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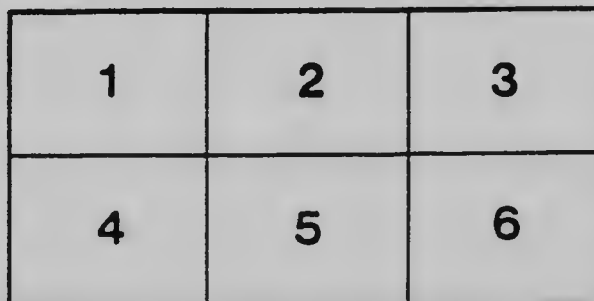
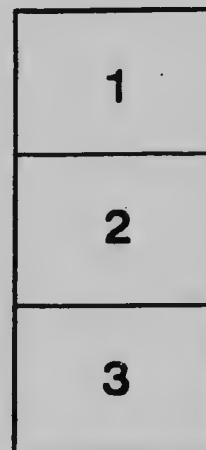
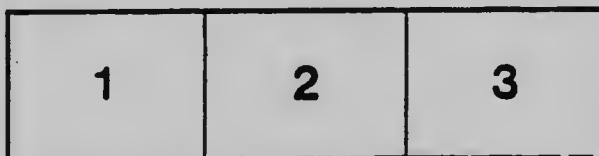
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A POLICY FOR CANADA

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One

MAKE THE PEOPLE ON THE
LAND MORE
EFFECTIVE THAN THEY
ARE AT PRESENT

Two

ESTABLISH A PROPER
EQUILIBRIUM
BETWEEN COUNTRY
AND CITY

Three

OBTAIN NEW FARMERS, WHO
SHOULD REACH
THE MAXIMUM POINT OF
EFFICIENCY IN THE
MINIMUM OF
TIME

•

1948

24

MAY

1948

THE WRITERS of these notes have not prepared them for the pleasure of writing. Living under the dreadful and overpowering cloud of the war, they have worked at it because they felt that a definite gain is to be achieved by stating a few of the inter-related problems of the life of Canada, and suggesting the application to these of the *New Method* of handling large, complex and stubborn difficulties.

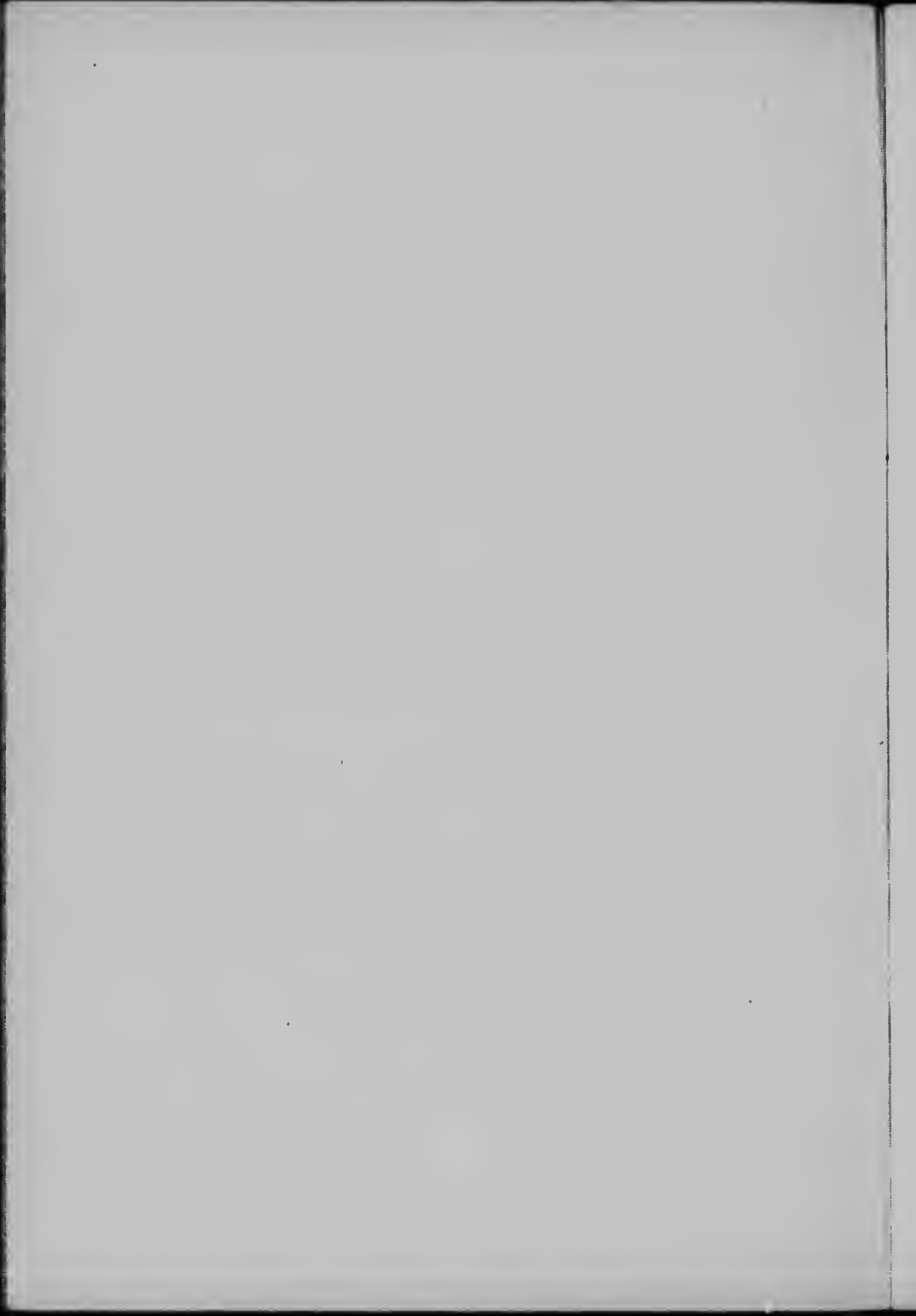
That method is to summon to the assistance of the State men of affairs, and to require them to place at its disposal, usually in a consultative way, the energy and organizing power which have produced results in the business world. In common with the Dominions, the Motherland has never before felt compelled to exact the greatest efficiency from its people; but to-day the public men of the United Kingdom realize that the whole energy of the nation must be brought to bear upon the fight, and they are reinforcing the officials who ordinarily administer its affairs with men of large experience in private enterprise.

The writers of these notes are deeply penetrated with the consciousness that this is a struggle for life and death. The continuance of the British Empire, that unexampled Commonwealth wherein equal justice is done to all men, wherein black and yellow and brown and white are equal in the eyes of the law, and wherein mercy and kindness are the inspiring motives of governance, is at stake, and every ounce of our strength must be thrown into the war. But without subtracting from our effort to win we surely can devote some of our time, a portion of our organizing ability, a share of our thoughts, to the work of preparing for the years that will follow the war. In that task the skill and influence of the men who have been a force in the development of the country should be of peculiar value.

That is the *New Method* which the writers advocate. The frank recognition of new complexities, the willingness to legislate for new phases of national life, should mean a New National Policy. We plead for a new and bold way of handling the new difficulties and of framing and driving forward the new policy.

C. A. MAGRATH.

C. F. HAMILTON.



SOME DAY the war will end. While it continues we must bend every energy to the task of winning it; but when it ends great problems will confront us. For those of us who stay at home this is in some respects a period of reflection. The need for industry, for production, is great; but it is an industry of a sort that differs from the development of the past few years. For some time we have been providing a national equipment, laying down a plant with which the future production of the nation was to be effected. To-day the war has halted the work of increasing our population to get the full use of it, so that we are occupied in getting the utmost value from the wheatfields and the factories of to-day, not in breaking the farms of to-morrow. When the war ends we must seek to grow up to our equipment; but the meantime is a season of pause. Can we not use this arrest of exploitation to prepare for the future? Can we not think over the problems of to-morrow and prepare to meet them?

Canada needs people and production more than she ever did before. She is a country with immense unsettled areas, with a small population, and with means of communication, machinery of administration, public works, sufficient for twice her present numbers. To procure that national equipment she has of late years made capital expenditures and has borrowed great sums. These capital expenditures have been made for a population much greater than that which she now possesses. To-day, at the very moment when the laying down of the national plant had about come to an end, the expenditure due to the war is causing her to add still more heavily to her financial burden. To bring the tax load down to normal she needs more people and greater production.

The Need for Agricultural Production.

Especially is agricultural production needed. During the past decade or so Canada has shared in a movement which is very widespread in the world at present: the country has lost heavily to the city, so that to-day our cities are disproportionately large. It is not good business to watch all urban growth with jealousy. A country needs industrial development as well as agricultural production, and the two must be kept in due proportions. Upper Canada learned that lesson thoroughly in the mid-years of the nineteenth century. Farming then was the one occupation of the province, and the towns were but the distributing points where the farmers sold their produce and bought their imported goods. In 1857 events occurring outside of British North America cut the price of wheat in half and the province was hit so hard that it took years to recuperate; the lesson of the need for diversity of interests was driven home, and for nearly half a century Canada has been busy with a line of development which has been thoroughly necessary, which has greatly benefited agriculture, and which like everything else has its limitations. While cities and industries are a sheer necessity to us, yet they must be kept in due relation to the rest of the community, and it is important to remember that, viewed in the bulk, the grand economic opportunity of Canada at present and for years to come is and must remain an agricultural one. For a long time the distinctive part of Canada in the

partnership of the world must be the production of food. At her door is the British market, and of that market she by no means has yet made full use. Added to this general consideration is the fact that in our cities unemployment has begun to rear its ugly head. Wide stretches of rich land are waiting for the plough, great cities overseas need to be fed, and men in Canada can find no work to do. It is a state of affairs that calls for adjustment and remedy. It is not a state of affairs to be cured by moralizing or by preaching. It is not wholly a matter of tariffs or of economic policy in the narrower sense of the term. For a great many years on this continent the march of development has been to increase the amenities of life in the city and to do little for those of the country; it is time for a serious attempt to understand and to handle the problem of rural life: for rural development above all rests on making rural life more profitable and more agreeable.

The grand problem of the rural development of Canada falls into a number of subordinate and co-related problems.

The Railway.

The railway is life. On this continent no farming district can hold its own if it has not railway communication with the markets and centres of population, and our distribution of railway lines has proceeded with little or no control on the part of the people. We have an enormous mileage in proportion to our population; but the earlier distribution of our railway lines was governed by the earlier and mistaken view of the economics of land transportation. People thought that railway rates were to be governed by competition alone, and towns and districts fought with each other to secure rival railways, only to discover that the competitors did not compete. To the era of competition has succeeded that of regulation; but the fruit of the old method is to be seen in the eccentric and unscientific distribution of our branch railways—the lines that serve the farmers. All over the country, but more especially on the prairies, we see districts which are over-served interspersed with districts which are under-served.

Methods forecast results, while results indicate methods. A map hangs in the Railway Committee Room of the House of Commons on which is marked every railway project which has been chartered by the Parliament of Canada. It is a remarkable document, eloquent of the utter lack of system with which this all-important subject has been handled. If all the lines which have been authorized were to be built, some would have to be constructed underground, for only so could they find space. Still the methods have produced the results, and it is no secret that the transportation situation in Canada is approaching a very critical stage indeed. It is to be hoped that we shall not stumble blindly into that critical stage, trusting to mere luck to stagger out again to firm ground. We know the results we must obtain in transportation if we are to be a factor in this North American Continent. We are living beside a great people who do not stop at half measures, and it is with them that we must to a large extent compete in the markets of the world. And the results at

which we should aim: what are they? A scientific distribution of rails throughout the country that will obtain the maximum of traffic at a minimum of cost. That result does not seem possible with railway companies "invading each other's territory" as has been the practice in the past. It must be admitted that the problem of determining the method is very far from being easy at this stage of our railway development. It requires courage and an honest fair treatment of honest investment. It is not going to be solved by looking at it.

The Highway.

The railway is supplemented by the highway. Often it costs more to transport the farmer's produce from his farm to the nearest railway station than it does to move it from that station to tidewater. Good market roads are necessary if the farmer is to sell his wares at a profit. The whole problem of the highway, perhaps of land transportation in general, has been changed of late by the advent of the motor car; new methods of construction must be devised, and at the same time new opportunities in local transportation are afforded to farmers. One has only to set on one side the picture of a neighbourhood intersected with suitable roads leading to a market town, and served by motor trucks carrying loads of two or three tons at eight miles an hour; and on the other the much more familiar scene of a neighbourhood provided with wretched tracks over which two horse teams drag one ton loads at two miles an hour; and he will realize what a chance the new vehicle offers if our population has the enterprise and the capital to make the advance. A Good Roads Policy—national, provincial and municipal—a policy that will develop highways to the point only of meeting the *business needs of the users*—is an urgent need of the day.

Financing the Farmer.

Transportation, by road and by rail, is only one aspect of the farmer's problem. He needs capital. If the smooth road leads past his door to the railway station, how is he to procure the motor which will enable him to make full use of that road? By having some command of capital. How is he to procure the farm machinery, the fertilizers and the other apparatus of production? How is he to manage the draining and purchase the pure-bred stock that will increase his profits? Again, by having some command of capital. Money is to be made in future if he has some ready money now. The farmer's finance needs diligent and careful consideration; especially the finance of the new settler on the prairies.

Our banking system must be spoken of with high respect; the product of private enterprise, it has grown into a remarkable instrument of credit and has promoted the industrial development of the country with an efficiency which merits due praise. But it appears to have omitted to devise some method whereby the pioneer farmer, in his earlier years of settlement, can be supplied with the cheap capital which will cause the most rapid and satisfactory enhancement of production.

This omission is the more to be noted because the history of Canada in no small part has been the devising of machinery whereby new territory would pass with ever-increasing rapidity from its first state of primitive wilderness to its more or less finished condition of maintaining a prosperous agricultural community. In the later eighteenth century the settlers who entered Upper Canada found themselves in a country which had no means of communication other than water-stretches interrupted by numerous obstructions, and devoid of capital and of social organization; it took them some years to avert mere starvation and obtain a foothold for their wrestle with nature; it cost them additional years to get the local roads, the canals, and the other means of travel and carriage; social and administrative organization took time, and the accumulation of capital was slow. In the twentieth century we apply to a given region of virgin prairie an administrative system, a transportation plant, and other methods of overcoming the early disadvantages of pioneering, which enable us in Western Canada to accomplish in a very short time results in the way of settlement and prosperity which in Ontario took forty years to achieve. Our apparatus for rapid settlement and for the production of early prosperity on the whole is excellent. But if we survey the field with care we shall conclude that on the whole less is done for the new settler in the way of finance than in regard to transportation, administration or social organization; that in this respect our equipment is not as advanced as it might be. New settlers are not people of wealth; indeed, in the vast majority of cases they are not even comfortably off. Farmers and others with reasonable means have no occasion to become pioneers. Therefore the life of the new settler is a struggle for several years until, little by little, he builds up a security sufficient for the banks. Usually as soon as he gets title to his land he mortgages it and, in comparison with other occupations, has to pay a high rate of interest, as well as a bonus by way of trimmings in connection with the machinery of the loaning system. The general effect is that the farmer works very hard, and yet does not make in his earlier years of settlement the rapid progress which the exceptional advantages of the country make possible when the virgin soil can be attacked with the full energy conferred by modern methods.

It is not contended that all this can be avoided. Cheap money of course is largely a question of security, and the soundest security is that built up through thrift and well ascertained character. It is the thrift persisted in for generations by the land occupiers in Central Europe that has made it possible for them in the twentieth century to obtain agricultural credits at from 4 to 5 per cent. We have in Canada a new population instead of a long-established one, and we cannot expect to enjoy simultaneously the advantages given on the one hand by centuries of occupancy and generations of saving; and on the other hand by the fertility of a virgin soil and the absence of the debts left by bye-gone calamities. Doubtless there are difficulties in the way of giving very low interest rates to adventurous new-comers whose antecedents cannot be examined, and whose tendency to frugality is lessened by the very enterprise they have shown in coming from afar to hazard their fortune in new surroundings. But there are equally grave difficulties to urge against the remorseless and

indiscriminate charging of very high rates of interest. High rates of interest, secured by land, cause indiscriminate lending. Western Canada passed out of the experimental stage several years ago; it now is certain that it is a great agricultural producer; but it is a "new country," and has had to pay the penalty of high interest rates. The exacters of these rates quite overlook the fact that in a fertile prairie country a farm can be developed in a very few years to a point of production equal to and even beyond that attained in forty years in the Upper Canada of pre-Confederation days. Yet all the farmers of Western Canada, thrifty or reckless, have had to pay their 8 per cent, their 10 per cent—even more. The lender omitted to study the borrower's character before acceding to his application. He forgot to ask if the loan was to be used in making the farm productive, or if it was to be used for speculation. The loan company would get its money back with the high interest, or it would get the land. For a while money was plentiful. Then the loan companies got the land, in disturbingly large areas. The present methods of financing the Western farmer, in short, to some extent, encourage recklessness, and so tend to the replacing of the individual owner of a moderate-size farm by the corporation which holds large areas. This is not a good state of affairs, for the people, for the State, or in the long run for the finance of the country.

The agricultural credit system—long term loans—has been developed to a large degree in Central Europe for the benefit of the farmers. It is conceded there are difficulties in the way of establishing such a system in Canada but farming is a business and every business needs money for its successful prosecution. The problem of cheap money for the farmers is as much national as our general banking system. It therefore seems that it is a subject that might very properly be looked at from the national standpoint.*

Better Marketing Methods.

The farmer produces food which is consumed, as a rule, at a distance from the farm. The process of moving it from the field to the table is devoid of system or control; we have periodical but none the less erratic glutting of one set of markets and little or no effort to develop others.

* A very interesting and comprehensive report was submitted to the Saskatchewan Government in the latter part of 1913 by a Commission of its own creation "to enquire into ways and means for establishing Agricultural Credit." It was found by the Commission that the rate of interest in force in the Province was largely 8 per cent, extending up to 10 per cent, and sometimes higher. An estimate given of the indebtedness of the Saskatchewan farmers at that time it probably is considerably higher now—was as follows:

Mortgages.....	\$65,000,000
Farm Machinery.....	35,000,000
Due on lands, purchases—including other miscellaneous debts.....	50,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$150,000,000

It is pointed out by the Commission that the agricultural credit of that province is costing the farmers, at 8 per cent., \$12,000,000 annually. Thus a savings of one per cent. would annually mean \$1,500,000, while if money could be furnished to them at 6 per cent. with 2 per cent. additional for sinking fund, this huge indebtedness could be paid off in 24 years by paying the then rate of interest, 8 per cent.

The producer seeks the consumer, the consumer applies to the producer, in a more or less aimless manner, and the twofold result is that the work is done with unnecessary friction and the distributing agencies take a toll so unduly large as to provoke the opprobrious epithet of "middlemen." Farming is a business, and an underlying principle of all business is to add to the profits by obtaining the last penny both in producing and in marketing. We must look forward to the framing of plans, at first in a large and general way, and, after a period of experiment, on closer lines, which in a couple of decades will give us scientific marketing as well as scientific transportation and scientific finance. To quote a recent suggestion by an agricultural journal, why should farmers sell their livestock outright to drovers? Why should not a new class of drover appear, placing the farmer's cattle on commission, thus eliminating haggling, giving the farmer the benefit of the drover's bargains with the buyer, and establishing on perfectly clear percentage of selling cost for the farmer? Here is another question for investigation and study.

The Farmer's Standard of Efficiency.

Let us suppose, next, that our farmer has proper access to a railway on which reasonable rates are charged; that from his farm to the railway station and to the local market a highway leads which does not levy an unfair toll upon his time and his energy and therefore upon the produce of his labour; that he sells his wares systematically and intelligently, instead of in the haphazard ways now pursued; that he enjoys the great advantage of cheap money: will then our problem be solved? By no means. The farmer's own standard of efficiency must be raised. A study of farm production in some of our older provinces makes that quite clear. Rates of interest on loans can be increased to a point—and probably 8 per cent. is that point—where the borrower is better off without the money. It is equally true that no matter how low the rate is, there are men who are quite unfitted to make effective use of the loan. Must the inefficient go to the wall? Surely that is unsound. Education in its proper sense has not been tried yet, and the open air and the surroundings of farm life do not naturally breed misfits. Another thing must be borne in mind. To such an extent have the rural communities of older Ontario been drained—partly by migration to the West, partly by the rush to the cities—that it is gravely to be questioned whether there is quite enough man-power on the countryside to get full value out of the land. Many districts in Ontario, long settled, with good soil, and prospering, have fewer than thirty persons to the square mile. To some extent this difficulty is inevitable at this stage of our development. So long as farms can be got on the prairies, and in New Ontario and New Quebec, for the price paid by the homesteader, so long will it be difficult to obtain farm labourers: for the man, who likes country life, who understands farming conditions and who has energy and enterprise is almost certain to make his way to the new regions. It does seem, however, that the situation will be greatly improved when farmers develop their business so as to keep, as far as practicable, help throughout the year. It has been suggested that farmers should aim at establishing labourers on their

farms by providing small cottages with good sized plots of ground for garden purposes.

While for this difficulty time must be the main cure, in the meantime there is much to be done by making farm life more profitable, easier, and also more attractive from the psychological point of view. The rural telephone, the smooth highway, the increasing use of the motor car, the improvement in social amenities which will come with increased wealth, all will bear their part. The outsider is tempted to wonder sometimes whether the farmer's wife shares sufficiently in the labour-saving devices which are the hope of rural life. Are there many farms where a windmill pumps the water for the stock in the barn and the women-folk ply the old-fashioned pump for the water used in the house? And again—there is the school. It is hardly too strong to say that from the foundation of the public school system to very recent times the whole tendency of the education supplied to the farmer's children has been to wean them away from their father's occupation. The teaching given was more immediately useful in commercial pursuits; the tone of too many of the text books, probably unconsciously, was patronizing towards the tiller of the soil. Too often in the past the real purpose of the rural school has been to afford an opportunity for the brighter pupils to escape from what all too plainly was regarded as the drudgery of agricultural life. Surely a crying need is to reorganize rural education so as to inculcate a proper frame of mind in the pupils towards the basic industry, and also, without neglecting the general cultivation of intelligence, to give a measure of vocational training which will give a foundation for more effective farming.

The Problem of Unemployment.

If there is scarcity of labour in the country, there is unemployment in the cities. It was beginning to show itself before the war; in some cities the war has intensified it; the conclusion of the war, unless we make our preparations in time, may see it become very acute. The contrast emphasizes the absolute necessity of some sound system of distribution and control of floating labour. In the country's mineral, forest, fisheries, and industrial development, labour can be employed, in large masses, throughout the entire year. Seasonal unemployment, which is increasing in the cities, should be open to some solution as regards these industries. Agricultural employment is a different matter, as the work slackens during the winter, though greater attention to the animal industry would give a more continuous demand for labour throughout the year; in fact, farmers to be really successful must work to that end. Viewing the entire field, the conclusion may be hazarded that it is possible to harmonize to some extent the labour situation in its application to all production. For example, the large transportation companies find that their success depends upon their working up return loads, and they bend their energies to this end; something of the sort can be done with the labour problem.

One facile suggestion, which is often heard, may be looked at critically. Many people are instant in urging that the surplus labour of the city be diverted to the country. Farm labour is not unskilled labour;

a city-bred man placed on the farm for one thing will be inefficient, and for another thing will dislike the conditions and the work; and social reforms are not to be effected by methods which those most intimately concerned detest. Some of the unemployed in the city are essentially urban folk and are unavailable for farming. Some are countrybred men who have drifted citywards; with them the task of diversion might be essayed. Even in this case, however, a question is to be asked, and a decision made. What do we mean when we talk of placing these people on the land? Do we mean encouraging them to become farm labourers, the farmers' hired men? Or do we contemplate settling them upon the land as homesteaders? If we mean the first, does it not involve what has already been referred to—the necessity of the farmer providing work throughout the year and supplying suitable accommodation for their families? These considerations point forcibly to the need for study and investigation. The solution appears to be looked for in the establishment of labour exchanges, to which many of the best minds in the United States and Canada seem to be turning. By such exchanges something might be done to adjust the needs of the worker and the requirements of the man who has work to be done.

One exceedingly important agency is now freely giving its services in each centre in our larger cities, and it might be made use of to a considerable degree. The charitable organizations of the cities show great zeal and put forth great efforts, their activities apparently running principally along the line of ascertaining and meeting the wants of unfortunates. Too often they close each winter campaign without leaving any assembled date, bearing on the unemployment question. What renders this lack of record the more to be regretted is that they are good active workers. The suggestion may be put forward that their activities be thoroughly studied in one centre like Ottawa and that from this study a plan of action be developed whereby the greatest efficiency might be obtained in the future from such forces. The result of such a study might be a model which if adopted in the cities throughout Canada in these yearly efforts to assist want, should through uniformity leave statistical material of much value in an effort to deal with the unemployment question. We cry out against labourers drifting into our cities. Unemployment will always be a serious matter until we realize the necessity of equalizing as far as possible our activities throughout the year. For instance if the large public improvements—national, provincial and civil—are to continue to be carried on during the summer months, and if the farmers likewise employ extra forces during the same season which in the aggregate must be very large indeed, what is to become of the labourers so engaged during the balance of the year? Either they must be given enough pay while working in the summer to carry them through the winter, or a considerable number will become a charge on charitable organizations in our cities where they naturally collect.

The Management of Liquid Labour.

It seems as if some attempt should be made to hold over some classes of public improvements that might be carried on during the winter, even

if they incurred some additional cost. Our winter season is in certain respects a national asset and we should be willing to meet the extra cost it incurs by giving our people employment as far as possible during the entire year.

Anyway, we know we have a very fine class of people voluntarily giving their services every winter looking into the wants of our people. By having a model plan worked out for them to follow we would at least be able to get near the root of this problem. And these organizations might possibly be developed into agencies, under some government control, for distributing floating labour. Such a study as suggested might be carried on by the Labour Department or the Commission of Conservation. While the activities of those organizations, under existing circumstances are necessary, still charity is but a palliative, dealing with the symptoms and not with the cause, and our efforts must be directed towards rendering it less necessary. We must seek a better adjustment of social relations, which will decrease unemployment by making better use of our labour supply. If Canada had reached its maximum development—in other words, if this were a finished country instead of one in the making, we might be tempted to conclude that the solution required some legislative control over production, which would turn labour forces from one class of work to another at stated times. But the country may be in a stage of development for at least another century. For a century new people will be coming into the country. It is part of our duty to insist that they come in for the most part to go upon the land. Thus it seems possible to equalize the labour question to a considerable extent by government effort in works incidental to the purely agricultural side of the country's production, such as highways into new territory and some preparation of the land in the way of clearing small parcels on each lot for the use of the settler on his arrival. Outside of our prairie lands in Western Canada, there is a vast amount of work to be done in preparing the land for cropping. Here we have a class of work which, if systematically taken hold of, might absorb a very large force of labourers every winter. The method of planning such an enterprise of course would have to be developed gradually, under men who have wide experience in the control of floating labour.

Immigration, Labour and Selection.

Again, our Immigration Service, not content with its agencies for laying hold of possible settlers and drawing them into the country, has also its guarding and preventive aspect; we encourage some and discourage other types of new-comers. The preventive side of the service might well be extended and linked to our social service work. One set of men, stationed along our borders, says who shall and who shall not come into Canada and obtain the rights of Canadian citizenship. Another set of men, working in the cities which too often are the goal of the immigrant, are specialists in that sorrowful subject, the growth of the slum, and should know what elements in the new population furnish the greater number of recruits to the unhealthy features of city life. Why should not the knowledge gained by the social workers be systematically made

available to the immigration inspectors? Further, we know roughly what classes of labour enter the country; we should be able to trace movements within as well as across our frontiers, and we should be able to exercise some influence on migrations of labour. The United States in 1907 enlarged its immigration service by a department for distributing incoming labourers throughout the country; and while the expedient has not proved a panacea, it has its value, and merits our attention. This year, for example, the Federal Government is undertaking a plan whereby a corps of harvest labourers, under supervision and accompanied when necessary by interpreters, will move northwards with the grain harvest, from the Gulf of Mexico to the international boundary. This must at any rate take rank as a bold scheme for the handling of one large example of a strictly seasonal employment, and the project merits the study of administrators here.

This is but one plan. Another suggestion may be thrown out; it must be understood that it is but one of many possible practical things to be done as parts of a general and comprehensive plan. The province of Ontario is seriously engaging in the development of its highways. Would it be possible to turn some of the surplus labour of the country upon the task of creating a scenic motor highway say from Ottawa to the Georgian Bay by way of the Algonquin Park, and thence southerly to Toronto? Such a public work would serve the temporary purpose of giving employment to men otherwise idle; it would remain as part of our national plant, as a creator of future prosperity and employment. At the outset, especially if proper inns, with fishing and shooting privileges, were provided at suitable intervals, it would attract the American tourist and so would promote a certain amount of money-spending of benefit to localities at present backward; eventually it would be of service as a trunk line in promoting the settlement and development of the region traversed; for the immediate work the motor leagues might well be summoned to assist, while the route should be determined by a man trained alike in engineering and in making use of natural beauty. Many other routes which could be developed suggest themselves: at the door of Ottawa, for example, is the Gatineau valley.

A National Employment Convention.

These suggestions, however, are but partial; they touch only the fringes of the great problem. Great it is, and the very question of who is to handle it is a problem in itself. Hitherto unemployment has been regarded as a municipal question, and at periods of stress anxious mayors and harassed city councils have resorted to a variety of expedients which, whatever their merits, possess the grand demerit of being unorganized, unsystematized and depending upon the initiative of unconnected individuals who may or may not understand the question. Municipal administrators speedily find their troubles linking them to conditions in the province, and the provinces soon discover that some phases of their difficulties require a national solution.

In these circumstances, is not a National Employment Convention worth considering? Each government, national, provincial or municipi-

pal, exists mainly to carry on its own machine of administration, and federal ministers, provincial ministers and city mayors are, every man of them, immersed in a multitude of details which must be looked after if the machine is to be kept running, and which subtract from the time and energy which can be spared for considering problems so large, so complicated and in some measure so new as these which we are endeavouring to hint at. A suggestion has been made, and apparently with considerable merit in it, that the Prime Minister of Canada summon to conference the Premiers of the several provinces, the mayors of the great cities, some specially skilled administrators of the smaller municipalities, the heads of the great railway systems, the great employers of floating labour, persons specially acquainted with the points of view alike of the farmer and of the working-men—in short, all persons qualified to discuss the subject. Such a convention might find it profitable to sit with closed doors, at some of its sessions at least. If such a body of experts were to reduce the problem to manageable form, and to arrive at a clear understanding of the methods to be pursued in grappling with it, it would be the special business of the political administrators to distribute the several parts of the task so as on the one hand to see that no portion of the plan is overlooked, and on the other hand to prevent overlapping. The government which has the courage to go outside the official political world, to have recourse to expert knowledge and to the experience and sagacity of men of large affairs, to obtain a large general policy, should be rewarded by having the specific measures which it proposes clearly understood and sympathetically discussed.

Colonization as well as Immigration.

We have been talking in the same breath of unemployment and of immigration. We have a surplus of certain kinds of labour, and yet we are anxious to increase our population. That is our national paradox. We need more farmers, as well as greater efficiency on existing farms, and we must strain every nerve, as of old, to fetch more and more people from outside to bring our land under cultivation. Our efforts in the past have been vigorous, but perhaps, not sufficiently discriminating; too many of the new-comers have gone to the cities and now swell the ranks of the idle. Our efforts in the future should be just as vigorous, and there is peculiar need for discrimination. We need to develop a system of control of immigrants after they have arrived.

No matter how favourable the opportunities in the past were at any time to obtain people, they were as nothing compared to what they may be in the period following the present war. Churned up by the greatest catastrophe of the world, and overburdened by taxation, the peoples of Europe may seek by every means in their power to get away from surroundings that will continue to harrow them. They may anxiously look forward towards the new world for a fresh start in life. And it seems as if it will be Canada's opportunity: but the movement to be successful will demand from Canada a decided advance on her old way of doing things—which war in effect to turn people adrift through the country.

It means a new immigration policy based upon more courageous lines than in the past; it means a system in which Governments—Dominion and Provincial—and corporations, will labour with full knowledge of each other's plans and in harmony with each other in the common work; it means the expenditure of large sums of money in some system of control of the incoming agriculturists; it means an effort to obtain from human energy the maximum of efficiency, from the moment it enters the country, instead of largely the minimum as in the past. In short, it is a very large and a most important training and probation question that faces the people of Canada, as it is only through a reasonably successful solution of this question that it will be possible for the Dominion to march out into the open again and forge ahead in the immediate future.

Guiding and Helping the New-Comers.

The problem is two-fold: first, to bring as far as possible a class of people to our lands who will stay on them and second, to facilitate their efforts in rapidly making the lands productive. The diversified nature of Canada, the character of lands for settlement, the peculiarities of the soil, moisture, markets and other conditions present so many phases that it seems more might be done to guide the new-comer as to the agricultural activities best suited in his particular case.

Furthermore, is it too theoretical to attempt to define some units of energy? Units that will accomplish certain amounts of agricultural development in the different classes? In other words, could not more be done to outline for specified districts of the country, the farming activities as well as the combination of energy, human and animal, with machinery, that should yield the best results to the settler?

While each province has its own Department of Agriculture, still it does not follow that there is always a marked difference in conditions affecting agriculture as between some of our Provinces. However, as the country is so large, the immigration scheme might be made up of units representing the various provinces, thereby corresponding with the several Departments interested in the agriculturist.

For the purpose of illuminating this discussion, let us take one of these units, the Province of Alberta. For a number of years the Government gave 160 acres of free land to homesteaders. Then at a later date, in a large section of the country, there was given an additional 160 acres at \$3 per acre, it being argued that the 160 acres homestead was not sufficient for one family. There is no clear evidence that this statement was correct. In places it is true a family might have difficulty in making a living on less than 320 acres; but as a general statement covering a large area of country it does not seem sound. There is this aspect of the policy: what was the use in giving a man control of 320 acres with no provision to render him the financial assistance to farm it? There is room for the contention that a preferable policy would have concentrated the activities of the settler on his homestead of 160 acres by endeavouring to develop some plan of financial assistance.

Financial Support versus Large Homesteads.

For instance, the Government of the United Kingdom has in recent years provided vast sums of money which have been lent by the Irish Land Commission at low rates of interest to tenant farmers in order to give them full control—ownership—of the property they occupy. Why should something similar not be adopted in Alberta—the unit under consideration? Suppose for instance that the homestead law were revised so as to give only 80 acres of free land, but to give the settler an option to purchase the adjoining 80 acres at say \$3 per acre, so that he would thereby control 160 acres as was the case for several years. Would such a policy be worthy of consideration?

If the Province of Alberta owned its natural resources in normal times it could secure capital to assist these new-comers, but some arrangement should be possible between the Dominion and the Provincial Governments whereby there could be accomplished something similar to what the Ontario Government is doing in finding money in vast sums for hydro-electric development in that Province.*

Returning to the general question of new people for Canada, there will have to be some control of them in the first two or three years. It is something that has never been successfully worked out. It involves the principle of the tenant. It might work out into a plan of large farms centrally situated within areas available for settlement from which the new people after one year's training would pass out to their land of which a portion, say twenty acres, had been broken and seeded for them; and would make their earlier efforts at settlement under some method of inspection. It is at once conceded that anything of this sort would be a very difficult problem to deal with; but it is well worth the closest consideration, as Europe has never heretofore presented a similar chance to obtain people. It appears to be the great opportunity for Canada, and to take full advantage of it we must break new ground in so far as methods are concerned.

The ordinary observer will probably say it is far too visionary to be practicable; but the country's needs demand some extraordinary method which the extraordinary situation in Europe will offer and which our own local conditions necessitate; it is an occasion in the life of a young country which it must take a long jump to accomplish something big.

Fertilize the Public Service.

In the preceding pages we have glanced at a great variety of problems, separate yet interrelated. We have a national equipment sufficient

* In order to make the suggestion quite clear, suppose there was made available on an average \$4,000,000 yearly for a period of ten years to be loaned to the new settlers who were taking up 80 acres of homestead. These settlers would be called upon at a later period to pay \$3 per acre for the other 80 acres; the rate of interest to be that which the Government has to pay, and the amount of the loan not to exceed, say, \$1,000; the lands sold at \$3 per acre to create a fund, against which any losses might be charged; and any balance to be available for the necessary expenses connected with the control of settlers, such as close supervision. In the foregoing the amounts have not been seriously thought out; they are merely presented to make clear the suggestion.

for fifteen or twenty millions of people and able to handle several times our present production; it is our task at once to increase the population, to enhance the productiveness of the population we already possess, and to effect a better distribution of our population; it is a task which ranges from the rapid development of new communities to the improvement of living conditions in long-settled districts. Abounding in novel elements, demanding fertility of resource and wide experience of business, involving the need for grave decisions involving high responsibility, the problem can be successfully handled only by going outside the formal administrative services. The civil service can furnish good administration in detail; for the unprecedented combinations and new departures which are here suggested something more is required. The civil servant, working under a Minister who is subject to the exigencies of political life, cannot be expected to take the measures necessary; he may indeed conceive them, but it is one thing to conceive a plan and another thing to procure its adoption.

What is needed is the fertilizing of the public service by requisitioning the services of men of large experience in the business world. The solution of every problem is through the application of Euclid's principles. And every group of men engaged in studying a public question, no matter how efficient when they took up the subject, must leave it better equipped for such work. This terrible war has brought public men to realize the soundness of calling in men of large affairs when dealing with momentous issues.

There is a tendency to decry the work of Commissions. The fault, if there is fault, is in the selection of men who are either unfitted for the task or who belong to a class only willing to lend their names and not their brains. This country has done a good deal for certain men and it is time for some of them to do something for the country. No business can succeed that does not promptly adjust itself to the new conditions that are continually arising. And here is one of the difficulties of a purely Governmental organization in charge of development work. A policy is laid down and it becomes political sacrilege to suggest change. Here is one of the places where an advisory Committee of successful men who have got the habit of doing big things in a big way would be of decided advantage by being attached to such a service, as for instance the immigration and colonization work of the country.

A National Inventory.

We know that the machinery of the world is being violently wrenched as never before. We know that we must pass into a new era after the war. While we can see through the glass but darkly, so darkly in fact that all our energies must be thrown into this calamitous war, still that should not prevent us from taking an inventory and getting the house in order. We should know what we wish and need to accomplish both now and after the war. A programme for the years following the treaty of peace is set forth in the cover of this pamphlet. Then why should we not be using the present time to study out our larger problems and then get ready to move promptly and effectually the moment the war is

over? We therefore hold that these interwoven public problems which we have sought to indicate should be attacked without further loss of time. They should be turned over, threshed out, to see if the policies controlling them are sound, even under existing conditions, and to ascertain how these policies might be improved.

If our contention is correct does it not follow that some machinery should be set in motion to carry on the necessary investigations? And the burden of these notes is the need for the collection of facts involved in our problems of development, by summoning Committees to co-operate in an advisory capacity with the public Departments which deal with such problems, drawn from men with driving force in our country, who would have no administrative duties, but would outline general policies and indicate lines of progress.

The Proposed System at Work.

It is tempting to pursue this subject a little further. For instance, in framing a new immigration policy—something that should have a great bearing on the future of the country—suppose a Committee were formed upon which each Province and every corporation having lands available for settlement would be represented and an executive appointed of, say, three men of affairs who would give a large portion of their time to the work. It is our contention that such work should not be wholly left in the hands of departmental officers to manage. They are largely controlled by rules and regulations, and no great work can be followed and developed under fixed departmental rules. An executive of three men from the outside would do much to vitalize the service and would give the departmental officers that support so necessary in vigorously pushing forward an entirely new venture, which doubtless would present many and serious difficulties.

The first step it would appear would be to form a small secretarial staff, which doubtless could largely be furnished by the immigration service of the Dominion Government. Then there should be a searching out for ideas and for facts bearing on the subject; then a classification of these for consideration by the larger organization when the time came for the sifting out process to begin.

Properly to round off an investigation leading to a determination of a general plan, so as to deal with the settlement of Canada in the broadest possible way, there should be some fairly complete resumé of the movements of people into this country from the earliest period up to date, and the character of the different activities, which brought about the various movements. The growth of Canada by immigration exhibits so many phases—the colonization under the French régime, the entry of the United Empire Loyalists, the episode of the Selkirk settlement, the work of the Canada Company—and her internal migrations, such as the settlement of the prairies by the people of Eastern Canada, have had so important a bearing upon her history, that there is urgent need for a careful statement of the whole case.

The Gathering of Information.

Again, the whole question of land settlement calls for the interplay of many considerations and the use of information drawn from many sources. All the provinces having lands available for settlement, all the railway systems, land corporations, loan companies and other bodies with land for sale, should furnish maps and other information, so that a coherent and comprehensive account of our available land could be prepared. This represents the foundation work. In the three prairie provinces further steps which might be considered are:

(a) The selection of, say, five tracts consisting of four townships, adjoining each other in the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and two townships in the Province of Manitoba. These tracts to be scattered throughout the settled portions of these provinces, and detailed examinations made by officers of the Department of the Interior, with the object of determining:

(1) Average yearly acreage brought under cultivation during the first five years of occupancy.

(2) Financial and other conditions under which they started operations on the land.

(3) Percentage of occupied area now under cultivation.

(4) What additional area they consider they would now be cultivating if conditions had been more satisfactory and if starting over again what conditions they would regard as the most favourable.

(5) Percentage of total area in each tract that is now under cultivation.

(b) Farmers' organizations to be canvassed as to views—apart from tariff issues—regarding assistance to farmers now on western lands, so as to obtain the greatest efficiency as well as to views regarding policy for dealing with new settlers hereafter.

(c) Maps prepared by officials of the Department of the Interior showing lands occupied within eight miles of railways in the three western Provinces, with statement of total area occupied, cultivated, and production, as far as it is practicable to obtain same.

(d) Maps prepared by officials of the Department of the Interior showing lands outside of the eight mile railway belt in said Provinces, with statement of total area occupied, cultivated, and production, as far as it is practicable to obtain same.

The foregoing are merely suggestions as indicating the line of investigation rather than an attempt to lay down any definite plan. Emphasis has been laid on the need of improvement in older Canada. Too many townships in the eastern provinces have gone back in recent years. Here there seems room for an agricultural survey. Farmers' sons who are students at Agricultural Colleges might profitably be employed in stating and analyzing the facts regarding selected areas, and seeking to deduce the general policy best suited in the circumstances of these areas.

To be more explicit: It seems as if we deal too much in generalities. In the education of the youth of the country we try to reach each individual. The successful teacher first tries to find out the equipment,

brains and temperament of each youth and then builds accordingly. Let us suppose that there were gathered statistics by competent men in some particular township clearly setting out what each farm is capable of producing, what the occupant has been doing and what his limitations are. Let us suppose next that this material were placed in the hands of a small group of specialists able to indicate the best markets for that locality. Surely such a body should be able to lay down a line of activities for that farmer that should give him the greatest results. Of course we will be told it is contrary to the spirit of our people to be dictated to; but our people are reasonably sensible and will object less to being told what can be done on their own land with their own resources than to being shown experimental farms operated with Government funds—which, by the way, are of great service to the country—and told to do likewise.

An Investment and an Opportunity.

To develop a country needs both money and efficient energy. We may be told that Canada has reached a point where she must be cautious in her public expenditures. That is very true; but our obligations will demand greater production and if the stimulation of agricultural production requires expenditures of considerable sums of money, it looks as if we must be prepared to put into effect any aggressive policy that has been carefully worked out and which gives every evidence of early returns to the Country.

Such are some of the possible steps to be taken. This sketch gives some idea of the vastness and the complexity of the great problem of Canada: of the number of questions, each a full occupation for many able men, which must be studied in relation to each other. These lines are a call to action, a call to investigation above all a call to thought. Our political discussions too long have proceeded on lines that suited our fathers but which are now talked out. Let the Canadians of 1915 think of their special problems as earnestly and as clearly as the men of British North America grappled with their difficulties in the years that issued in Confederation. Let our wealthy men give to the land that enriched them their service of their knowledge, their executive ability and their driving power. Let the great mass to whom is assigned the lot for which Agur prayed—"Give me neither poverty nor riches"—show that truest loyalty, the readiness to think about their country's problems. It is man's work, the carving out of Canada's future. It demands the full power of our minds, the full strength of our wills. Let us begin now.


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