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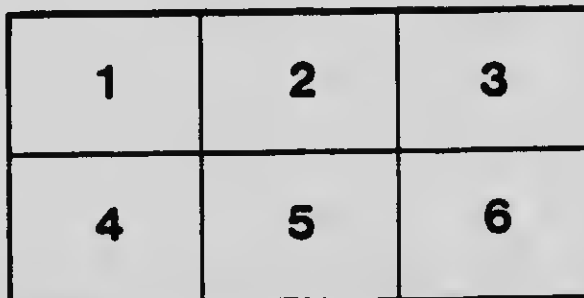
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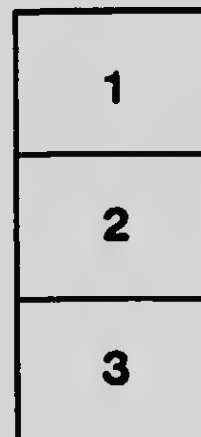
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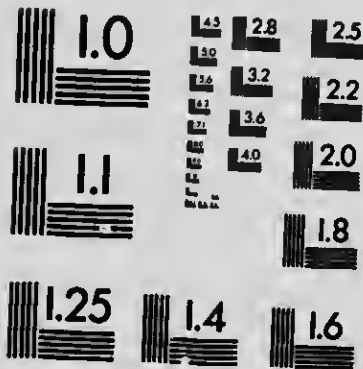
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# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BY

HON. G. W. ROSS

DURING HIS

*Recent Visit to England and at  
the Meeting on His Return*

From

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Aug. 1923

# ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BY

HON. G. W. ROSS

DURING HIS

*Recent Visit to England and at  
the Meeting on His Return*

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## *Hon. G. W. Ross at the Hotel Metropole, London.*

On Monday, July 15th, 1901, the Duke of Devonshire gave a luncheon to the members of the British Empire League in London in Honour of the Colonial Delegates to the Imperial Court of Appeal Conference, at which Lord Avebury, Honorary Treasurer, presided. Among those present were Lord Avebury, Mr. James Bailey, M.P., Sir James Blyth, Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., Sir Edward Carbutt, J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Sir Robert Herbert, Mr. Justice Hodges, of Victoria; Sir David Tennant, Sir Charles Rivers Wilson, Lord Strathcona, Sir Howard Vincent, Sir Frederick Young and over two hundred others.

The toast of "Our Guest" was proposed by Sir Sydney Buxton, M.P., and replied to by Mr. Justice Hodges, of Victoria. The toast of the "British Empire League" was proposed by Mr. Ross and replied to by the Chairman, Lord Avebury. In proposing the toast Mr. Ross said:

Lord Avebury, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, I regret exceedingly that owing to the absence of the Postmaster-General of Canada, the Hon. W. Mulock—(cheers)—the duty of proposing this toast has fallen to me. I received notice that I was expected to discharge this duty just about an hour before coming to this very pleasant gathering, and, under the circumstances, you can appreciate the personal element of that regret, in the absence of the Hon. Mr. Mulock. I have been for many years in Canada a member of the British Empire League which we formed in the Province of Ontario, and of which Lieut.-Colonel Denison—(cheers)—is now our esteemed president. The objects of the British Empire League, as we understand them in Canada, are, shall I say first to promote in the Empire and at the seat of power a greater interest in the Colonies of the Empire. (Hear,

hear.) The League had its origin here. It originated as Mr. Justice Hodges has said, with men of comprehensive statesmanship, men who did not regard isolated England as an ideal nation to put before the world and the British Empire. "Splendid isolation" is a nice rhetorical phrase, but the British Empire League was formed to foster within the Empire the idea that the greatness of the Empire largely consisted, not in isolation, but in union, in integration, in combination. I sympathize, speaking as a Canadian, with much that Mr. Justice Hodges has said. We did at one time feel that the heart of the Mother Country was not as warm to her Canadian son as it should have been. (Hear, hear.) We loved the dear old mother all the same. (Hear, hear and laughter.) We thought as we grew a little bigger and could make ourselves a little more useful and put on something more of the airs of manhood that she might begin to think that her Canadian boy was not such a bad young fellow after all. (Laughter.) And we began to put on airs and to assume the dignity of nationhood. (Cheers.) Imitation is the highest form of flattery, they say. The Australian people have imitated our example, and have thereby done wisely. (Cheers.) With our size, our self-sufficiency, and our self-possession, we began to extend our trade with Great Britain and it has grown amazingly. In fact, in everything which goes to make the nucleus of a nation I think we may fairly say that we have made a very good start in this new country. (Hear, hear.) Although my notice was brief I have a few statistics at hand, and I am going to give you them to show how we have grown during the last thirty years, since our Confederation. Our population has increased from 3,300,000 to 5,400,000—all loyal Canadians, all prepared to bear their share in the burdens, in the battles, and in the struggle for Imperial unity. Five millions of people represent England as she was in the time of Elizabeth. Before we have seen as many years as England has seen since that time nobody here can say how large we shall be. We have in the same time increased our revenue from 13,000,000 to 51,000,000 dollars and with the characteristics of a progressive Government we have increased our expenditure from 13,000,000 to 42,000,000 dollars. (Laughter.) Of course, there has been no increase in that time in the expenditure of the United Kingdom. (Laughter.) We have increased our imports to 180,000,000 dollars, an increase of more than 250 per cent., and we have increased

our exports, and that shows an increase in the produce of the country, from 50,000,000 to 170,000,000 dollars, or over 300 per cent. We sell more because we produce more and because you buy more. We have increased our miles of railway from 2,000 in 1867 until we now have 17,000 miles. I think you have only 21,000 in the United Kingdom. We have increased our savings bank deposits from 5,000,000 to 60,000,000. We are steadily getting richer; we spend more money when we come to London. (Laughter.) We have increased our business deposits in the banks from 33,000,000 to 277,000,000—a very substantial advance. And as an indication of the growth of our industries, for we have to import nearly all our coal, I may say that from 1,000,000 dollars worth imported in 1867, the amount rose in 1900 to 10,000,000 dollars worth. That shows the increase of our industries. In gold we have increased our output from 3,000,000 to 21,000,000, and I believe we have the best goldfields in the world, not excepting Australia, if I may be permitted to make the observation. (Laughter.) The tonnage of our shipping has increased from 2,000,000 to 7,262,000 tons. These are slight indications of how Canada has grown in the last thirty years. But material prosperity is not, after all, perhaps, the best indication of the real elements of national power. A nation may be wealthy and yet feeble, in some respects. What we prize most is that with the growth of our wealth and with the increase of our population we believe education, intelligence and all those habits which go to make a thrifty and prosperous people, have grown likewise. (Cheers.) The business of the League, as I understand it, is to let the Empire know how great its Colonies are and how helpful the Colonies may be. We have taken a small hand in the South African war. We sent from 2,000 to 3,000 men. One of our Canadians, Lord Strathcona—(cheers)—sent 500 mounted infantry on his own account. He would have sent twice as many had you needed them. Some of our men have returned. I think you sent them home too soon. But for that the war might have been over ere now. Nevertheless, we showed our sympathy with the Empire in sending these men to you. (Cheers.) And we believe that as a rule they gave a good account of themselves. (Hear, hear.) One at least came home with the Victoria Cross, an honour we highly appreciate. The object of the League, as I say, is to inform the Empire of the greatness of the Colonies. Its object also is to bring representative men from the

Colonies together on suitable occasions to confer as to Imperial matters. We feel we are partners in the British Empire. Of course we did not make it. Our fathers, your fathers, made it for us and what a noble fabric it is! And you are kind enough to invite our advice now and again as to some forms of administration which concern the Empire. (Hear, hear.) I am pleased that you have had this conference as to the constitution of the Judicial Committee of the House of Lords. Speaking for my Province, I do not know that we are specially anxious to have a representative on that Judicial Committee. We like the Committee as it is. I do not think we could make it much better if we sent our best men, and we are not ashamed of our men, but that Committee has always, I believe, weighed Colonial matters in the light of Constitutional law and in reference to Colonial interests, and in its decisions we have unbounded confidence. We have not much to ask. We do not want representation in the House of Commons just now. We are well satisfied with it. Canada has confidence in the House of Commons in the sense that some of you may not have. We have confidence in the House whether it is Conservative or Liberal. It has always done well by Canada. Your Government has sent of its ablest men to be our Governors-General. From Dufferin to Minto you have been well represented and we have been proud of the representation of the Crown in Canada. You have amended our Constitution. You consulted us in the first instance and amended it as we required, and therefore we have but little to complain of; still we are glad these conferences are being held inasmuch as they bring us into relations with those men who sit at the power house on the line and send forth those electrical currents which thrill to the remotest Colonies of the Empire and make us feel one. (Cheers.) We rejoice in this opportunity of meeting and consulting with you, and, as far as the British Empire League in Canada is concerned, it has but one word to the parent society here and that is that the unity of the Empire is above every consideration. (Cheers.) The first business of the League should be to bind together this noble fabric of the Empire with such a bond of loyal patriotism that no Colony, no matter how remote, will consider any sacrifice too dear to perpetuate its glory or maintain its honour. That is the spirit which lives in the League—unostentatiously, for we never beat the big drum or flaunt the Jingo flag, nor call attention to our movements in the public highways, but

steadily and persistently we seek to cultivate that better and purer British patriotism which makes every British subject feel a personal and an individual interest in the strength of the Empire. (Cheers.) We are scions of that noble, that Saxon stock which has spread itself over the world and whose flag has never yet been lowered in the face of the enemy. As one of your poets says :

For the sires live in their sons,  
And they pay their father's debt,  
And the lion has left a whelp  
Wherever his claw is set.

And the business of the League in Canada is to rear a large brood of such whelps for the honour and defence of the Empire. (Cheers.) I give you "The British Empire League." (Cheers.)

The toast was drunk with great heartiness.

The Chairman : On behalf of the British Empire League I beg to express to our friend, Mr. Ross, our sincere thanks for the kind terms in which he has proposed this toast. He has accurately described the objects with which the League was formed. I am sorry to say that I am old enough to remember the time which has been referred to by Mr. Justice Hodges, when the idea of retaining the Colonies was not so firmly fixed as it is at present. There were many who thought the time must come when the Colonies would be severed from the Mother Country, but we are now agreed that, on the contrary, the time must never come for doing so. (Cheers.) We have not been formed in order to attempt to advocate any cut-and-dried scheme of union or any new constitution. The constitution of the United Kingdom has grown up slowly through the ages, and we are now evolving a new constitution for the British Empire which, I hope, will gradually knit together more closely the different parts of which it is composed. (Hear, hear.) Recent events in South Africa have shown that if any one of our Colonies is attacked, it is not only the Mother Country but the Sister Colonies all over the world who will rally to her defence and repulse any attack, no matter from what quarter it may be pressed. Mr. Justice Hodges referred, as is, perhaps, natural in existing circumstances, specially to the advantages which the Empire would receive from any organization which would enable us in any case of necessity—a necessity which, I trust, will never arise, but in case it should

arise—to put forward the whole strength of the Empire. But I think he will agree with me that the benefits of reunion are not merely confined to times of difficulty and war, but that they are equally important in times of peace. (Hear, hear.) Look at what is going on across the “silver streak” at the present time. We see the great communities of Europe harassed and distracted by international jealousies and suspicions, gradually converting Europe into a series of military camps, and arming themselves at greater and greater expense, and at a greater sacrifice every year, because they are open to attacks from some neighbouring country. And then, on the contrary, look further across the seas. Consider our relations with Australia, with Canada, with South Africa, with India, with New Zealand, with all the other integral parts of the British Empire, and there you will see none of these jealousies and suspicions—(hear, hear)—but you see mutual goodwill, mutual confidence, mutual rejoicing, if any one part of the Empire has any prosperity or any advantage. (Cheers.) And it is in order to promote these great objects that the British Empire League has been formed, and we hope that in some slight measure it may contribute to so great an advantage for the Empire. (Hear, hear.) We trust, ladies and gentlemen, and I am sure that the speeches we have heard from our Colonial friends to-day have awakened a feeling which will re-echo in our hearts. We hope that with one King and one flag, with one language and one literature, we may long remain happy and prosperous, because a united Empire. (Cheers.) I thank you for the kind way in which you have drunk the toast.

## *Mr. Ross at a Meeting of the Council of the League.*

A meeting of the Council was held in the Grand Committee Room, Westminster Hall, on Thursday, 25th July. Viscount Knutsford, G.C.M.G. (Vice-President), and afterwards the Earl of Aberdeen, G.C.M.G. (Vice-President), presided. The members present included the Hon. George W. Ross (Premier of Ontario), Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P. (Vice-President), Sir Robert G. W. Herbert, G.C.B. (Chairman of Executive), Sir James Blyth, Bart., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Sir W. L. Buller, K.C.M.G., Mr. W. H. Holland, M.P., Mr. Charles Trevelyan, M.P., Col. Denny, M.P., Mr. C. Freeman Murray (Secretary), and others.

The Earl of Aberdeen: Having dealt with these matters of necessary business we now come to the central point of our proceedings, namely, to hear an address from the Hon. G. W. Ross, Premier of Ontario. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately it is not necessary to say much, or anything, by way of introduction, although we may be allowed to say something by way of hearty welcome and greeting to our distinguished friend on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) I think that there is a peculiar appropriateness in the invitation to Mr. Ross to address us—an invitation which he has so kindly accepted—having come from the British Empire League; and as it is under the auspices of the League that Mr. Ross is to give us this address I would venture to remark—I know that Mr. Ross recognizes it as much as anyone—that the League is a comprehensive institution. Like the Empire itself, it is widely embracing, and, also like the Empire, it recognizes autonomy in its branches; and therefore what one branch may say or do does not, in regard to special questions of policy, commit the League as a whole. (Hear, hear.) I think it worth while making that observation because I have heard, occasionally, expressions somewhat in the nature of misgivings or apprehensions as to whether, as a League, we may not sometimes be in danger of becoming

a propaganda of certain great questions of policy. That, I think, is not the object of the League, nor the desire of its members; but, on the contrary, we desire that proper freedom should exist in that respect as regards the branches so as to promote the cohesion and smooth working of the institution as a whole. I suppose some of us here may hear statements and recommendations which we may not personally see our way to concur with. That is no reason for the slightest perturbation on our part. We wish to hear Mr. Ross's views as a statesman, a statesman of mark, and especially as a statesman of one of the great Colonies of the Empire, and I am sure we shall listen to what he has to say with great respect and appreciation too. Without further words I now beg to ask him to address us.

Mr. Ross, who was cordially greeted, said: My lords and gentlemen, you have conferred on me a high honour in asking me to address the Council of the League. It is an honour I greatly appreciate. I have been for some time connected with the League in Canada and a constant reader of the *League Review*, and I think that I have a pretty comprehensive idea as to its work here, and what it attempts to do for the Colonies. This opportunity of meeting the members of the League is one I greatly appreciate, and the more so as it is presided over by your lordship, whose associations with myself and my Government while in Canada were of the most pleasant and satisfactory character. I am delighted to give expression to this view here as I was delighted to do over and over again at home. The work of the League is, as the chairman has said, a very comprehensive one, its efforts being to promote the autonomy and unity of the Empire. I need not recall what is known to all of you, but what is particularly felt in the Colonies, and it is that there was a time when we did not feel that there was the sympathy of the Motherland towards us Canadians—and perhaps the same feeling existed elsewhere—that we had reason to expect. That, however, was very largely removed by the Confederation Act of 1867, with which my distinguished friend, Lord Knutsford, was intimately associated, and for the part he played I desire to express my sincere thanks to him. A new era dawned on us Canadians with that Act, one in which the friendship between the Colonies and the Mother Country has grown greatly, and one which has witnessed other federations, and, notably, the establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia. (Hear, hear.) Out of these federations



of the Colonies has sprung the idea that it is possible the federation of the whole Empire might be the ultimate outcome. That view has been discussed in the *Review*, in the press of Canada and of the United Kingdom, and it has been present to the mind of Canadians for some time. Well, I do not say that the federation of the Empire is impracticable by any means, but I think I may say with safety, looking from the standpoint of a Canadian, that I do not think we have reached the point at which we should press, as a Colony, for immediate federation. Some steps may have been taken already toward that end. It may come about in the process of time, but one cannot anticipate the evolution of great political questions; and, in the meantime, I think there are matters, minor matters, lying more closely at hand which require attention as well as this larger scheme of the federation of the Empire. If that scheme were to be seriously considered, however, I think we might pass over in readiness the geographical difficulties. With our rapid systems of transport all such difficulties would be overcome. Still, I do not see what we have to gain by such a federation, particularly so far as the administration of our own affairs are concerned. The Magna Charta of Colonial Government was set forth clearly by Lord Durham in his report in 1839, and that was that if the Colonies were to remain in affiliation with the Empire, and be successfully governed at all, the principle of self-government had to be conceded almost in its integrity. If we are to have federation of the Empire I do not see how it can be brought about without the sacrifice of some of the elements or principles or privileges of self-government which we now possess, and for the Colonies to do this, unless it would be for the larger and more comprehensive interests of the Empire, would be a view which would not be very pleasantly entertained. I do say, however, that a scheme of federation which might lead to the merging of some of the interests and privileges of the Colonies in the larger Government of the Empire might not be undesirable or unsatisfactory, but at the present time we have not reached that stage in the discussion of this question which would enable us to express any definite opinion upon it. We are satisfied in Canada with the Government of the Empire from Westminster; we are satisfied with the manner in which our Colonial affairs have been administered, particularly for the last thirty odd years; we are satisfied with the representatives of the Crown who have

occupied a viceregal position in the Dominion of Canada during that time; and for the surrender of some of the privileges of self-government we are at a loss to see what great advantages would be gained. I agree that if some of our public men were sent over here to take part in legislating for the Empire it would broaden their views, and perhaps train them for dealing better with great public questions. That, however, is a matter which we need not discuss at this stage. On the other hand, if we were to be represented at Westminster, we should have to send to you a certain number of our best men, and these we can ill afford to spare. We have not such a large supply of, let me say, legislative timber in our country as to be able to send here many who would worthily represent our country in the House of Commons.

I observe that the Colonial Secretary has suggested the appointment of a permanent Council, to which would be referred matters affecting the Empire as a whole. A permanent Council would, perhaps, serve a useful purpose. There are difficulties about that, however, which occur to me, and which would require serious consideration before we could approve of the suggestion. In the first place, is it to be a nominated Council? I think it must be. It could not be elected over a large area like the Dominion of Canada. At least our section of it could not. We have an electorate of one million, and if we had to elect two or three members of that Council how we could do so by the vote of our people is a problem the solution of which I do not see just now. Besides, such a permanent Council, if established, could not have legislative power. It would be an advisory Council merely, and in that respect it would be very useful, perhaps, but I think a body like this, an *imperium in imperio*, even if it had not legislative power, would be rather alarming to us in Canada, and therefore I am driven to the conclusion that the Colonial Office have already acted on the best system in convening occasional conferences of Colonial delegates. I speak with the greatest satisfaction of these Conferences. They have been meetings of our best men with some of your best men. They have been meetings where the delegates sat on the friendliest terms with each other, and where they knew, before they met, the subjects that would come up for discussion and had got the public opinion of their country on them. In that way, by mutual conference and confidential discussion, they have been able to adjust some of the difficulties which existed between the Colonies and the

Empire; and if there should be other difficulties which require removal, we can by such conferences meet our fellow Colonists and the members of the Privy Council and settle them in a friendly way. I shall be glad if a number of questions to which I will refer presently, but very briefly, should come before an early conference of Colonial delegates, perhaps during the Coronation year, and that some of these questions, in which Canada is interested, should be carefully considered. I may, therefore, be regarded as having committed myself to regular consultative conferences, held as often as the Imperial authorities consider necessary, and I can assure you that to such conferences we will send our best men, and in the deliberations give our best opinion. If the Empire is to be autonomous, there should be a feeling of unity throughout its different parts. Canada has the sentiment of unity to a degree that the most ardent Imperialist can desire. We have given substantial proof of that—(hear, hear)—but, apart from the evidence we have given, it is deep down in the heart of every Canadian that the future prosperity of Canada depends on the present relations with the Empire, and a closer alliance if possible. We have outgrown feelings of restlessness. Those who believed in independence have reached the vanishing point; those who believed in annexation are hardly ever heard from now. They have given up all discussion of that question, and there is in Canada now—and his lordship will bear testimony to that from his residence of four or five years among us—but one feeling of honest, sincere loyalty to His Majesty and loyalty to the Empire and to the interests of the Empire in all its magnitude and extent.

At the same time we feel, looking at the question as one of unification, that matters, some minor, some major, are worthy of consideration. If you are to have a unified Empire you ought to have a unified commercial nomenclature and terminology at all sources of commercial contact. A uniform currency for the Empire would be a great convenience. (Hear, hear.) It would be convenient for us if in our commercial transactions all over the Empire our own currency were adopted. That might be an immediate inconvenience for the Empire. I do not say that our system should be forced on you, but if the decimal system were adopted it would be a convenience in business transactions, and a decimal system of weights and measures would also facilitate business. When we come to

London to buy and sell we are met by a currency and a system of weights and measures with which we are almost as unfamiliar as when we go to Germany or France. We do not feel at home in the same sense as if we bought and sold in terms with which we are familiar. It would also be a great convenience if there were a uniform system of legislation by which debts and claims in all parts of the Empire could be disposed of in similar terms. Those who trade with the Colonies and Great Britain would then know more readily how their debts and liabilities could be disposed of and how, once incurred, they could be the more easily collected. I noticed while the minutes were being read that there was a reference to the unfortunate condition in which certain persons, born in wedlock in Canada, find themselves when they come to the Motherland. That is an anomalous condition which I should be happy to see altered. (Hear, hear.) Uniformity in postal laws has been practically achieved, largely through the generosity and statesmanship of the Duke of Norfolk, assisted by Mr. Henniker-Heaton here, and the Postmaster-General, Mr. Mulock—(hear, hear)—on our side. That settlement we appreciate greatly. It is a bond of union, and it meets in its own way certain objections which I have taken to deficiencies in other respects. Cannot we have, in conjunction with that, a system of intercolonial cable communication? We rejoice in Canada that we have solved, with your assistance and the assistance of Australia, the problem of the Pacific cable, by which Australia, Canada and the Empire, will be connected at an early date. We miss that quick correspondence between Canada and the United Kingdom which we could get by a system of nationalized cables; and, another thing, we miss in public life the brief despatches—the telegraphic news which would come over a nationalized system of cables at a much lower rate than now charged. It is desirable that all parts of the Empire should be in easy communication, commercially and politically, and that not only we should be informed of the position of stocks and exchange here, but that we should have daily in Canada some knowledge of the great political pulse that beats and throbs so strongly here. A cheaper system of cable communication would aid in that respect. And, again, I should be glad to see something like reciprocity—perhaps this is the only term I can use—between the Empire and the Colonies with regard to professions. The Lord High Chancellor with all his powers cannot

issue a writ for 10s. in Canada. Your best practitioner in the medical profession could not practice without being liable to arrest and punishment as a quack, and *vice versa*. Not one of our doctors during this South African campaign who does not hold a diploma from your College of Physicians or College of Surgeons could attend to the sick and wounded among his own countrymen in South Africa in that capacity. These are things which I should like to see altered. (Hear, hear.) I do not say there could be free trade in that sense between the Colonies and the Empire with regard to professions, but I think a conference could settle that certain accredited schools and colleges of medicine, and persons holding a prescribed rank in the law, should have the free run of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) If I want to be treated by a British physician, I must come here; if he came to Canada he could not treat me there. I say that that is an anomaly and an absurdity which should be removed. We want in Canada, as far as possible, to encourage the emigration of your best men, and it possibly might happen that the interchange of professional courtesies in that respect between the Colonies and the Empire might do no harm, but real good. These are four or five matters which occur to me, and which such conferences as I have referred to might help to simplify, and perhaps find a *modus vivendi* whereby the interests of the Empire and the Colonies would be mutually advanced.

There is another important point. I think a conference might very well consider the question of emigration to the Colonies. I feel keenly the loss to the Empire of the vast multitude of your population, able bodied men and women, who leave your shores to go to the United States or other countries. The population of Ireland to-day is about half what it was in 1841. Four million people have left Ireland and the natural increase of these in fifty years would be two or three million more. Therefore we may say that six million people have been lost to Ireland alone, and have gone—where? Not to Canada, but mainly to the United States. Perhaps a large number have gone to the other Colonies, but the great bulk of them have been lost to the Empire, and those people are now among the strongest and most useful citizens in the United States. We in Canada would have taken every one of them, and gladly, and we will still take as many as can be sent from Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. I am told that the annual emigration from your shores numbers about 100,000, and we get only about 10,000 of them. If you are going to strengthen the Colonies and inaugurate a policy whereby the Colonies can be a power in the defence of the Empire, a careful study of the direction of emigrants from the United Kingdom is one of the most pressing questions in my judgment. I remember a speech delivered by our Colonial Secretary in Canada in 1888—he was not Colonial Secretary then—in which he said that the two things Canada needed were population and capital. Our population to-day is five millions. If you

want to put us in a position in which we can be of more assistance to the Empire, give us of your surplus population. The United States have about seventy-four millions. Put ten millions of people in Canada, and what would be the effect? It would be greatly to calm the diplomatists of the United States in their efforts sometimes to encroach on what we say are Canadian rights. (Laughter.) The diplomacy of the United States has been to their advantage in every treaty negotiated between the United States and the United Kingdom and if time permitted I could go over them in detail and show you that they have secured some advantage at the expense of Canada. Why? They were so powerful that they overawed us. We felt it, and suffered loss as a consequence. The other day I noticed that Mr. Hanna, the "Boss" of the Republican Party, said that the United States was not prepared to negotiate a commercial treaty with Canada in which they did not get the best of the bargain. I say to him that we will not make any commercial treaty with the United States, if we know it, by which they get the best of the bargain. We do not want to be imposed upon by reciprocity treaties which place us at a disadvantage with the United States, and it would be foolish for us to do so. To get back to my point, it is this—if you want the Empire to be strengthened send us of your people. We are encouraging the emigration of Doukhobors and Galicians and also Mennonites, but these people have to go through a course of naturalization in fact and in sentiment. Send your people to the Colonies and they are British subjects from the moment they settle, and always. They are British in their tendencies, dispositions and sympathies. I do not say ultimately that they will be better than the others, although I think they will; but immediately they are better and more helpful to the Dominion. Then as to the defence of the Empire, that cannot be over-estimated. We have sent 3,000 of our young men to the South African war. We might have given you 30,000, and would had they been required. New Zealand has sent you her 2,000 and Australia 3,000 or 4,000 more. Napoleon said that Providence was on the side of the biggest battalions. Everybody knows that the numerical strength of a country gives it a great advantage. The United States with 74,000,000 would be more dangerous in a contest than they would have been thirty years ago with only 32,000,000. Give us 10,000,000 in Canada and then should there be any attack on us by our neighbors—we do not fear anything of the sort—we should be in a far better condition to defend ourselves and the interests of the Empire than we are now. In 1812, with a population of 400,000, Canada resisted American aggression for three years and with comparatively little assistance from home, for your hands were full in waging your great wars with Napoleon. I do not make these remarks in any menacing spirit, but as a matter of good tactics. For our own defence and the defence of the Empire, the population of all the

Colonies should be increased as far as that can be done by promoting the emigration to the Colonies of those of your people who leave your shores. I understand that the agricultural settlements of your country have been depleted, and that there has been a large transfer of the population from the agricultural districts to your cities. We want agricultural labourers. We have millions of acres of productive land which yield abundantly. They have only 2,250,000 acres under cultivation in Manitoba, and they expect to see 50,000,000 bushels of grain. Give us population and it follows that the resources of the country will be developed. We have 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 of dollars on deposit with our chartered banks to-day—money that we do not need for business. We have 66,000,000 in our savings banks, the result of the thrift of our people. This shows that we are accumulating wealth steadily, but double our population and we will develop our resources more rapidly and double our wealth. If 5,000,000 people can do thus and so, what can 10,000,000 do, and, with our own natural increase, it is within the reach of some of us, I hope, to see in Canada a population of 10,000,000 or 15,000,000. The effect of that will be—what? A very rapid extension of our resources. You buy about 70,000,000 dollars worth of food products a year from us, and 800,000,000 dollars worth elsewhere. We should be able to supply you with half or two-thirds of your total food products if we had the population. We cannot produce more as it is. Your position would be stronger buying from friendly sources than by being at the mercy of an alien for your daily bread. (Cheers.) Now you would have to defend your commerce in every quarter lest an enemy should cut it off. By obtaining your food from a friendly country like Canada the danger would be less serious. By that means, too, you would help to develop our mineral resources and also our woods and forests. You require annually 500,000 tons of pulp in this country, and we have the raw material to supply you. Give us British blood and intelligence, your industrial skill and muscular force, with such supplemental British capital as would come in their wake, and there is no limit to the development to which Canada might attain, and perhaps hardly any limit to the strength that it would be to the Empire.

There is just one other important matter to which I wish to call your attention, and then I have done. I have been speaking in rather a desultory manner, but I think I have almost led up to it. It is the importance of bringing before a conference the necessity of fostering intercolonial trade. The laying of this Pacific cable is one way to help the Colonies. You guaranteed our bonds when we built the intercolonial railway. Lord Knutsford will remember that, as one of the parties to the negotiations, and I think commercially, it has not been a bad bargain. But could not a conference call attention to ways and means by which trade with the Colonies could be fostered? I do not know where you put your capital now. Everywhere, I sup-

pose. You have such a superabundance and you put it all over the world, and if it brings you a good dividend well and good, but charity begins at home. We must take care of our own household, and he who does not care for his own household has denied the faith. You have not denied your faith or attachment to the Colonies. Cannot you, then, foster our trade? Take the pulp business. Why not get your pulp in Canada instead of from Norway, the United States or Russia? Why not come to our copper mines for the enormous amount of copper you will need for your electrical developments in this country? And so on. These might be made sources of wealth to you and to us. All these would be inducements for the employment of labour and would tend to fill our homes with happiness and abundance. If I had time—I must not do it—I should like to discuss the question of preferential trade between Canada and the Empire. Without a single dissentient Canadians have given you a preference in their markets and will be glad when you are ready to give us a preference in the British market. The preference which we have given you means the loss of one or two millions of dollars to us in Customs duties. It is to our interest to give you this preference, and I was delighted that my esteemed friend and former colleague, Sir Wilfrid Laurier—(cheers)—had the honour to lend in that direction. The effect on Canadian statesmen was good, and the effect here, I believe, has also been satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) The question is a large one and I will not discuss it now. You would, of course, have to set aside some of your present convictions on the question of free trade. It might, perhaps, affect your present commercial relations with other countries. It is a far-reaching question and one requiring careful consideration, and the object we have in view cannot be brought about in a day. But I believe that it will be within the arena of practical politics soon. Perhaps not so much here as with us. It is a practical question, and can only be settled by practical men. Should we in Canada contribute to the defence of the Empire? Colonel Denison, the President of the Canadian League, suggested to me before I left—and his mind is a very practical one—this idea in regard to a defence fund. I do not think we can keep a standing army for the defence of the Empire, but I believe we can contribute something for a naval reserve. We have 50,000 fishermen who, with a little training, could be drawn on liberally for the navy. That would be an easy and a comparatively inexpensive matter. I do not think the Canadians are prepared just now to say that they will contribute thus and so for the Empire, but what Colonel Denison suggested was that over and above our present tariff, averaging 25 per cent., there should be levied upon goods coming into Canada from foreign countries—and that exempts the Colonies and the Empire—a small duty of five per cent., to be specially earmarked and designated as "Defence Fund for the Empire." That means that we should be setting apart with the knowledge and consent of the Cana



dian people, five per cent. on the cost of goods coming from the foreigner, including, of course, the United States, for a defence fund, with the understanding that all the other parts of the Empire would do the same, and there would thus be provided a considerable sum which would be from the outset appropriated and designated for the maintenance of the British Navy. It is the commerce of the Empire that we are interested in, all of us, to a very large extent. This duty of which I have spoken would form the nucleus of a defence fund, and moreover, as it would have the effect of giving the Colonies a preference of five per cent. in the British market it would meet exactly the question that we want to have met as soon as you are ready for it. That is the most practical solution of the problem of preferential trade, I submit, that I have yet heard of, and, of course, it would admit of discussion before being acted upon. The ark was not built in a day, and great nations and great political questions are not evolved in a day. We are Empire builders, and we rejoice with you in the success of the Empire, and are willing to bear our share of its burden. We ought not to receive all this protection that we get without contributing something in return. In various ways, and practical ways too, we do so already. Every dollar we spend on emigration makes the Empire stronger, every mile of railway we build makes the army more mobile in case of invasion, every man we train for military service adds to the strength of the Empire. These are matters by the way, and I only speak of them incidentally, but if another measure can be found by which we can see distinctly that we are contributing to the defence of the Empire without imposing undue burdens on our people, and if it should be adopted universally by the Empire, I am sure that the Canadians will offer no objection to it, but will willingly bear their portion of the burden. I thank your lordship for this patient hearing. (Cheers.)

The Earl of Aberdeen: I am sure we all feel indebted to Mr. Ross for this extremely interesting, suggestive and eloquently delivered address. (Hear, hear.) A full report will, no doubt, be available of what he has said, and thus his statements and thoughtful suggestions will have careful and proper consideration, and that is a great matter. Now, before I move a vote of thanks formally, and we adjourn, may I just make one or two remarks. Mr. Ross has been good enough to say that I could testify to the state of feeling of loyalty in Canada, and so on. That is so, but not only that, for I am one of those who can testify to the growth of that feeling. I was in Canada before I went there officially, and I remember when walking along in Toronto with that same good friend who has been mentioned, Colonel Denison, I said, "What a curious looking flag that is there." It was a blend of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack. When I drew Colonel Denison's attention he looked disgusted and said, "I do not like it." Well, you do not see it now. They do not have the Stars and Stripes mixed

up with the Union Jack in these times. (Hear, hear.) And this splendid burst of loyalty in a practical shape which we have witnessed during the past eighteen months in connection with the war is all the more significant and satisfactory when we observe that it is not a sudden spasmodic outburst, but the climax and culminating point of what has been slowly growing for a number of years. (Hear, hear.) While Mr. Ross reassures us in this country on these matters, I think we may reassure him on such points as this, for example, that if he hears about Little Englanders there is no need for him to worry. (Laughter.) My belief is that it is a sort of bogey, a political nickname. I do not find these people. I do suppose I am one myself. I had the privilege for five years of industriously inculcating the maxims of the glory of the Empire, especially among school children whom I have visited month after month, and I again say I think there is little of that in reality, and my impression is that it is a sort of bogey which is used for political ends. I move a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Ross for giving us such an effective and eloquent address. (Cheers.)

Sir Frederick Young: My lord, I should very much like to second it. I should have liked a little talk on the subject, but I understand that this is not the opportunity, and therefore I will abstain, but I intended to give a gentle caveat against one or two of the views expressed by Mr. Ross. Let me just say one word with regard to the course of Imperial Federation. As is well known, I have been one of the pioneers of that question for twenty-five years and a strong advocate of the principle, still I need hardly assure Mr. Ross that I am one of those who do not wish to be impatient concerning it, and I desire that we should not be prophets and say what is going to be, because we cannot tell what may ultimately come about. All I can say with regard to the suggested conferences is, I think, that they are admirable most excellent things, and I entirely endorse all that Mr. Ross has said as to the desirability of having them as frequently as possible in this country, and more particularly with regard to one of the questions he has enumerated, that of emigration, which I think may well occupy the attention of such a conference with a view to some practical results. For many long years I have taken an active part in that particular question, and I should like to see the Government taking it up with the object of carrying out what Mr. Ross has so eloquently and admirably described. (Hear, hear.)

Viscount Knutsford: I should like to give my most hearty support to what has been proposed and seconded. We have listened with very great attention and interest to the words that have been uttered by Mr. Ross, and I only wish there had been more of us, but the thunderstorm as stopped members from coming. The noble chairman at the beginning rather intimated, I think, that Mr. Ross would touch on subjects with which, perhaps, we might not be in accord with him.

There was only one such question, I think, so far as I am concerned, and that was in reference to preferential duties, and I must say that he skated over it in a way that would have done justice to any Canadian skater. (Laughter.) But what I really rose for was that, being chairman of the first Conference, that held in 1887, which I believe did a great deal of good, I wish to express my hearty support of what Mr. Ross has said in favour of regular conferences. Of course, it is impossible to have a permanent Council for the reasons he has given. It implies the taking away from the Colonies for a long time their best men. You cannot expect them to agree to that. They can, however, send to the conferences their best men, and they have done so in the past. I venture to say with regard to the Conference of 1887 that you could not have found more competent statesmen than were seated around that table under my chairmanship. There are many other points of interest to which one might refer, but I think this is not the occasion, and therefore I will content myself now with heartily concurring in the vote of thanks to Mr. Ross for his interesting statement. (Cheers)

The motion having been agreed to, and formally acknowledged by Mr. Ross, the proceedings terminated.

## *Mr. Ross at Manchester.*

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The fourth annual general meeting of the League was held in the Lord Mayor's Parlour, at the Manchester Town Hall, on Wednesday, 31st July, 1901. The chair was occupied by Earl Egerton, of Tatton (President of the Manchester Branch, and a Vice-President of the League), and among those present were the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Thos. Briggs), the Earl of Onslow (Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a Vice-President of the League), Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G. (ex-Premier of South Australia), the Hon. George W. Ross (Premier of Ontario), Mr. F. C. Danson, Sir Horace Tozer, K.C.M.G.; Sir Frank Forbes Adam, C.I.E.; Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P.; Mr. J. K. Bythell, Mr. R. Barclay, Sir John Mark, Mr. Alderman Gibson, Colonel Pilcher, Mr. Gustav Behrens, Mr. H. W. Marcus, Mr. Alex. McNeill (Canada), Colonel Cargill, and Mr. C. Freeman Murray (Secretary). Mr. Ross, on being called, spoke as follows:—

My lord, my Lord Mayor, ladies and gentlemen,—I am delighted that on the occasion of my third visit to England I have had, among many other great pleasures, this particular one of meeting with the members of the British Empire League in annual meeting assembled. For many years I have been a member of the League in Canada, and have reciprocated, as far as I knew how, what I thought was and believed to be the sentiments of the parent League in this country. Since my visit here I have had many opportunities of knowing personally, as well as by report, the purpose and object of the League, and I can say now that I think much more of its usefulness as an organization for developing the spirit of Imperial unity than I ever did before, and I can conceive of no greater purpose to which a body of British subjects could apply themselves than in endeavouring to diffuse throughout the British Empire that one sentiment of autonomy and unity. (Applause.) Look at a map of the British Empire. It appears to be a thing of shreds and patches, not like the great Empires of Germany or of Russia, or like the great Republic of America, a solid federation or organ-

ization, but scattered over the whole of the globe; and one wonders if it be possible that from its "power house on the line," as Kipling calls it, there can go forth to the extremities of the Empire such a pulsation of unity and of national feeling as will make those at the remotest points feel that though far removed from the centre they are still vitally connected with it. We in Canada felt for many years that while we were much admired as a Colony we were not much appreciated. We now believe that we are appreciated as well as admired, thanks to a certain extent to the present Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, and others here. In a certain sense the clouds have rolled away, and we feel that we are nearer the heart of the Empire, warming our hands at the same fireside at which the hands of the great men who have upheld this Empire have been warmed for centuries. (Applause.) Lord Onslow has referred to the union of the Colonies by the war in the Transvaal. It is said that Bismarck precipitated the Franco-German war for the purpose of uniting the German provinces. Whether that was his object or no—it was perhaps only one of his objects—he succeeded at all events in achieving it, and it seems to me not a little curious that a scion of the same Teutonic blood should have precipitated this war in the Transvaal which, under the guidance of the Providence that rules all things, has had a similar effect upon the Empire. In the Transvaal struggle there has been mixed together the blood of the Colonists, as well as the blood of those who fought and won the battles of Waterloo and Inkerman, and now we are one in a sense that we never were before. (Applause.) Still, it is well that we should look over the ground and see how the union which now appears to be so substantial in sentiment can be made more substantial in fact. (Applause.) How can the British Empire in the face of the tremendous commercial competition of the world best maintain its position amongst the nations? I am not here to predict ruin and decay, but as one having had some experience in the organization of our Canadian Federation, and as having looked on with admiration at the formation of the Australian Commonwealth, I think the time has come when the great men who rule this country should see if some means cannot be devised whereby in one federation, consecrated by the loyalty and devotion of His Majesty's subjects all the world over, there might not be formed an Empire that would stand together Colonially as well as Imperially. (Cheers.) I think we are

on the eve of that time, and I could give you many reasons but will trouble you with few. I do not know just what form that federation would assume. The evolution of States is a slow process. The evolution of the British Constitution took ages; the evolution of Canada took many years; but may we not hope that some time or other, under the shadow of Westminster, there shall be an assembly from the remotest corners of this Empire—Colonists with devoted hearts and loyal purpose—who will assist in binding together more closely the various parts of the Empire than they are now bound, and uniting not by mere sentiment—although we cannot leave sentiment alone—but by fact as well as sentiment all the Colonies, so that when the world looks upon the British Empire it will look not upon an England splendidly isolated (as she is understood to be), but upon an Empire splendidly united from one corner of the globe to the other. (Cheers.) That must be the Britain of the twentieth century if I mistake not. (Cheers.) We shall not be content always as Colonies to maintain our present isolation. I do not say that we insist on a closer union, but we believe that for you and for us a closer union will be an advantage to all. (Applause.) Let it be discussed and considered. There have been conferences between the Imperial authorities and the Colonies, and, so far as Canada is concerned, they have been of much service to us. I understand from Mr. Chamberlain that he expects during the Coronation time next year to have another conference with representatives of the Colonies. In this way we shall come to understand each other better, and there are many questions we might discuss apart from that of a Federated Parliament. Sir John Cockburn referred to the simplification of the marriage laws. That is a very important matter. And could we not unify the currency of the Empire, the system of weights and measures, and have a uniform and more satisfactory system of insolvency laws for the whole Empire? When a man in Manchester sells his goods to a Canadian he does not know whether he will get a hundred cents or one cent for his dollar. A uniform insolvency law would clear away that difficulty. I know that there are practically similar postal laws, and now it is proposed to have a similar telegraph system, which is another good thing. In this age we cannot afford to wait for steamboats for our mails. We must get quickly to business, and we can only get quickly to it through the submarine cables. And then we must have some sort of reciprocity

with regard to professions. Your Lord Chancellor could not practise law in Canada; he could not issue a writ for £5; your most distinguished medical men could not administer the simplest remedial medicine to a sick man in the city of Toronto. Our doctors could go and fight in the Transvaal, but they could not administer relief to the Canadian boys who went there with them because they had no credentials for entering the medical service of the Empire. These are things that a conference might discuss. Many of us feel that we are members of the same family, that we belong to a common household, and that we all have mutual interests in that household. (Applause.) These are a few of the matters that occur to me as I pass along that would help to remove some difficulties. Then I pass to another question. While a conference might take up these I have referred to in passing, it should certainly also take up a most important matter which to me appears to be vital. What do we want in the Colonies most all things? We want population. Our capital is accumulating very steadily, but our population is not increasing as fast as it ought to do. What is being done with the surplus population of this country as it leaves your shores year after year? Where does it go? I had a statement put into my hand by the agent of our Government in London yesterday, which he said he believed was true. It is to this effect: 1,728,000 people left the United Kingdom between 1881 and 1890. Of these 68 per cent. went to the United States, 17 per cent. to Australia, and 13 per cent. to British North America. I have no quarrel with the United States, but I should much prefer that the 68 per cent. had gone to Canada, and the 13 per cent. to the United States. (Applause.) Between 1891 and 1900 you sent away 726,000 persons, at the rate of 72 per cent. to the United States, 13 per cent. to British North America, 7½ per cent. to Natal, and 5½ per cent. to Australia. What is my argument? It is this—if you want to strengthen the Empire strengthen the Colonies. (Applause.) The United States is strong enough already with its 74,000,000 of population. Canada has fewer than 6,000,000. In any trouble between Great Britain and the United States Canada would be the fighting ground, and we want to see that there are fighting men on the fighting ground when that time comes. (Applause.) In 1782 we were a population of 400,000, and we held the Americans in check for three years, while they had 8,000,000 of people. If under those circumstances we held our own,

how much stronger we should be now if Canada had 10,000,000 population instead of 5,000,000. (Applause.) That is one way of defending the Empire. Sir John Cockburn has referred to the defence of the Empire. The Empire will be strong in defence if the Colonies are strong. If an enemy strikes, where does he strike? Hei! Not at all. He will give you here a wide margin, he will not approach this island; he will strike Canada, Natal, Australia, somewhere abroad. If you want the Empire to be fortified let it be done not so much by expenditure on fortifications—that is good in its way, of course—as by filling up our vast prairies and fertile areas by such men as leave your shores as a matter of course. By doing so you will make the Canadian Colony stronger, and that will be one of the best defences the Empire can have. We have only one-and-a-half persons to the square mile in Canada, and you have 350 people to one square mile here. Why, if we had a population of equal size in proportion to our area of square miles, we should have a population of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 of people. Supposing we had 20,000,000 in Canada—who would be afraid of military aggression then? I believe it is the duty of Government to foster the trade of the Empire, and by fostering our population you would be fostering trade. Manitoba gave us 30,000,000 hushels of wheat last year, and Manitoba has a population of 250,000. Put there another 250,000 people, and you will have 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 hushels more. Providence has given us a good climate and a fine soil, and we only want men to till that soil. The population of Ireland is half what it was fifty years ago. Where did the 4,000,000 go to? To Canada! Not at all, I am sorry to say, because the Irish are our best settlers. (Applause.) We are proud of the Irish race. (Applause.) They are as easily governed in Canada as any other people, although you seem to have some trouble with them here. (Laughter and applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, what I want to impress upon you is this (it is one part of my mission to England to see if we cannot assist and direct emigration to Canada), that in your own interests you should find some means to so direct this great vital stream of 100,000 men and women who leave your shores every year that the Colonies will get the benefit of it and not a foreign country. Of course I speak with all respect of the United States, and when I say foreign country I mean that we should not direct the stream of emigrants to any country whose interests are adverse to ours. (Ap-



plause.) And that leads me to another question; by fostering trade with Canada you will not only make us stronger financially and numerically, but you will help to bind us together as an Empire. Trade follows the flag. Trade follows where there is the least resistance, and where there is the largest margin of profit. Has the Empire done anything to foster trade with Canada? Not a great deal. But it has done something, and we are grateful for what it has done. What more can it do? Ladies and gentlemen, if you look at the resources of our country, at its vast agricultural area, and at its latent mineral resources, you will see that there is room there for an investment of capital that, I believe, would be profitable and would yield you a dividend, and that would transfer, not to a foreign country, but to one of your own Colonies, the wealth which accumulates here, and which seems to be accumulating with such wonderful rapidity. You are consuming half a million tons of wood pulp for the manufacture of paper every year. We have in Ontario an area of supply that would keep you going for at least 300 years. That country has been thoroughly inspected by experts, and their report is that something like 300 millions of tons of pulp can there be obtained. There is one base of supply which we think might well be exploited. (Applause.) And then another question arises. You wish to defend the Empire. What do you propose to do? You must have a concrete scheme, and the Colonies are not averse to contributing towards the defence of the Empire. If you want to defend the Empire you have got to defend the commerce of the Empire, and if you defend the commerce of the Empire why not make it pay for that defence. That, I submit, is the logical outcome of the question. I say to you here in Manchester that we are willing—I think we are willing—in Canada to impose a duty of five per cent. on all importations from any foreign country, excepting the Colonies of the Empire, the money to be applied as a war tax or as a defence fund for the defence of the Empire. Will you reciprocate that? Will you impose a five per cent. tax on all imports from foreign countries, excluding the Colonies, as a defence fund for the defence of the Empire? Surely that is a practical basis. ("No, no.") You say no. Work it out and see. That is the thought I give you to-day. I am not the originator of it, and I have only one object in putting it forward. I say, if the commerce of the Empire is to be defended there must be a tax such as I have described, and that's the

logic of it all. But if you think that that is not the solution, let us try and find some other solution. (Hear, hear.) And now, Lord Eger-ton, I am sorry I have kept you so long. ("No, no," and "Go on.") I repeat my appreciation of your kindness in asking me to meet the League, and the kindness and courtesy with which I have been received here to-day. You may depend upon it, Canada will not desert you, just as surely as we are convinced you will not desert Canada. (Applause.) We have but one purpose, one common purpose, and that is to make the most of our opportunities, to let the world see that there is enough vitality in this old land to live through these little troubles in the Transvaal, to look on—sometimes with indifference—at the growling of those discontented with your way of doing things, and still more, to bring directly under your own guardianship those Colonies which you have planted at a great cost, so that together we may stand, if need be, a rampart against the world. (Loud applause.)

## Mr. Ross at Niagara Falls.

A large party of Liberals crossed the lake on the *Chippewa* on the afternoon of the 21st of September to meet the Premier and Mrs. Ross at Niagara Falls. Among those present were Hon. E. J. Davis, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. R. Harcourt, Minister of Education; Hon. J. Dryden, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. J. T. Garrow, K.C.; Messrs. H. M. Mowat, K.C., Hugh Blain, Rev. Dr. Dewart, etc., etc. At Niagara Falls wharf a procession was organized headed by the band of the Q.O.R., which proceeded to the Park to meet Mr. and Mrs. Ross, who were arriving by special train. Mr. H. M. Mowat, K.C., presided, and presented the congratulations of the Liberal party to the Premier on his safe return to Canada, assuring him that all were united—Reformers, Imperialists, Radicals and old Liberals—in the desire to give him an enthusiastic and affectionate welcome home. He said: "Liberals love a leader who leads, and they always fall in behind a leader in whose honesty of purpose they believe—a leader whose love of country is conspicuous and intense. Your countrymen have noted with pride your efforts in the Old Country to stimulate the interest of the English, Scotch and Irish people in Canada. We have all known you were ever ready to take hammer in hand for the forging of the links of the Empire, and your public endeavors to make the people thoroughly understand the methods of strengthening the commercial ties between Canada and the Old Country and directing immigrants to our wheat fields and forests have been followed with pride and satisfaction."

As the Premier stepped forward to reply he was greeted with cheer after cheer of welcome, and he could not at first make himself heard. He said:—

Mr. Mowat, ladies and gentlemen,—I have done so little public speaking during the last five or six weeks that I am quite unable to reply adequately to the kind words with which my name has been mentioned and my public services characterized. I would be strangely constituted indeed if I did not feel more than ordinarily impressed with the generous and friendly reception which you have given me on my return to my beloved Ontario. (Applause.)

I left Ontario for two purposes: Firstly, I wanted to look into several matters in England which I thought would be better understood on the ground than they could be studied at a distance, and, secondly, I have served my country so faithfully that I thought I

was entitled to a brief holiday, and that under ordinary circumstances you could get along well enough without me. (A voice—"No.") Both suppositions proved true. I have looked into matters of considerable moment, have conversed with many leaders of public opinion in England, some members of the House of Commons, some members of the House of Lords, many citizens of high repute, and I believe I am better equipped now for public life than ever before. In regard to the second observation, I am convinced I made no mistake. I left the government of this country in the hands of colleagues who are able, talented and loyal. (Cheers and cries of "They're all right.") And I have not found that in my absence public interests have suffered in the slightest degree. I believe they are all the better for having been left in that condition for a short time. I am glad to say I am returning in good health and in good spirits, quite satisfied that Canada is prosperous and quite hopeful as to the prosperity, material and political, of this country for the future.

#### BRITISH OPINION CHANGING.

It is very gratifying to me, on my third visit to the Old Land, to find that the opinions of the people of the Mother Country have changed a good deal in the last fifteen years. It is quite true that we are thought of more than we were fifteen years ago. It is quite true that we are better known now than then, and I think I may say, without any reflection on the people of England, that it would not hurt them or us if we were even better known than we are now.

Several circumstances have combined to produce the present condition of affairs. First, the part taken by Canada in the great Jubilee celebration of 1897 indicated to the people of England that we had men of high repute, high standing and high character connected with public affairs. No name is more highly prized, no man of colonial origin in all the dependencies of the Empire is more highly esteemed, than the great leader of the Liberal party of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Cheers.) It was indeed a very gratifying circumstance to me, to know that not only are we considered materially one of the greatest colonies of the Empire, but to feel that the men who have the destinies of our country under their control are regarded as among the greatest statesmen of the Empire. (Cheers.)

The policy of the great Liberal party in giving a preference to the products of the British Empire in the markets of Canada has done a great deal to foster a feeling of sympathy and respect between Canada and the Empire. What British statesmen say is, "While you have a tariff that shuts out all nations not of British blood, and while in the exercise of your rights as a free colony you are at liberty to frame your tariff to suit yourselves, we regard it as a great compliment that you give to us, who are part of the Empire, the Mother Country, a preference you do not give to foreign countries. This you do with

a detriment to your revenue of perhaps a million or two—a gift you fling at the foot of the throne, a specific and tangible gift acknowledging your relation to the Empire, and one which you would not have given were it not for your fealty to the Empire.”

This appreciation of British trade has called attention to Canada in a very special manner, and I have spoken to men in Liverpool and Manchester who, in the kindest terms, expressed appreciation of what we have done. (Applause.) To get at the heart of the business men of England, to get a kindly touch between the great course of English trade and the smaller streams which flow from this land, is an advantage that will bring much greater results in the future than it has yet done. I am confident of this.

#### CANADA AND THE WAR.

In the third place, the attitude of Canada towards the Empire in the South African war, the sacrifices we made, and the chivalrous manner in which we sent our sons to fight the battles of the Empire, the loyal spirit we then showed, have struck a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the English people that perhaps nothing else would have done, (Cheers.) It was an occasion of common danger, it was an occasion when the Empire felt a great contest could only be settled in a strenuous way, and although Britain felt equal to the task alone, to find Canada and the Colonies come to her assistance—not so much because she needed it as because the colonial spirit is a loyal spirit—impressed colonial loyalty on the Empire as never before. Then there is the fact that a distinguished Canadian, Lord Strathcona, at his own expense, contributed so materially to the conduct of the war; this, I think, added all that need be said to indicate why the feeling towards Canada has improved as it has in the last fifteen years.

I was glad of this, because I was impressed on former occasions with what appeared to me to be a spirit of indifference; I felt as if the people of Britain looked upon Canada as one of her colonies, of course to be preserved, but with no special interest, and I remonstrated, as perhaps some of you may have noticed, in some speeches on the extent to which that indifference prevails still. Much as has been done in the last four or five years, much yet remains to be done. I must not charge the people of the British Empire with indifference; that would be an unfair charge, but I do say we are not yet known as well as we ought to be. While there may not be the same intense interest on the part of Imperial statesmen in Canadian affairs as I think there ought to be, still I think we have not ourselves done our full duty.

#### A SPIRIT OF INDIFFERENCE.

Looking at the Empire from the centre, and I tried to put myself in the place of British statesmen in the last three or four months, I found

that the concerns of the Empire are most engrossing. Great Britain, in order to maintain her supremacy, has to study diplomacy as a fine art. She must guard against the aggressions of Russia on her Indian frontier, she must guard against combinations against her, must study public opinion in Germany and France, and has to see that the United States pays due deference to her interests on the American continent. From her central watch tower, as it were, she has to guard commerce on every sea, to see that her army is maintained in a due state of efficiency, and that her navy is not eclipsed by the navies of France, Germany and Russia.

From that central point she watches the fate of the Empire in the four quarters of the world, guarding 340,000,000 people as a mother would guard her children. (Cheers.) So it is very difficult to get English statesmen to sit down and consider the affairs of one colony. The family is so large, the interests so diverse, the maintenance of England as a first-rate power involves such tremendous responsibilities, that you can hardly expect Imperial statesmen to turn from great affairs, which to them are major, though to us they are minor, to smaller ones, which to us are major and to them are minor. I discussed this subject with a number of statesmen. Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Broderick, Secretary for War, were very strongly impressed. I remonstrated with them in a mild way, or perhaps I should not use the word remonstrate. I led the discussion to that particular point. I said, "How is it we Canadians feel that you are not giving direct and specific attention to matters that we consider of immense importance, and that you are busy with other matters in which we take no particular interest?" The answer I received was practically in line of my argument a moment ago, that Canada is a great colony, but not the only colony of the Empire. "Look at our Indian Empire, with three hundred million people, and her frontier to the north; look at the policy of the United States, sometimes, as we think, endeavoring to encroach upon us. All these are great questions essential to the Empire. You do not see them as we do. Whilst we have not done perhaps as much as you think we should have done, we have not been able to do as much as we would have liked."

#### THE CANADIAN SIDE.

I have endeavored to put myself in the position of looking on the situation from a British standpoint. Turning to the Canadian standpoint, our position is: "We have Canada primarily to deal with. We have an interest in Imperial concerns incidentally—and the larger interest we take in Imperial concerns the better Canadians we will be." (Applause.) We must therefore broaden the horizon of our politics; perhaps we have done well enough in the past, but I am looking to the future, and there are two or three lines to which I have called attention in Great Britain to which I may refer here. In the

first place, I made it my business to see as far as I could the nature and extent of the British market for Canadian products. There is no doubt our position is an easy one if we understand it properly. There the market is, it awaits us; the question is, how are we to secure it? I spent part of a day in the Liverpool and a day in the Manchester market to see what produce was exposed for sale there. I chose these cities because I understand that within fifty miles of Manchester there are 7,000,000 people. I compared the produce shown with what we can produce, and asked myself the question, "Are we able if we apply ourselves to supply these goods that the British consumer must have?" Fancy to ourselves what 7,000,000 must purchase. In looking over the field I was satisfied that of nine-tenths of the produce exposed for sale in Liverpool and Manchester we were able, if we went about it in the right way, to supply the British consumer with articles just as good as, or perhaps better, than those purchased from day to day there. (Applause.)

#### A VERY SMALL SHARE.

Let it be not forgotten that of \$800,000,000 worth of food supplies which the British consumer buys Canada sells only about 10 per cent.—less than 10 per cent. Where does the other 90 per cent. come from? There are wheat from Russia, fruit from France, butter from Denmark—produce from all parts of the world pours into that market. Why don't we send more to that market? For two reasons. Firstly, John Bull is somewhat conservative. He opened an account with Russia for wheat fifty years ago and has been carrying on transactions with Russia ever since. He has an account with the United States for wheat, and he is not going to buy Canadian products unless he finds that the products will be submitted to him in a business-like way. Every business man must send out his travellers. It is our business to send our travellers in a national sense to Great Britain and convince the men who have accounts with Germany, Russia, the United States and France that if they open an account with us we can supply goods as good and on terms as satisfactory, while at the same time we establish friendly relations between the great colony and the Empire.

#### THE OPPORTUNITY FAVORABLE.

I believe that Great Britain is now more favorably disposed to buy from Canada than ever she was, and I believe that if proper steps are taken, never was there a more favorable opportunity of getting into the British market than to-day. We have proved that we can supply things adequate to the taste of the British consumers; we do supply them with a great deal at present. We have proved that our bacon is equal to the best they can obtain anywhere; we have proved to them that our butter is equal to the best they get, the Danish

butter; that our eggs are equal to the best they can get from France. (Applause.) And it remains for us to follow up these evidences of ability and skill to produce articles to suit the British taste by expanding that trade, and seeing that nothing but the best articles suitable to the British market are placed upon that market. (Hear, hear.) Nothing can be more damaging to Canada than to send inferior articles there. (Hear, hear.) There is a large market for Canadian fruit there if we go about it in the right way. I am not sure that I can say what the right way is, although I have some opinions about it that I never had before, which I have formed as a result of my observations while in Great Britain.

#### THE QUESTION OF PREFERENCE.

Another phase of the question is, "Will Britain give a preference to Canadian goods in the British market?" As I have said, many compliments were passed upon Canada because of the preference given to British goods in our markets. In Manchester I said, "Your markets are free to the Canadian producer. Thank you for free trade between Canada and Great Britain, between the members of your own family and the parent island, but you do as much for Russia and for Germany and for France, and all other countries, and in this way you treat your enemies in precisely the same way as you treat your friends." Is not that a good argument? I will not say that it was a conclusive argument in that it produced results, as John Bull is very conservative and sometimes does not act when he is convinced. (Laughter and applause.)

You may ask me if there is any strong feeling in England in favor of free trade? I would answer equivocally, "Yes" and "No."

#### AN UNDERCURRENT AT WORK.

I believe there is an undercurrent of public opinion in Great Britain which, if well directed, would soon change public opinion there to agree with public opinion in Canada. A public man in England is very much the same as a public man in Canada. He does not want to risk his neck in any propaganda or policy until he feels public opinion is to a certain extent with him. In England they have so well settled down in free trade theories that any man who asks that a slight duty be placed upon food products is looked upon as a heretic by the British public. The first thought that comes to a public man's mind there, as here, is, "If I advocate such a policy I am going against public opinion." But any man can easily find that there is a scepticism as to the soundness of absolute free trade as applied to the policy of Great Britain. I must not mention names, but I could, if I were at liberty to do so, give you the names of many prominent men who hesitated to pledge themselves as strongly to free trade as they might have done. I have no doubt in my own mind that many



of us will live to see such a change in the public opinion of Great Britain as will, I think, grant us what I believe is of very great importance to us. (Cheers.)

#### THE DEFENCE OF COMMERCE.

In order to render the matter easy I made this suggestion. You know the British taxpayer says, "We have not called upon you to take part in the defence of the Empire," and there is a plausibility in the thought expressed there. "When we pay £30,000,000 for the maintenance of our navy, and almost as much for the maintenance of our army for the protection of the commerce of the colonies, as well as the Mother Country, it is incongruous that the colonies do not contribute anything towards the cost of that protection which they receive." I said: "There is no doubt that that proposition is a reasonable one. We do share in the benefit of every dollar expended on the navy, which is maintained not only for sentimental but for material defence, and the question is in what way can the colonies assume any portion of the cost of the defence of their commerce." I argued that question, "Why should we be called upon to contribute towards the expense of the navy?" We attack no one; we have no quarrels with anybody. We are living at peace with the world. The only place from which we can have any fear of attack is from the United States, and we are not going to quarrel with the United States. If there is any quarrel it will be between the Mother Country and the United States. Why should we be made to contribute towards the expense of a quarrel to which we were not a party? That is not an absolutely illogical position to take.

#### A DEFENCE FUND.

Supposing we say that the commerce of the Empire that you say has to be protected by the British navy should bear the cost of its own protection. But supposing we came to an understanding upon this score, and this tentative proposition (suggested to me, as I said, in the Mother Country by Col. Denison) were adopted. Supposing the commerce of the empire, which you say is protected by the British navy, should bear the cost of its own protection. What then? You see that is not logical. If we have a trade of \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 with England, that requires some protection, and it is not unreasonable that we get some protection for that; and my suggestion was that a tax of 5 per cent. upon all foodstuffs imported into the empire from all other parts of the world would furnish a fund for the common defence of the empire. That view of the situation commended itself to most of the men I spoke to more fully than any other, for this reason, that England realizes the tremendous burden which the cost of this war has imposed upon her—£201,000,000 sterling up to April 30th last—and with the cost of the war amounting to about \$6,000,000 per week, and still going on.

## LOOKING FOR RELIEF.

That money must be found somewhere. The taxpayers of England are burdened almost to the last pound, the income-tax being now one shilling and two pence in the pound. What the English taxpayer is next going to consider is this: "Is there any other way that we can shift the burden of taxation?" We have the tax on our income, and tobacco and spirits are taxed to the last notch. Is there any other way that the burden can be distributed? It must not be shifted in such a way as to involve an attack upon free trade which is sacred to the mind of the British people. You must not attack that, except as a war defence measure. If you can get it at all, my opinion is that is the way to get it. The fact is that the middle class, as well as the aristocratic class, all owners of property, feel they are overburdened with taxation, and are willing to shift the burden from their own to the shoulders of somebody else. In making that adjustment I believe it is possible by a proper and statesmanlike representation, to bring about such a change as will serve the purpose and lead some day to preferential trade. (Cheers.) This view is speculative, I admit, but we must study this question before we can find a solution.

## TO STRENGTHEN THE COLONIES.

The next question asked was, what will the colonies do towards the defence of the empire? I answered. Would a proposition like this meet your approval: You are sending out every year something like 100,000 people from the United Kingdom. You have cut the population of Ireland almost in two in the last 50 years, reducing it from 8,000,000 to 4,500,000. Of course the greater number of these people did not come to us. Where are all these people going? Where are the tens and hundreds of thousands from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales going? We get a small percentage of them, it is true, but where are the others going? If you want to make the colonies strong and put them in a position to defend the empire, send us your surplus population. This is a most important matter. I must not speak too boldly, but I do feel this is a view of the question which Englishmen never considered seriously. I think I am speaking within the absolute truth when I say that this view had never occurred to them. (Hear, hear.) I remember discussing it briefly with Lord Lansdowne, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and a former Governor-General of the Dominion, who takes a lively interest in Canada to-day, and he felt the importance of it. At least he said so, and I have no doubt he was sincere, and in the meetings I addressed—I only addressed three or four altogether—I said in my view that that and the trade question, taking the two as one, is the keystone to the future prosperity of Canada. (Hear, hear.)

## A SIMPLE PROBLEM.

I said to them, "If little Manitoba, with a population of 250,000, can produce 50,000,000 bushels of wheat, put a million people in there and you have a basis of food supply for the empire, and you need not go to Russia, nor anywhere else, as you have to now, and you will have to depend upon no foreign country for your food." (Cheers.) Put 10,000,000 people in Canada, and you need not be afraid of anybody. (Cheers.) The United States would not attack us if we were 10,000,000, nor would anybody else. If it took England two years to subdue 250,000 Boers, how long would it take the United States to subdue 10,000,000 Canadians? (Cheers.) They would never do it this side of eternity. (Renewed cheers.) I have resolved to give considerable attention to this phase of the question, believing public opinion in Canada will be with me in doing this. (Cheers.)

We want people in this country, and we want people who are of our own kith and kin, men trained in the British school, men educated in the confident belief in British institutions, who speak our own language, and who practise the religion of our own people of one denomination or another. (Cheers.) That will be the best defence for Canada. Switzerland, with a population of 2,000,000, has defied the strongest powers of Europe. We have room here for fifty or sixty million people, and it should be our duty to address ourselves to this problem, to encourage men of our own blood who leave the shores of the mother country to come here and help us to build up our country.

## "WHAT DO THEY THINK OF US?"

May I be permitted in closing to say that the attention which I received as your representative exceeded my most sanguine anticipations. Everywhere I asked for an interview, whether it was with the Colonial Secretary, with the Minister of War, with the Foreign Secretary, or with the leader of the House of Commons, that interview was immediately granted. (Applause.) All seemed to be anxious to know "what is thought of us in Canada?" One would say: "What do you think of this South African war and of the position of Great Britain?" My answer to that always was: "This war must go on until the British arms are victorious, no matter what the cost. Britain must not surrender; Canada will feel that you have disgraced yourselves if you do." (Cheers.)

The Chairman said that the Liberal party was composed of Liberals and Radicals, and some Imperialists. I hope you do not misunderstand the meaning of this word "Imperialist." It ought to signify, in the broadest view which any man can take, the empire to which we belong. Do not think that the word means the aristocratic domination or promotion of the interests of the few to the disadvan-

tage of the many. Imperialism means that the British Empire is one, and that her interests are one, and that what makes the British Empire great makes Canada great; if Britain falls Canada falls; that if Canada is hurt the empire is hurt; that if you strike a blow at the empire you strike Canada. (Cheers.)

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EMPIRE.

Every railway we build, every ship constructed, every canal opened, is a contribution to the greatness of the empire, and I say to our friends in England, come and see what we have done to hold this great possession which you have given to us, and you will be prouder of the Canadian colonies than ever before—this great heritage, which in every moment of peril we have defended ourselves and snatched from the enemy's grasp. We are not pleading for your assistance in any mercenary way, nor do we fail in confidence in ourselves. On the other hand, there is no part of this empire that has more confidence in its future than Canada has—(hear, hear)—and there is no part of the empire that would be less disposed to beg a favor from you than we are, particularly any favor we are not entitled to. But if you have any money to spend put it in the development of our rich mineral resources, in the development of our pulp concessions, in encouraging the emigrants to settle upon our lands and upon our ranches; invest it in some of the great Canadian industries, assured that not only will it give you good dividends, but it will strengthen and build up the great empire to which you belong. (Cheers.) My Imperialism is one empire, one flag, one Canada; Canada doing its duty loyally, courageously, manfully, assuming no humiliating or weak position, but bravely taking our share of the responsibility of empire, and showing to the world that this vast heritage committed to us has been entrusted to no craven hands. (Loud cheers.)

#### A DESERVED TRIBUTE.

I thank you for the kind references to Mrs. Ross. She is a tower of strength to the Ontario Government. (Cheers.) She is the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. I was almost going to say she is a pool of Siloam, where you can get healing for some of your troubles. (Laughter and cheers.) I thank you for your kind references to her. The part which a good woman can play in the government of the country cannot very easily be defined nor very easily be expressed. (Applause.) You seem to know it. I know it and feel it, and I am sure she knows it and feels it, too, and I hope this cordial reception which you have given me to-day will have the effect of giving me more earnestness and zeal in the service of my native country than I ever possessed before. (Cheers.)

## MORE THAN PARTY SUCCESS.

I am nothing if I am not a Canadian. It is enough to be a Canadian: it is enough for all of us to feel that we have all that we need here to call forth our greatest energies, and whether we win or lose—in the electoral lists, I mean, and we are going to win the next—(cheers)—we must always feel that the great struggle of politics involves something more than party success; it involves the perpetuation of British institutions, modelled to suit the Canadian mind, the perpetuation of freedom, the perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, of justice to minorities, of respect for the law, and the manly recognition of the rights of the weaker party, if there be a weaker party. (Cheers.) I thank you for the reception you have given us.

The conclusion of Mr. Ross' address was the signal for an outburst of great cheering, which was only cut short by the announcement that it was time to leave for the boat. The sail home was a pleasant one.

