrated it, there are a few things that will serve to commemorate the occasion. This book is one of them. While to many persons still living the event of Confederation and indeed important events that led up to it are even yet fresh in memory, to the great mass of the people this book will serve as a ready means of enlightenment. Numerous volumes there are on the careers and activities of many of the public men who took part in the Confederation debates, but nowhere under one cover but in this book can one find sketches of the leaders in that great movement. While much of the material is not new, a considerable portion of it is, especially in the chapters on William McDougall, Christopher Dunkin, William Annand, and John Sandfield Macdonald. The great value of the book lies in the fact that from the mass of material revelant and irrelevant to Confederation, Mr. Hammond has gleaned and assembled the material necessary to a proper and convenient understanding of the men and the movement. From Lower Canada (Ontario) the men selected for

consideration are John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Oliver Mowat, William McDougall, and John Sandfield Macdonald; from Lower Canada (Quebec), George Etienne Cartier, Alexander T. Galt, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, A. A. Dorion, and Christopher Dunkin; from Nova Scotia, William Annand, Charles Tupper, and Joseph Howe; from New Brunswick, Samuel Leonard Tilley, Peter Mitchell, and Albert J. Smith; from Prince Edward Island, David Laird.

As Mr. Hammond well observes, the acquaintance of the Provinces that went into the federal system was slight. "There were many incongruous elements, and there were protesting voices that could not soon be stilled." But there were giants in those days. "It required courage to unite provinces distant and dissimilar and to face the many differences that beset them. The same courage bridged the waste places with railways, carried canals over the resisting hills and opened new frontiers with a fresh summons to the world's pioneers." That, in a sentence, sums up the meaning of Confederation. It did, indeed, demand courage and foresight. For what Macdonald and Brown in Ontario, Cartier and Galt in Quebec, and Tupper in Nova Scotia stood for was stubbornly opposed by men like Sandfield Macdonald in Ontario, Dorion and Dunkin in Quebec, and Howe and Annand in Nova Scotia. To appreciate properly the attitude of these men of differing shades of opinion demanded of the author a great

amount of research, elimination and deduction. The result condenses for the reader all the necessary information regarding Confederation to be found in scores of volumes, many of them biographies and public documents, and imparts as well the note of authority obtained by interviewers with contemporaries. Apart from the fabric of Confederation history, which must be regarded as the body of the volume, the biographical sketches are compact, analytical and illuminating. For instance, we see John A. Macdonald, followed by a crowd who unblushingly address him as "John A.", while Edward Blake, "despite his great parliamentary ability and his all-encompassing brain, was beside him a cold and austere figure." William McDougall was the "victim of an unexplained coldness and a mental inertia which handicapped his progress". George Brown was "as earnest as a crusader, as courageous as a knight at arms, and as unyielding as an oak". "An under-sized, slim, wiry man, with a nervous, energetic air, a lawyer whom D'Arcy McGee called a 'hair-splitter'—this was Christopher Dunkin, who introduced temperance legislation into the Province of Canada, and who delivered the ablest speech against Confederation in the memorable debates of 1865." And so on. These are familiarizing, visualizing touches, and the book is full of them. The style throughout is concise and dignified, with a good literary flavour. There are seventeen full-page portraits and a double frontispiece. This book should be in every library in Canada.

*

UP THE HILL AND OVER

BY ISABEL ECCLESTONE MACKAY. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart.

ONTARIO life is portrayed in few works of fiction; it is adequately portrayed in a still smaller number. Mrs. Mackay has added a most



MR. M. O. HAMMOND

Author of "Confederation and Its Leaders"

worthy volume to this sparse collection. There is humour, colour, and a sympathetic and true picture in this charming volume. The author has done for Ontario what Mary Wilkins Freeman has done more extensively for New England: she has recorded with patience and illumination the everyday happenings in an obscure hamlet. Her pages show that not all the world's interest lies in great centres, and that the humble folk of Coombe are not only interesting to one another but possess a charm for the outside world.

Dr. Callandar is a clean-cut, manly figure, a strong man broken down and seeking health in this out-of-the-way place. Esther Coombe is a winsome heroine, human and with enough dash to provide variety and heart interest. The drug-enslaved Mary Coombe is a pathetic figure, while the sacrifices of the home under these conditions make a sombre background



MRS. ISABEL ECCLESTONE MACKAY

Who has published a new Canadian novel entitled "Up the Hill and Over"

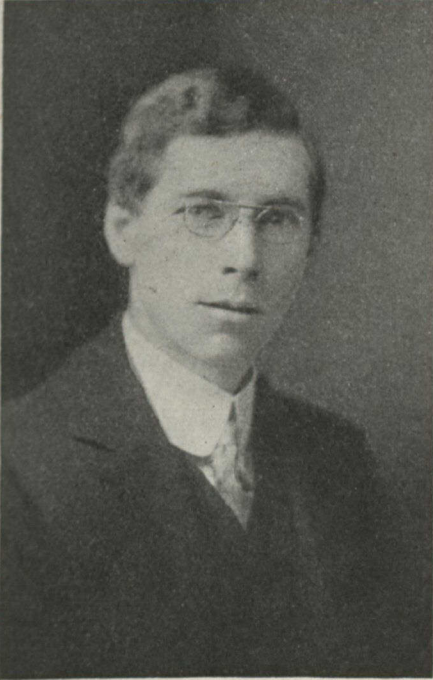
for the romance of the story. "Mournful Mark" is so droll we wish there was more of him in the book. Several juvenile characters are full of the real verve and mischief of childhood.

There is a temptation to quote extensively from these enticing pages, but the reader must be bidden to seek for himself the beauty of this story and thereby put a quietus on the theory that Ontario rural life is drab and uninteresting. On second

thoughts, and as a foretaste of the book's humour, we quote a portion of the conversation that took place between Dr. Callandar and Alviry's husband when the former was accepting a "lift" on the way to Coombe:

"Very warm day!" said Callandar tentatively.

"So-so." The farmer slapped the reins over the horse's flank, jerked them abruptly and murmured a hoarse "Gid-dap!" It was his method of encouraging the onward motion of the animal.



DR. R. M. McIVER

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto, author of "Community"

"Is it always as warm as this hereabouts?"

"No. Sometimes we get it a little cooler 'bout Christmas."

The doctor flushed with annoyance and then laughed.

"You see," he explained, "I'm new to this part of the country. But I always thought you had it cooler up here."

The manner of the rustic grew more genial.

"Mostly we do," he admitted; "but this here is a hot spell." Another long pause and then he volunteered suddenly: "You can mostly tell by Alviry. When she gets a sunstroke it's purty hot. I'm going for the doctor now."

"Going for the doctor?" Callandar's gaze swept the peaceful figure with incredulous amusement. "Great Scott, man! Why don't you hurry? Can't the horse go any faster?"

"Maybe," resignedly, "but he won't."

"Make him, then! A sunstroke may be a very serious business. Your wife may be dead before you get back."

The deep-set eyes turned to him slowly. There seemed something like a distant sparkle in their depths.

"Don't get to worrying, stranger. It'll

take more 'an a sunstroke to polish off Alviry."

"Was she unconscious?"

"Not so as you could notice."

"But if it were a sunstroke—look here, I'll go with you myself. I am a doctor."

"Kind of thought you might be," he responded genially. "Thinking of taking on Doc. Simmonds's practice?"

"I don't know. But if your wife—"

The rustic shook his head. "No. You wouldn't do for Alviry. She said to get Doc. Parker, and a sunstroke ain't going to change her none. But if she likes your looks she'll probably try you next time. Turrible fond of experiments is Alviry—hi! giddap!" He slapped his horse more forcibly with the loose reins and settled into mournful silence.

"Going to put up at the Imperial?" he asked after a long and peaceful pause.

"I want to put up somewhere where I can get a good meal and get it quickly."

*

COMMUNITY

BY R. M. McIVER. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.

THIS volume is, as the sub-title denotes, a sociological study, an attempt to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life. It is therefore timely and significant. In its main drift it mines subtly and powerfully the whole intellectual foundations of militarism, and gives a clear analysis of what the author believes are the true laws of social progress. Professor MacIver states that though the pursuance of "like interests" as, for instance, the hunt for food among the lower animals and uncivilized men, does engender conflict the progress of intelligence even among the lower animals, and of civilization among peoples, is a growing perception of the deeper bonds of "common interests" in the attainment of which "the law of co-operation", not of conflict, "is the law of success". The progress of society is not won at the expense of individuality, for "individualization and socialization are two sides of the same process". This is the key sentence of "Community". We have not to choose between a life flow deep and narrow or broad and

shallow; between a cultured aristocracy and a dead level of democratic mediocracy, for the richness of man's nature is measured by the breadth of his sympathies, and the deeper rooted his personality in the things of the spirit the nearer he can reach out in responsive fellowship to the outermost rings of community. Community does not mean any social grouping within external bonds, legal or political, but "the living with others" of a common life. And in this common life loyalty to the more intimate relationships such as marriage and the family are the only assurance of loyalty to those more remote. When nationhood is attacked war may be inevitable, but the nation which deliberately chooses war as a means of so-called progress is really backstepping into barbarism. Democracy is the only road of development and majority rule, with all its imperfections, the means to the attainment of social justice. While reducing to absurdity the Hegelian doctrine that the State is a sort of composite mind which, made up of separate fallable minds, is itself divinely infallible, Professor MacIver believes that with the growth of intelligence the majority "will" tends more and more to approximate to the ideal will. The failures of democracy are, therefore, not to be remedied by a return of paternalism or autocracy, but by the growing wisdom of popular governments which, having the right to make their own mistakes, grow also in the discernment to profit by them.

In following its main line of exposition, Professor MacIver's book clears a plain way through the underbrush of confused popular thought on many subjects of great present interest. "Society is nothing more than individuals associated and organized". Detailing the laws governing the co-ordination of community, the author shows a remarkable astuteness in "untwisting all the chains that tie the hidden soul of harmony". This section by itself would serve as a guide

to keep many an organizer off the rocks of avoidable dissention. The advisability of restricting associations to the specific objects for which they were formed, the danger when they encroach on preserves of others and the functions of church and state and of the church and the state are here clearly outlined.

The man "in the street" who is apt to regard a good deal of philosophy as the vapourizing of learned fools will enjoy the author's happy faculty for letting the light of common sense, or a sense that it were well if *more* common, in upon the back premises of thought. Professor MacIver delights in piercing with the daylight of plain English the adumbrations of philosophic verbiage behind which some of the great or "near great" thinkers screen their ambiguities. To him nonsense is nonsense even garbed in terms philosophic and sponsored by however impressive names.

His own star-born abstractions are harnessed to some serviceable purpose and put to the test of common human experience.

Fearless in attack, "Community" is as modest in its statement of its own contribution to sociological study. Its style is vigorous and graceful and free from extravagance. There is much, therefore, in it helpful to any thoughtful and intelligent reader, while to the student of sociology it is pregnant with suggestion.

*

CANADA AND NATIONAL DEFENCE

BY COLONEL WILLIAM HAMILTON
MERRITT. Toronto: The Macmillan
Company of Canada.

THIS book is openly and avowedly an advocate of some form of compulsory military training and service in Canada. It was written before the present conscription bill before Parliament was even discussed, for the author, in private life and as president of the National Defence

League, has for years carried on a campaign in favour of the nation making proper preparation to defend itself. The subject just now is before Parliament and the people, and therefore anyone who wishes to know the arguments in favour of compulsory military training and service should read this book.

*

A ROUND-THE-WORLD CRUISE

BY FRANK CARREL. Quebec: The Telegraph Printing Company.

THIS well-illustrated book of travel takes the reader from the city of Quebec, the home of the author, across the continent to San Francisco, and thence westward along the main routes of travel around the world. The observations by the way are interesting and instructive and the illustrations are illuminative. The places visited are Honolulu, Japan, Macoa, Manila, Java, India, and Egypt.

*

MEN, WOMEN AND GHOSTS.

BY AMY LOWELL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.

HERE is a volume of superfine free verse by one of the best of the American group of poets who have appeared within the last few years as exponents of this particular style of poetic rendition. In her preface the author confesses that some of the piano pieces of Debussy first tempted her to experiment with what she divined as a kinship between music and poetry. The movement of the music appealed to her like the movement of words and sentences. She explains that in "A Roxbury Garden," which is at least a beautiful poem to read, she has attempted to impart to the first two sections the circular movement of a hoop bowling along the ground and the up and down, elliptical curve of a flying shuttlecock.

Other experiments are given, for instance, in "The Cremona Violin," so that while the book is worth while as poetry it is furthermore interesting as a demonstration of what the author herself has had in mind to do.

*

"SPEAKING OF PRUSSIANS"

BY IRVIN S. COBB. Toronto: The Musson Book Company.

THIS little book by one who writes of what he has seen is not so much a revelation as a confirmation; it will confirm many persons whose opinions as to Prussian cruelty and despotism have been wavering. Scarcely any more severe castigation could be penned than the one set down in this book. The author had personal interviews with several Prussians, and his diagnosis of egomania he applied to the few, but, as he says, "In the light of what has happened since we all know that the disease affected a whole nation . . . and that the programme itself can never be carried out until Europe and America both are graveyards".

*

I SOMETIMES THINK

BY STEPHEN PAGET. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada.

THIS is a charming book for children. It does not contain fairy tales, or indeed tales of any kind. It contains essays—little discussions on things that interest most children, and the style is delightful. They are written by one who avows that one ambition of his life is to be called some day "Old Fossil". If he should ever be able to put O. F. to his name he should be the proudest man in England. The essays discuss "The World, Myself, and Thee", "The Beauty of Words", "Handwriting", "The Way of Science", "Moving Pictures", "London Pride", "Unnatural Selection", and "The Next Few Years".

TWICE-TOLD TALES

DECORUM

A country girl returned from her first year at college. An old beau called and found her quite superior. He asked for a tale of her college days and was told to say "narrative". Later on he remarked that if he didn't put the window down the wind might "put the lamp out". "Why don't you say 'extinguish'?" she asked him.

Soon they heard a racket outside. The young man rushed out. After a long while he returned breathless, saying that he had found a pig in the yard and the young lady's father trying to get it out.

"Well, what did you do?" he was asked.

"Oh!" he replied, "I caught it by its narrative and extinguished it!"—*New York Post.*

*

James Ross and his daughter Janet, from Canada, visited relatives in Chicago recently. Day after day Janet and her father went sight-seeing, always together.

Janet's aunt, noticing this, one day suggested that she let her father go downtown alone some time, jokingly adding, "Men do not like to have women always tagging along."

"Aye, ahnty, but he wahnts me," explained Janet earnestly. "He canna thole to stir out o' the hoose his lane. Ye warnna beleeve ho fasht he is onywhere wi-oot me. Ye see, father taa'ks sic braid Scoatch that stranger folk dinna ken what it's a' about, an' I hae tae gang wi' him tae dae the conversin."—*Everybody's.*

THE CAPTAIN'S HOBBIES

"Cuss me if I know what to send?" ejaculated Pte. Stubbs, Capt. Licker's flunkey.

"Wot's up?" queried Pte. Green.

"Why, 'ere's my bloke tells me he's off on a little trip in the mountains while on furlough, and asks me to send his drawing materials."

"Well, that's plain enough. You know what a hartistic chap he is."

"Yus; but we know he's something else, too! Ye see, I'm wondering if it's only a corkscrew wot he wants!"

*

VAIN POMP

A diner at a dinner in Nice said of New York's new rich:

"It is incredible how many servants these people have tumbling over one another. Pass their palaces of pale limestone fronting the park and you'll see a lackey at every window and two at every door.

"They tell a story about a Fifth Avenue food king, who, blustering into the house at four o'clock in the morning, growled:

"'Hello, where's all the servants?"

"'If you please, sir,' the butler answered respectfully, 'when it came three o'clock I thought you was spendin' the night out, and ventured to send most of the footmen off to bed, sir.'

"'Humph,' growled the food king. 'Ventured to send 'em off to bed, eh? Fine piece of impudence! Suppose I'd happened to bring a friend home—then there'd only have been you seven to let us in.'"—*Washington Star.*



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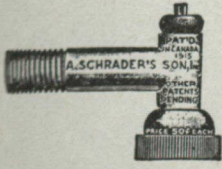
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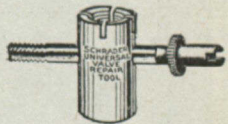
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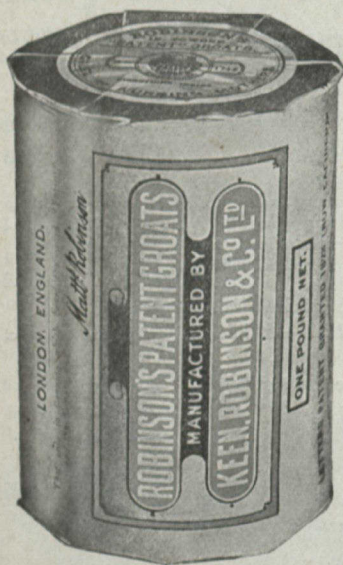


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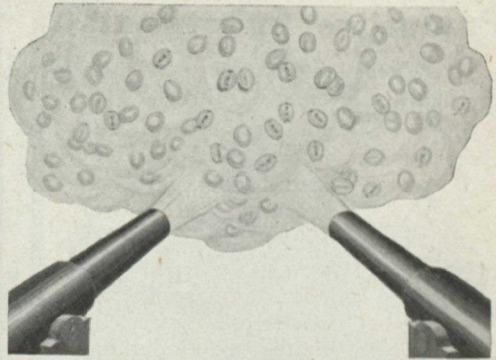
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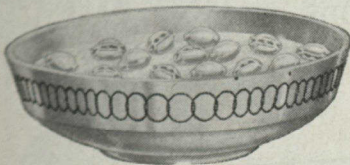
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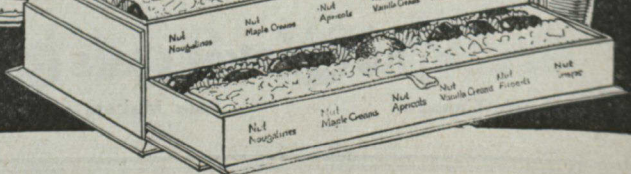
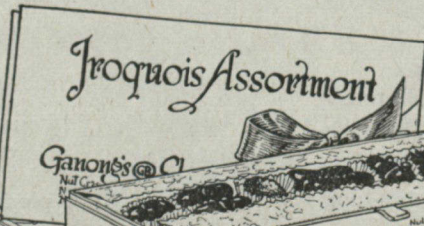
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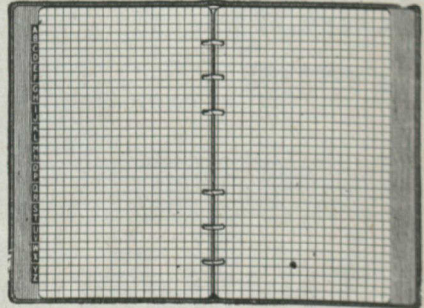
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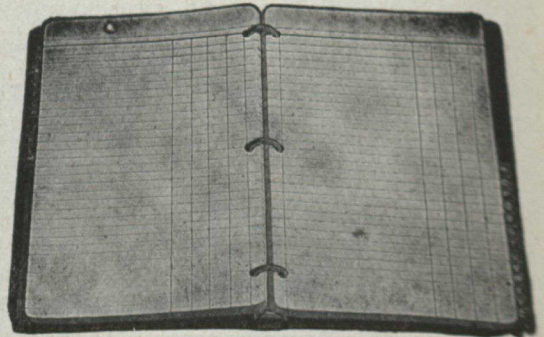
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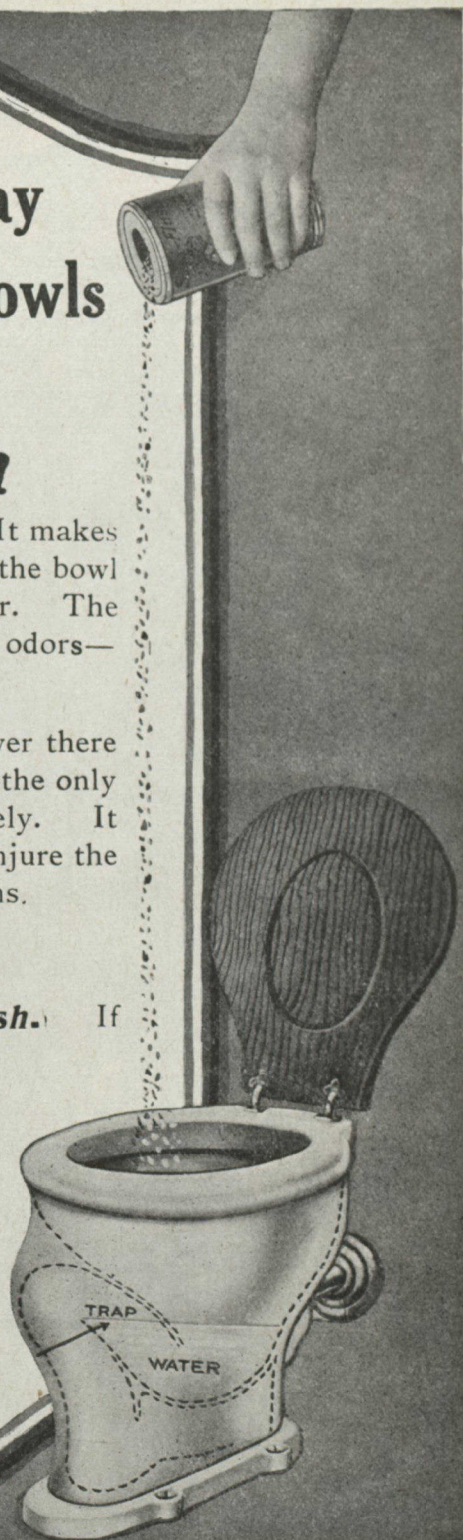
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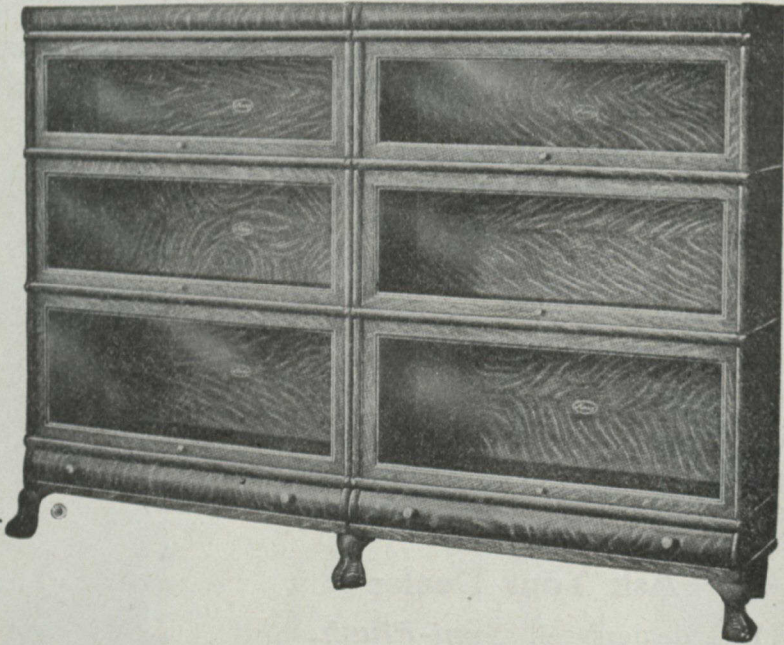
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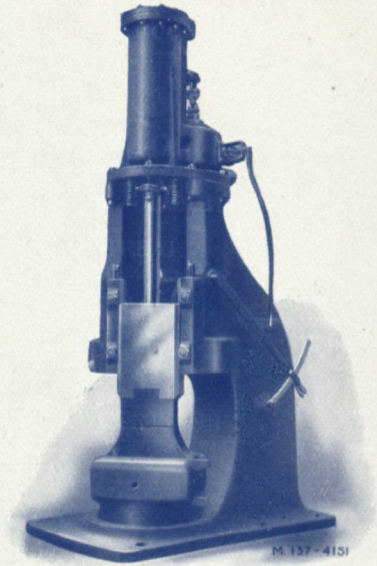
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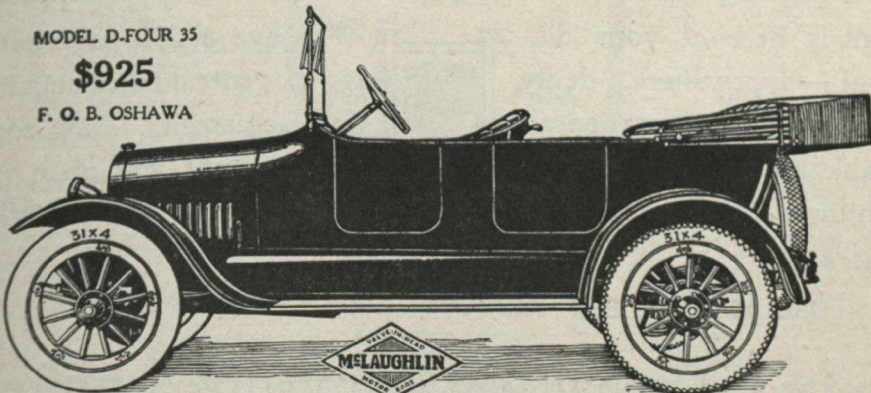
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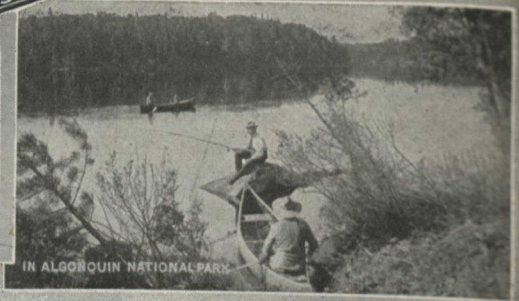
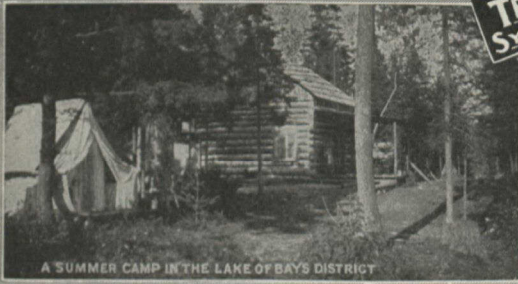
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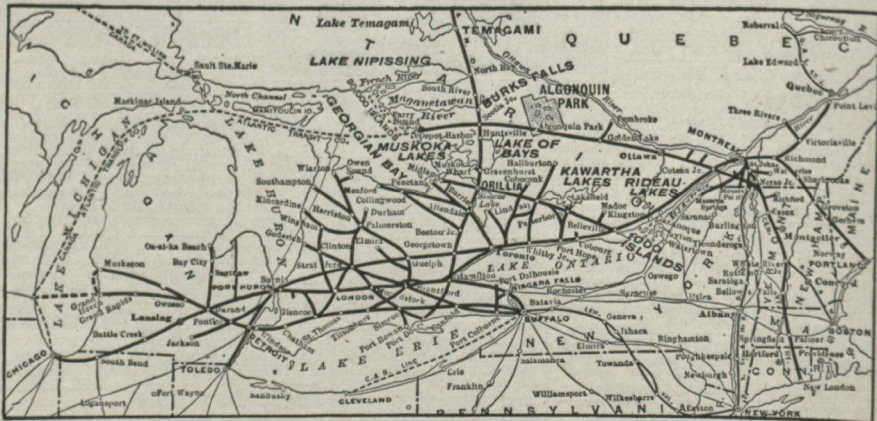
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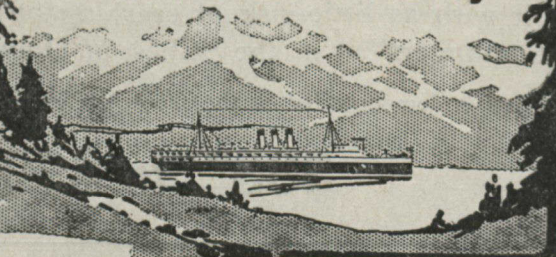
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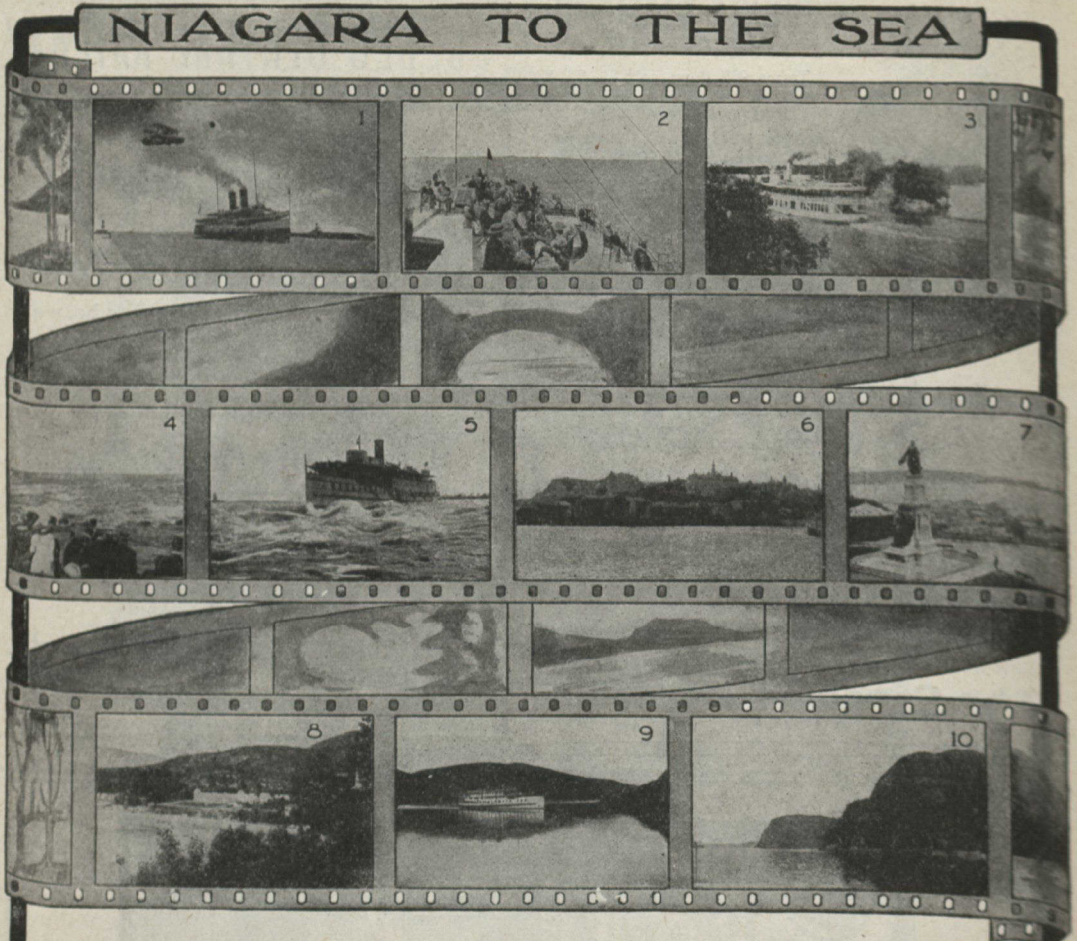
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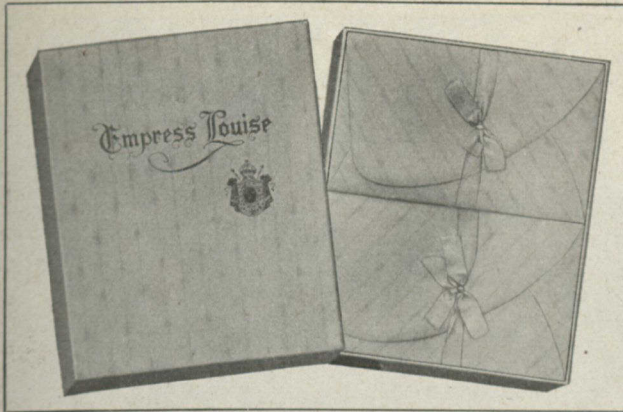
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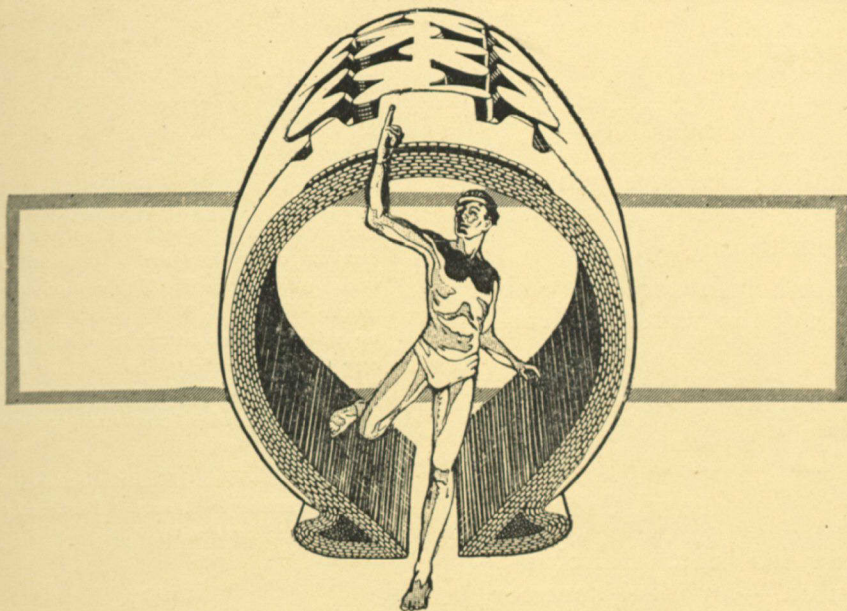
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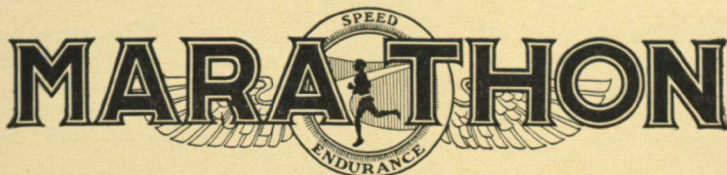
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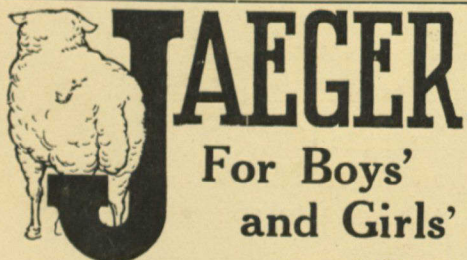
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