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**Canada's Century**

**A Review of Labor  
Conditions To-day**

By 1

**MAJOR ROBERT LARMOUR**, Robert

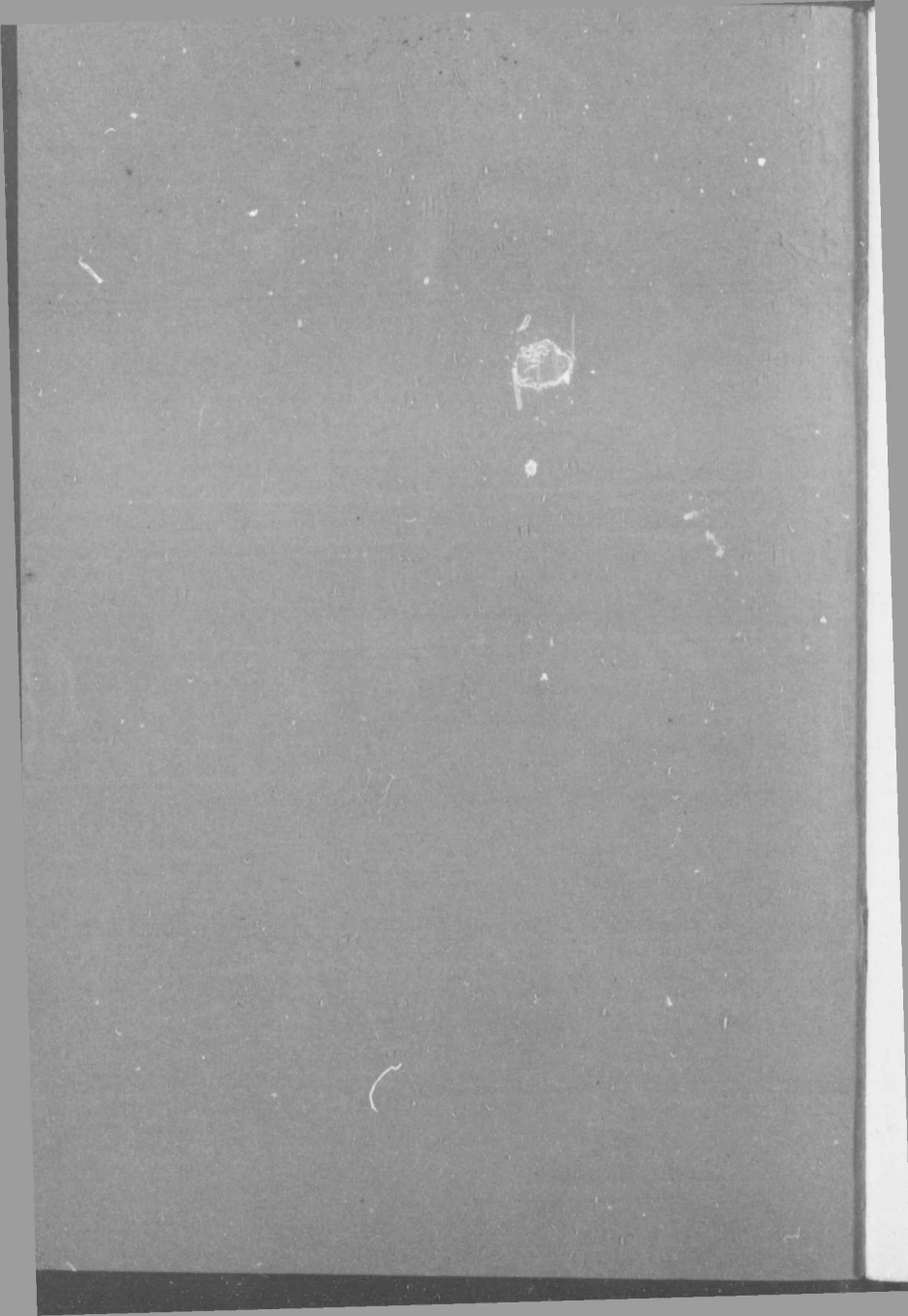
Author of "Canada's Opportunity,"

"The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada."

—SIR WILFRID LAURIER

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TORONTO  
WILLIAM BRIGGS

1907



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HD 8106

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Entered according to act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven, by ROBERT LARMOUR, at the Department of Agriculture.



TO THE EDITOR,—

In view of the present indications of an impending strike among railway employees in Canada—a contingency involving consequences too disastrous and deplorable to be thought of without concern and alarm—the author hopes that this pamphlet, if it can be brought to the attention of the railway men, will have some weight in deciding them against so unwise a course. You will note that I deal with the disastrous Chicago strike of 1894 and the Stratford strike, both of which have their lessons for the men of to-day. Any mention you may make of the pamphlet will be gratefully appreciated.

**NOTE—**

—THE AUTHOR.

The above circular, with a copy of the pamphlet, has been sent out to thirty-seven newspapers between Halifax and Vancouver.

The author further hopes that citizens generally will lend their influence in the direction of averting a strike that would tie up our railway systems, which would result in disaster to the employees themselves (who are misled by American demagogues), as well as great damage to the business interest of the country.

Stratford, April 2nd. 1907.

HD 8106

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# CANADA'S CENTURY

*A Review of Present-day Labor Problems*

"THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BELONGS TO CANADA."

—Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

THIS most strikingly bold, terse, eloquent and patriotic assertion had its birth in a speech delivered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, in Massey Hall, Toronto. Original in conception, opportune as to time, appropriate as to conditions, it might well be adopted by this young nation, to abide with us, a distinct, definite, national type of Canadian aspiration.

The territorial dimensions of Canada are large enough to warrant the claim. The natural resources are great enough to support it. The vigor, enterprise, and resourcefulness of the people of Canada have given evidence of their ability to sustain it. Stalwart in constitution, big of bone, muscle and brain, the vigorous young giant would thus assert his claim upon time and place in the world's history.

Under such circumstances, would it be too much to say of this, what might be called, national motto, that its adoption would have a tendency to inspire a devotion to country at once loyal and patriotic; a national enthusiasm that would go far towards consolidating differing elements, and to favorably impress those people of other countries who are anxiously looking towards Canada as a future home.

Half a century ago the name of Horace Greeley was so familiar to the people of the United States that it might be said to have held second place only to that of Abraham Lincoln; yet to-day that name is known to millions in that country only by its being connected with that famous and prophetic utterance, "Go West, young man, go West." I am old enough to remember how that cry swept through the Eastern States like the cry of old that roused the people of Europe, and culminated in a mighty crusade against the "Infidel Turk." We, who are old enough to remember the monster wave-like movement of people westward that followed that cry, will be able to realize somewhat of the result. It was phenomenal, and threatened, for a time, to depopulate the Eastern states. It spread across the Atlantic

and over Europe, it was repeated from pulpit and platform, it was reiterated through the press; it was not a mere senseless, popular saying, but serious, sincere, tellingly effective. The great West of Canada was overlooked, ignored or entirely unknown.

But time, that changes all things, has brought about a change in this respect as well; now has come Canada's turn, "CANADA'S OPPORTUNITY."

"The Twentieth Century Belongs to Canada." Let this be preached as a new crusade. The people of the United States already know it, and acknowledge it by the thousands that are moving into our West—from the "West" of Horace Greeley's time—into the long neglected, ignored and overlooked greater West of Canada, and the wave of immigration from Europe is changing its direction while it increases in volume.

#### SOME OF THE CONDITIONS THAT GO TOWARDS SUPPORTING SUCH A CLAIM.

The Laurentian formation, the oldest known dry land on the surface of the globe, guards the eastern boundaries. The Rocky Mountains—the "backbone of the continent," give stability and protection to the vast fertile plains that lie to the eastward, while between lie the greatest fresh water lakes in the world. From these great lakes great rivers flow towards all points of the compass, providing water powers that are almost without limit. Great in forests of valuable timber, great in mineral wealth, but greatest of all in the vast area of land suitable for cultivation; with climatic conditions favorable to health and vigor in man and beast.

Even the oceans that wash our eastern and western boundaries yield a wealth in fish greater than is to be found in any other part of the globe; while, on the other hand, this country is free from many of the evils that affect other countries. We have no earthquakes or tornadoes, no great floods, no war, no famine, no cholera, no yellow fever. But instead of these we have peace and plenty—health and vigor—justice and freedom—law and order; in fact, this country offers such opportunities for the pursuit of happiness and prosperity as are to be found in no other part of the world to-day.

To these favorable conditions may be added the fact that to-day Canada leads the world in railway construction, for we now have more miles of railway, per capita, than any other country; while the undertakings in the way of building new lines and new systems are far greater than they ever were before,

which bids fair to increase the lead already held. Again, the question of improvement in all means of transportation is receiving much more attention and support in all parts of the country; new canals are projected or being built, and the old ones are being enlarged and improved at the public expense. New lines of steamships are constantly being established, while still more and faster lines are being proposed. New routes of trade and travel are being opened in every direction, reaching towards all parts of the habitable world. The banking facilities of Canada are admittedly superior to anything on the continent, while manufacturing and industrial interests are fully keeping pace with the settlement of new territory. The growth of many cities and towns in the Dominion has been so rapid of late years as to be almost incredible, and the increase in foreign trade has been equally astonishing.

In view of such conditions Sir Wilfrid Laurier might well be commended for the use of such a bold and inspiring assertion as that which he used at Massey Hall: "The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada."

But there is always a reverse side to such views to be considered and dealt with. "Two ways of looking at things" is an old saying, but none the less true because old, time-worn and commonplace.

After all, it is not the possession of such valuable land, great national resources, favorable climatic conditions, etc., that makes a great nation, although they may be strong factors. Let us look at the situation from an outside standpoint. With, say, only six millions of inhabitants, and our bordering nation to the south with their eighty millions, what will the average American be most likely to say about this claim that Canada is making to the century. Would they take it seriously, or only smile at our presumption?

Uncle Sam might well be excused if he used some such term as "Right smart young fellow—got some go in him," etc. He might possibly even think it would be worth his while to offer to take the youngster into partnership—as a junior, of course. John Bull might be expected to indulge in a smile, also, but it would be more fatherly and encouraging, one of indulgence over the precocity shown by a son and heir.

Australia, no doubt, would also smile at the idiosyncrasies of her sister colony. How Japan would look upon such an assumption I will leave the reader to imagine, for I do not think Japan would pay us such a compliment as to smile, in the face of the insult offered to her people by our legislation. If Japan did smile at all, it would likely be a smile "grim and threatening."

But there is still another standpoint from which the question should be viewed.

When Sir Wilfrid made use of this assertion we must, at least, give him credit for sincerity. He was not indulging in anything like hyperbole—he must have meant it in all seriousness—and I venture to say that he is willing to stand by it to-day, and to justify its use with still more energy than was employed at the time he first gave it utterance. The question of what the twentieth century would *demand from Canada and from him* must have vividly presented itself. He must have realized that he could not appropriate the century to Canada's individual use without "Quid pro quo."

What would he do with it? is a proposition that would naturally follow upon the proprietary claim put forth. How would he justify such usurpation?

These are the more serious questions that present themselves when the proposition is looked at from this last view-point.

Let us for a moment glance at some of the things that will naturally be expected of Canada, if we are to make good this claim as put forth by the leader of the present Government. Does the assumption not imply that Canada is prepared to "do things"—things that will mark an epoch in history—things that will set the world an example and start the world thinking and reasoning from new lines—things that will create admiration and give new hope and aspirations to millions of struggling humanity—things that will show that among other advantages which this country possesses, is that of our being able to produce great statesmen to govern this great country—great men who will be capable of rising above the petty things that have too long obstructed and retarded progress, that was otherwise possible; men with capacity and honesty of purpose; men with a proper conception of the great work of leading, directing; men with courage enough to act up to their convictions; men brave enough to scorn hypocrisy; men willing enough to make a sacrifice of selfishness; in short, men that are of a different calibre from the average of prominent men of our times.

The question may well be asked, Does Canada possess the material necessary to produce such men? To this I would answer, in all confidence, that Canada has a rising generation that will meet all future demands in this direction. In the past we have not been behind the rest of the world in the production of men of great ability in all the walks of life. I need not stop here to mention names to verify an assertion that is well known to be true. Nor is Canada at the present time behind in this respect. As for the future, the great new Provinces that have

recently been created in the West are bound to produce young men of high, broad, and deep views of things in general; their environment, the conditions under which they are growing up and being educated, are such as will irresistibly, unconsciously, form in them principles that will tend to lift them into a higher plane of ideals; they will look upon the phenomena of life from a higher level—free from many of the retarding influences of the older and more conventional East; free from many of the customs, habits, formalities, traditions, narrow creeds, and false doctrines that prevail in the older communities, with their tendency to becloud, bewilder, and benumb the best of intellects and the brightest geniuses. There will be bred in the West men of that high quality of courage, that will lead them to strike out on new trails and to follow them with that strength of purpose, honest zeal and broad intelligence that will reach to results of which we of to-day vaguely dream.

Sociology has advanced, within a few years, from being looked upon as merely a system of philosophy, to the position of a science. A very few years more and it will be acknowledged as an applied science. The flood of literature that has issued from the press in recent years, written by the world's ablest men and thinkers, has already placed this subject in the foreground of human effort. The process of society is a cosmic, universal principle—not a law. Malthus, in his "Principles of Population," explains the difference. What we have to do is to adopt the principles of cosmic, universal law. We adopt a principle of the law of gravitation, and run our railway trains. We adopt a principle of the law of resistance, and run our steamships with screws. When we have advanced far enough in the applied science of sociology, known principles will be made use of, to work wonders that will be as marked as that of the railroad train when compared with the stage coach, or the great steamship of to-day when compared with the old sailing ship.

The telegraph, the telephone, the development of electromagnetic power, and many other great discoveries of recent years, which to-day are utilized in a thousand ways for the purposes and benefits of society generally, are all the result of scientific research and inventive genius. In all the walks of life there seems to be a steady, yet rapid, progress. While we notice this general advance in the material welfare of civilization, we cannot help but notice that the old plan of governing the nations remains much the same.

Constitutional governments, although making changes with a view to improvement from time to time, have made no radical changes, have not developed in the same ratio. Government by

party, with its acknowledged defects, seems to be still the highest ideal attainable, or attempted.

Men in high places, even in England, openly say that government by party is the curse of the country. A few years ago it would have been considered rank heresy to utter such words. Is this a sign of the times, a portent of a coming change of opinion in this respect, or is it merely the off-hand expression of disappointed party politicians? Or, on the other hand, is there a process of dis-illusionment going on? Are the defects of the system becoming so apparent that men are beginning to look forward to something higher, nobler, in governing methods? It cannot be possible that the world has reached its highest level in the matter of government. There must still be a loftier plane to which it is possible to attain. The social life of the world cannot stand still—it must advance or fall back; back to feudalism or Cæsarism, or forward to a more pure democracy.

These are great questions, they are questions of the deepest import to us as Canadians; but I must leave the discussion of so vast a field as they open up to some more able pen than my own. As the title of this little work will indicate, it is to a certain extent intended to continue the discussion of the question raised in the closing pages of the previous pamphlet, "Canada's Opportunity," which was published on the 1st of January last. Briefly stated, this question was the assumption that an injurious effect was produced and the progress of the West retarded by the exclusion of Asiatic labor. In order to give readers (if there are any) who may not have seen the first pamphlet, referred to above, some idea of the argument used, I will here quote a criticism which appeared as an editorial in the *Stratford Beacon*, February 2nd, 1907, and also my reply to the same, which also appeared in the *Beacon*, February 4th. This letter was in turn replied to by the *Beacon*, which was again answered by the author.

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#### THE "BEACON" EDITORIAL.

"Our townsman, Major Larmour, writes in his recent pamphlet enthusiastically, and in a delightful strain, of his former Brantford acquaintance, General Butler, who rendered valuable aid to Wolseley in his military expedition against Riel, and who afterwards published his famous book on 'The Great Lone Land.' Major Larmour gives many extracts from this interesting work, possessing in point of style features very much like his own, and proving that the pens of military men of culture are mighty as



are their swords. Butler has a heart full of feeling. He has affection for every creature that walks the earth. He laments the fate of the Indian and the extinction of the buffalo, on whose flesh the Indian subsisted and in whose skin he was clothed. The hardships of the "hauling dog" excite his sympathy, in spite of the great rascalities of that cunning beast, developed by ill-usage, the analogy being man reduced to servitude, for, he remarks, just as slavery produces certain vices in the slave, this perversion of the dog from his true use to that of a beast of burden produce, in endless variety, traits of cunning and deception in the hauling dog." To get along with a dog-train he says the driver must be able to swear volubly in three languages. We shall spare the reader the scene depicted by Butler at the death of his favorite horse, Blackie. It reminds one of Sterne's Sentimental Journey, and of the tears he shed over a dead donkey. More germane to the subject in hand is Butler's vision of the future greatness of the North-West country—the fertile land, the home of millions yet unborn. He sees a vast country lying silently awaiting the approach of the immense wave of human life which rolls unceasingly from Europe to America. 'Far off as are the regions of the Saskatchewan, from the Atlantic seaboard on which that wave is thrown, remote as are the fertile glades which fringe the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, still that wave of human life is destined to reach those beautiful solitudes, and to convert the wild luxuriance of their now useless vegetation with all the requirements of civilized existence.' And much more in the same poetic and prophetic vein. This country, it will be seen, he would keep as a white man's paradise, and especially a heritage, or home, for his own race, for he has in him a fine strain of patriotism, of undying love for the old motherland who gave him birth, and to whom, in spite of complained of neglect, his best services as a soldier have ever been freely given.

"Entertaining to the full, as we know, the same patriotic sentiments, Major Larmour goes further, and welcomes as joint possessors of these vast regions of virgin soil the hordes of Asia. He recognizes the need for labor—he is influenced by the feelings of friendship so universal at this time among those who speak the English language towards the island empire of Japan. But he would include also the Chinese. He is alive to the wants of the great railway systems under construction, on the one hand, and of starving millions on the other, and he imagines that General Butler, with these conditions before him, would join him in saying: 'Let British Columbia open her doors, reach out across the Pacific Ocean, and shake hands with Japan and

China. Let trade and commerce be encouraged to the fullest extent between us. Let meaningless social barriers be thrown down. Let prejudice of color, race and religion be scattered to the winds.' What General Butler would say to Major Larmour we know not, we can only surmise. But we do know what is being said about the little brown men by white men where the yellow peril is making itself actually felt at the present moment. We know what is said by British Columbia. Now listen to what was said in one of the numbers of the *New York Independent* of last month. The Japanese coolie who comes to these shores is usually above the status of an unskilled laborer. 'He is a cobbler, tailor, gardener, cook, waiter, or one or other of a dozen classes of workman, as the case may be. He can, and does, live just as cheaply as a Chinaman. A handful of rice, a little dried fish, and a cup of tea make a square meal for him. To speak specifically, let us take the case of a cobbler. He has learned his trade in his own country. He has scarcely set foot in America when he rents a dingy little room in close proximity to the white shoemaker who has been established in that location for many years. Then the little brown man puts up his sign and announces his scale of prices. A perusal of the latter shows that he asks about one-half the amount charged by his white neighbor for similar work.' The upshot is that the white man and his family, unable to subsist on the brown man's fare, are driven from their home, to begin anew the struggle for existence in some other section which the Japanese have not, as yet, invaded. The article goes on to say that the relationships, legalized relationships, between the sexes of their race are, according to our standards, positively immoral, and furthermore, that they have no loyalty to any country but their own. So devoted are they to the Mikado that oaths of naturalization are but a hollow mockery, an empty formality, signifying nothing. The Japanese stands ever ready to do service at the call of his country, in money and in arms, even against the country that now shelters him and to which he may have sworn allegiance. What does Major Larmour say to that? In face of this picture, his contrast between our toleration of the black man, the Doukhobor, and the Mormon go for little. The negro has no nationality claiming his fealty, and he is still the terrible unsolved problem of the South. The Doukhobor is a pest to our North-West Mounted Police, and we will have no more of him. The Mormon, because of his abominations, is being contested claim to representation, in the person of his accredited agent, Smoot, in the United States Senate. But negroes, Mormons and Doukhobors are never likely to be more than a fraction of our population, while Japan-

ese and Chinamen would come over and possess the land. Major Larmour calls it 'Canada's Opportunity.' To us it looks like Canada's peril. The Oriental comes—the Caucasian disappears. It is the case of the white man and the Indian reversed."

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"AN OPPORTUNITY, NOT A PERIL.

"To the Editor of *The Beacon*:

"*Sir*,—The best thanks of the writer of 'Canada's Opportunity' are due, and are hereby tendered to *The Beacon*, for the very kindly and extended notice of his little work which appeared in Saturday's issue. I assure you that he had not the vanity to expect that his ideas would be accepted as gospel. The question touched upon opens a wide field, and, for a time at least, there will no doubt be as wide a divergence in opinion. I will feel still further indebted to *The Beacon* if it will give space for the following, which is copied from Hansard of January 15th. It is an extract from the reply made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Mr. Kennedy, member from New Westminster, B.C., who had just delivered a speech to the House advocating, among other things, the exclusion of Asiatic labor. Sir Wilfrid said:

"I would like to call the attention of my hon. friend from Westminster (Mr. Kennedy) and my friends from British Columbia generally, to the fact that at the present time there is a tendency to improve our trade relations with the nations of the Orient, with Japan, with China, and with India. Japan has undergone a revolution, it is no longer a country of Asiatic tendencies or Asiatic civilization, it is fast becoming a European country, and we have a growing trade with Japan, a trade which must be improved, and which will assume in years to come, and in the very near future, very large proportions. I want our friends from British Columbia to remember this, that if we are to trade with Japan we must treat Japan as a civilized nation. We cannot afford to treat the Japan population with anything like contempt; we must recognize their value, we must recognize that they are allies of Great Britain, we must realize that they are a European and civilized community, and if we are to have any benefit from the trade we expect to have, we must take these facts into consideration.

"I would like to have my hon. friend from Westminster (Mr. Kennedy), and all the gentlemen from British Columbia, remember that we are undergoing a revolution, and that condi-

tions are not to-day what they were yesterday, and that they will not be to-morrow what they are to-day, but there is a large tendency, an always increasing tendency, for a more intimate communication between the nations of the East and the nations of the West.'

"I just wish to add that about the same date the Government gave audience to a deputation of union delegates. Among other things these delegates demanded was one to the same effect, viz., the exclusion of Asiatic labor. In Sir Wilfrid's reply, he gave them, in effect, the same answer, the same advice and warning that he gave Mr. Kennedy and the British Columbia members. To my mind, this means the death knell to the undue influence of unionism in the government of the country.

"As for the story of the Japanese cobbler which you quote from a New York newspaper, I must say that I regret that you thought it applicable in this case. That story is not less than twenty-five years old—had its origin in California, I think, and has done duty ever since in varied forms to suit the locality and notions of union orators. 'This is a white man's country' is another of their popular phrases, which has been in stock for a long time. As to the 'Yellow Peril,' we now know this to have been meaningless, senseless, and without foundation. The real peril lies in the repeated insult offered by the white man to a people such as the Japanese have shown themselves to be—a nation which Lord Rosebery had characterized as the most efficient in the world to-day—a people of whom President Roosevelt has said, 'We have so much to learn from the Japanese as the Japanese have to learn from us.'

"I notice that you omitted to mention my reference to these authorities, also to the despatch from Calcutta showing that the safety of the Empire was threatened by the action of the Transvaal Government in denying the people of India the right of citizenship.

"If I understand the language used by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his reply to Mr. Kennedy, it means that he does not want the disagreeable duty of disallowing further acts of exclusion forced upon him. The language used by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress referring to the trouble over the discriminating legislation of the State of California, is on the same lines. The action of the Colonial Department of the British Government in regard to the British Columbia act of exclusion of Japanese is an object lesson to us as Canadians. Would it not be wise for us to pay due heed to these signs of the revolution that is taking place, the evidence of which is plainly visible from day to day.

"May I hope that *The Beacon* will extend a similar kindness when No 2 pamphlet makes its appearance. It will be under the heading of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's eloquent assertion, 'The Twentieth Century Belongs to Canada.'

"R. L.

"Stratford, February 4th, 1907."

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"MAJOR LARMOUR'S LETTER.

"Major Larmour wrote to *The Beacon* yesterday in the same admirable spirit that he manifested in his pamphlet. His feeling of brotherhood for all nations and his desire to satisfy the labor hunger in the North-West are excellent traits, to which no exception can be taken except it be to the measures he proposes to realize the ideals he has formed. The development of Japan and our *entente cordiale* with that nation are both happy circumstances. It would be a crime to do anything to lessen the friendship of the two island empires. "Hands across the sea." The quotation Major Larmour made from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech is exactly in point, but its citation was hardly necessary for the purpose of his argument, for we are all of the same mind in this matter. Pushed, however, to its proper conclusion, it is rather against Major Larmour's contention that we should assist in peopling the North-West with Japanese, than helpful to it, seeing that it was designed, in the true tone of Imperial statesmanship, to appease the wrath created already in a portion of our country by the coming into it of the people from Japan, and was not intended to advocate the further extension of the mischief. British Columbia is in trouble from this cause; it would be a great mistake to help by it to create a ferment in the North-West also. Different households are far more likely to remain at peace in their respective homes than they would be if they were fated to live together under the same roof. With alien races, with varying customs, tastes, and habits, and fighting one another for the upper hand, the case, of course, would be vastly worse. Major Larmour speaks of the Transvaal and of India. Opposing elements in the Transvaal led to the Boer War, and trouble from the same cause seems to be brewing in India. One of the reasons why we should not invite Japanese to come here in greater numbers is to avoid the same kind of embroilments. Already the situation both here and in the United States is sufficiently delicate. Let us not add to the complication. The social aspect of the question lies at the bottom of the trouble. Major Larmour laughs at the story of the cobbler, and says after twenty-five years of travel it has been

exploded. Has it? Is it not true? Many more examples were given in the New York Independent to show that Oriental and Caucasian cannot live side by side, working with the same tools. Only when the white man has superiority in equipment can he, with his higher standard of living, compete successfully with the man whose skin is brown. Major Larmour hopes we will show the same kindness to his pamphlet No. 2 when it appears as we have shown to pamphlet No. 1. We assure him that we will. To the offspring of the brain of so kind a man as Major Larmour, how could anyone do otherwise? Major Larmour, like General Lee, may fight in a losing cause, but he fights with clean weapons."

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" OPPORTUNITY, NOT PERIL.

" To the Editor of *The Beacon*:

" Sir,—As the author of 'Canada's Opportunity,' I wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks my further obligations to *The Beacon* for the second very able and kindly worded notice which appeared in the issue of the 5th inst., in reply to my letter of the 4th.

" I would not venture to occupy more of your space than is necessary to do this; but to do this only, your readers might be left under the impression that I had retreated from the stand taken in the pamphlet, and supported by my letter of the 4th. This is by no means what I would like them to think for a moment. Put very briefly, the point I wish to make is, that under the undue influence of Trade Unionism British Columbia has been induced to pass laws to exclude Asiatic labor, which is injurious to the general interests and welfare of the West.

" It is the great cosmic principles that underlie the whole structure of society and social relations that I intended, and would still like to deal with, rather than the petty likes and dislikes of individuals, or even communities. To go into the details of an argument on such lines would require volumes of matter instead of a single newspaper article.

" The narrow and selfish motives of concerted Trade Unionism has given undue prominence to some erroneous ideas in this, as well as other countries, in regard to social relations and the duties that communities and races owe to one another as common inheritors of the earth's surface. Because a people happen to occupy a different and far away portion of this common inheritance, and were born into this world under different conditions—conditions that we know so little about—is no good reason why we should ill-use them.

"Because we happen to have the opportunity, just at the moment, to do so, is no justification for doing it.

"Social science is destined in the near future to produce changes relatively as great as those achieved by the applied science of mechanics during the last half century. When the science of sociology has had the same attention from cultured intellects—the same amount of earnest endeavor that has been devoted to inventions in the mechanical world—then those who live after us may see as great a change in the social world as we now see between the old sailing ship of fifty years ago and the present magnificent and speedy steamship, or the rapid and luxurious railway train and the old stage-coach. These changes will not be brought about by the wild frenzy of anarchism nor yet by the narrow, futile and selfish conceptions of unionism, which barely conceals the seeds of anarchy that only wait favorable conditions to sprout up.

"That hybrid fancy called Socialism may yet succeed in working out something good if well cultivated, trained, and trimmed, but at present it is but a sickly plant, badly injured by the cold blast that recently blew upon it from Germany.

"To come more directly to the point raised in your last letter, which I understand to be that more trouble would be created by the admission of Asiatic labor into the West than by persistence in keeping it out. To this I would make answer that there is not the remotest danger of either Japanese or Chinese coming in such 'hordes' as to create a danger of the white man being driven out. In the first place, the emigration laws of Japan only allow some four or five persons to leave each province yearly. As for the 'hordes' from China, you may take it for granted that the average Chinaman does not love the 'foreign devils' well enough to leave his country and people—which he loves so dearly—to place himself at the mercy of these devils. It's only a few venturesome spirits who perhaps choose between the foreign devil and starvation who emigrate.

"This whole cry about the 'hordes' from the Far East coming to possess our land and drive us out is as senseless as it is weak, and is one of the erroneous ideas put forth in the way that I have mentioned above, too simple, too foolish to be treated seriously.

"This is not the class of Eastern people we should be afraid of. To my mind, we have a greater reason to fear that class who transact business, buy and sell, and have the power to boycott our trade, as China is to-day boycotting the United States trade. There is still another class that we should regard with more fear than the poor innocent, ignorant laboring man, and

that is the ruling class—the government, the army, the navy, the men whom we insult by our discriminating legislation. And the only reason we can offer for such legislation is that it was done to satisfy the clamor of Trades Unionism; and here I again venture to say that it is all a mistake, perhaps more serious than many of us think.

“It is surely high time that the old musty prejudices engendered by the tales of soldiers and marines, and the still more musty notions of Anglo-Saxon exclusiveness or Caucasian superiority, built upon no better authority, or on no authority at all. I say it is high time that we, in this young and progressive country, should shake ourselves free from such drivel, and stand up like men, acknowledge man to be kindred all the world over—deal with him as kindred, honestly and fairly. If this were done there would be far less occasion for resorting to the arbitrament of war to settle family quarrels and disputes; for, after all, we belong to one family, or else such men as Huxley, Darwin, Spencer and a long list of others, have lived, worked and died in vain.

“At the moment of writing these few lines I have received a letter from a gentleman in Toronto, Mr. E. S. Caswell (a bookman), who is widely known throughout the country as a man of broad and cultivated intellect. Referring to this question, he says:

“‘We are living in a time when the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns.’ ‘We have no right to exclude those who are not of the same color or creed as ourselves.’

“The ancient fable of the ‘dog in the manger’ may well be applied to us by other people if we continue the narrow, weak policy of pandering to the foolish demands of a class, who by the very nature of things—by all the principles of the law that has governed social life from the earliest periods of history—are not the class of people best equipped for the great work of governing and guiding an advanced people and a vigorous young nation. The old Roman who boasted that ‘to be a Roman was greater than to be a king’ perhaps had some ground for so doing, but I fail to see on what reasonable ground the handful of Anglo-Saxons recently settled in British Columbia can find just grounds for their action towards the ancient, populous and powerful nationalities of Asia. Apologists may plead expediency, but will Japan, China and India be content to accept such an excuse. American diplomats have already tried the ‘expediency’ role, but it has proved a dismal failure.

“It is no crime against society on the part of Eastern people to eat moderately of wholesome food, such as rice and fish, instead



of gorging themselves in the way that most Western people love to do; neither is it a crime for them to love their country and their families so well that they work hard and save their wages to send money home. Yet there are people who urge this as a reason for their exclusion from our country.

"I may be likened to one 'crying in a wilderness' for advocating such cosmopolitan notions, but I am doing so from no selfish motives, nor am I being inspired by any outside influence. The only reward I hope for is that some good may result from the fair and open discussion of a subject that is, to this country at this time, one of grave importance.

"Yours sincerely and thankfully,

"R. L.

"Stratford, Feb. 9, 1907."

#### THE GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE OF 1894 AT CHICAGO.

A famous American general (Sherman) said, "War is hell." I have not seen much of actual war in my lifetime, but I have seen a considerable section of hell in the light that the General's phrase was intended to present it. The exhibition of this that I witnessed was located in Chicago at the time of the great railway strike in 1894, generally known as the Pullman strike, because the trouble began at the Pullman works. It would be more properly called the "Debs" strike, because it was worked up from the little beginning of a handful of men at the Pullman works, to what it became afterwards, by the direct mechanism of that arch demagogue, Debs. I was living in Chicago at the time, and in a position to know much about the methods employed to embroil the whole of the trainmen—locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen—of every road leading in and out of Chicago. I purposely undertake to give a brief description of what I saw and knew personally, because it is the reverse side of the picture that Union leaders always hold up to general view—that is, showing the great benefits that have been, are being, and are still to be, derived from Unionism.

Debs had been somewhat successful in manœuvring a strike on the Great Northern Railway a short time before, and was in consequence hailed as a hero when he made his appearance in Chicago and took a hand in the trouble at the Pullman works.

He had grown, in his own estimation, quite as great a man as the labor unions were prepared to make of him. In a very

short time after his advent he grew to such proportions by this joint admiration business that no place less than the great Auditorium Theatre was prominent enough for him to deliver his public lectures, and five dollars was the price of a ticket for a seat there. I saw factory girls, shop girls, sewing girls, paying their five dollars to hear the great man, the man who had suddenly arisen from obscurity to the position of leader, regenerator, deliverer, or whatever he claimed to be. There was a certain class of people ready to worship him as a god, for a short period at least, and he was quick and ready enough to seize the opportunity that was thus generously offered, and also to make the most of it while it lasted. I speak advisedly when I say that within a short time he was talked of as the coming President of the United States, and that he himself had the conceit to think that this was to be the ultimate result of the great work he proposed to carry out, which was the tying up of all the railways in the West until they had acknowledged his power and authority, and begged from him permission to resume business under any terms that he chose to dictate.

The trouble at Pullman was extended to the railways by instructions to the conductors ('Union men') to refuse to take out any train that had a Pullman car attached. Of course the first conductor who obeyed this order was promptly dismissed by the railway officials, and another man put in his place. The next order was for the engineers (Union men again) to refuse to haul a train with a Pullman car attached, and they in turn were also discharged and replaced. The next move was an order for *all* conductors and engine-men to refuse to take out any train until their discharged comrades were replaced, and this the railway companies' officials of course refused to do. Then a general strike was ordered, and it took place without delay.

It is not my purpose here to act the part, or to assume the responsibilities, of the historian of this monstrous strike. It will answer my purpose to say there were the usual conferences between the Union leaders and railway officials, but they failed to produce anything like a settlement, and the strike spread from day to day until there was not a train arriving or leaving Chicago; in fact, there was a general tie-up—west to San Francisco, south to New Orleans, east to Detroit, and north to St. Paul. It was then that the calamity—for calamity it was—began to manifest new features. Chicago's worst element broke loose, and destruction began. The State troops were called on to maintain order, but they added fuel to the fire instead of quenching it. The Governor of the State of Illinois was well known to be a Socialist sympathizer; the City Volunteer Corps fraternized with

the strikers, if not with the anarchists, that were rioting and destroying the property of the various railways. The city police were nowhere in such a monster uprising as had taken place; business was suspended generally, and citizens were in a state of terror lest another burning of Chicago was at hand. They had good reasons to be afraid of this, for great fires were raging all round the city in the railway terminal yards, situated in the outskirts. I was at that time located in the Grand Central Station on Twelfth Street, and from the top of the high tower one night I counted a dozen such conflagrations, extending from the lake shore on the north clear round the city to the lake shore on the south at South Chicago. At the same time, in the very heart of the city, an immense lumber yard along the river was in flames and quite beyond the control of the fire brigade; in fact, the engines that were sent to fight this fire had to be abandoned, the men barely escaping with their lives. Millions upon millions of feet of dry lumber were feeding the flame that reached up to the cloud of black smoke that hung over the city. Great flakes of flame would break off it at the top, leap up and bury themselves in the black pall, while whole pieces of boards and even planks would be carried away blazing by the swirling eddy of out-rushing over-heated air, thus starting fresh fires in every direction. It seemed to me, that night, that Chicago was certainly doomed to be a second time destroyed by fire. The streets were packed with terror-stricken people who apparently thought the same. Sleep was not to be thought of under such circumstances. This was the state of affairs when President Cleveland ordered General Miles with Federal troops to take charge of the city and put a stop to rioting and destruction of property. The Governor of Illinois promptly protested against Federal interference, but the President paid little heed to the protest; on the contrary, fresh troops were hurried forward from all points, some coming from garrisons as far east as Vermont. Lake Front Park was turned into a camp, the streets were patrolled night and day by armed mounted Federal troops. Gatling guns presented their grim muzzles at the foot of the leading streets, while troops of cavalry dashed into crowds everywhere, dispersing them; companies of infantry were placed in every railway station, and guards at all the Government buildings. The prompt action of General Miles in this respect had the effect of checking the demonstrations of the lawless element, which consisted largely of foreigners. The next move was to place Federal guards on railway trains and to make the attempt to run, at least, mail trains out of the city. The first attempt of this kind was the signal for a fresh outbreak of violence; tracks were blocked by overturned

freight cars on the rails, and the train itself, as it appeared outside of the depot, was met with showers of stones and missiles of all kinds; even shots were fired at it. The attempt had to be abandoned, and the train backed into the depot again. This was looked upon as a great victory by the rioters, and matters began to look worse than ever, but General Miles proved equal to the occasion, for he promptly ordered the train to be got ready again for another start. This time he ordered a whole company of troops as a guard, to occupy the front of the engine, the foot-plate, the tender, the first steps of the first car and all the steps to the rear. Their orders were to shoot if assailed, and "*shoot to kill.*" The same order was given out at all points where trains were to be started. I knew of this order being issued and saw the troops taking up their positions on the train at the Grand Central Depot, and I went up to the tower to watch its progress, after getting outside of the station building, where there was an immense crowd of howling rioters gathered.

At the first street crossing, which was within a few yards of the station enclosure, the attack on the train commenced. I had but a moment to wait for the result, for the attack was greeted by a shot from the soldiers stationed on the front of the engine; then another and another shot followed, from the right and left side of the train. It was an exciting moment, indeed, for I fully expected that these shots would be met by a fusillade from the frenzied mob; but to my great astonishment not a shot was fired from the immense crowd; on the contrary, the great wild mass of beings seemed to recede from that train as if drawn back in a body by some invisible force.

Farther and farther back it went with increasing speed, like some ponderous machine—first it moved slowly, but at every moment it seemed to gather momentum. In a few seconds the great crowd had utterly disappeared and the train was moving forward as if nothing had happened or was expected to happen. The great strike was over as far as obstructing the movement of trains was concerned. The order of General Miles had done its work, and another proof had been given of the utter madness of a wild, disorganized mob attempting resistance against regular soldiers, properly armed, and acting under proper authority. It was enough for the mob to know that these regular soldiers would obey their orders and "*shoot to kill*" if they were attacked.

And now it becomes my disagreeable task to tell something of the effects. It would be impossible for anyone to tell the whole story or to follow the results to the extreme ends of the trails of misery, sorrow and wretchedness that took their start from this ill-advised and wicked combination of railway employees against

the companies who employed them, and against whom they had not a single complaint to make, either as to wages, treatment or anything else. These railway men had succeeded in tying up the roads to which they belonged, blocked the business of a great city—not one city only, but many—stopped a gigantic traffic that had been flowing over an immense territory, caused damage and loss of millions upon millions of money, and all for what? Simply because they obeyed the order of a demagogue! They tried to make themselves, and others, believe that it was a "Sympathy Strike." It was nothing of the kind! It was simply and solely because they belonged to a Union that demanded an obedience, right or wrong; they had to obey the order to strike—throw up their positions on the railway that had taken them many years of hard work to gain, positions that paid high wages, positions that were sure for life if they only conducted themselves properly—all this they sacrificed, and again I ask, for what? What would have happened to any of them if they had refused? If any of them had said they had no complaint against their employers, that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by going out on strike, and for these reasons had refused to quit work on the order of such an authority? Why, they would have been forsworn, and liable to have been called "scabs" by their comrades.

Such men as railway conductors and engine-men are, as a class, generally men of good common-sense, careful and cautious, as their calling requires them to be. They are, unlike many other men, a class that give due consideration to anything affecting their own and their families' prospects in life. But in this case they seemed to have been carried away by a morbid feeling of allegiance to their Union. If not this, then it must have been that they acted under an excitement that blinded their better judgment—an excitement that was kept up at an extreme pitch by the florid, fiery speeches of Debs, and his co-workers, who, no doubt, knew well how to use such a force, for these leaders well know the power it gives them, such a power as is not suspected by their dupes and victims.

It was the old, old story of the aborigine and his war dance, only in a new garb and with new surroundings.

For a more clear illustration at this point I will take the case of the employees of the Illinois Central Railroad. This road was one of the wealthiest, best equipped, best managed roads that entered Chicago. Their employees were paid the highest wages going, and there was not the slightest friction of any kind between the officials of the road and their trainmen. This I personally know for a fact. Their conductors and engine-men were all old

hands who had worked their way up, some of them having been in the employ fifteen or twenty years and even more, yet they quit work to a man, over the whole extent of that large system, and without giving the slightest warning or reason. They obeyed the order of their chief like an army in a field would obey the call of the bugle, never halting to ask the reason, Why? They seemed to give the terrible results that were sure to follow no thought. The General Manager of the Illinois Central told me afterwards that when his men quit work in this unceremonious way, he sent for some of the oldest and best known men to have a talk with them, with a view to seeing what reason they would offer or explanation they would make for their apparently rash and foolish conduct. He questioned them categorically.

"Had they any complaint as to wages?"

"No."

"Had they any complaint as to treatment?"

"No."

"Had they any demands to make?"

"No."

"Did they expect that he was going to keep the road standing idle until they chose to come back to work?"

"Well, no. They hardly expected that."

"Did they expect that if he took on other men to work the trains, while they remained on strike, that he would dismiss the new men, and take them back when they chose to come back?"

"Well, they hoped he would."

Then he put the direct question:

"Why are you on strike, if you have neither complaint or demand to make?"

To this they could give no intelligent answer, but said something to the effect that the men on the other roads had joined the strike and if they did not do the same they would be called "scabs," etc. They seemed to have no definite understanding what they were expected to do, any more than that they were to quit work. They did not expect pay while they were off duty; they were not even promised this.

During the continuance of the strike the railway managers had formed themselves into an association for mutual protection. Among other decisions that they arrived at was one to the effect that trainmen who had joined the strike should in no case be re-employed on any of the roads that had suffered from the strike. This seemed almost cruel, but managers pointed out that it was an actual necessity for the very existence of the roads to make an example that would serve to prevent strikes in future, and further disaster to railway interests. Up to the time of the strike, and

even for some time after it was inaugurated, there was a large portion of citizens who showed open sympathy with the movement, but for what reason they could not explain afterwards. The man who first refused to take out a Pullman car on his train was a hero for a short time, and then allowed to starve—so much for the sympathy of the public. The rank and file of the strikers, however, had not even the reward of being looked upon as heroes or martyrs; they were simply forgotten and forsaken at once, especially when it became known that there was no re-employment for them. Those that were in debt had their furniture seized, those that were behind in their rent were turned into the streets. Those who had not money enough to pay rent in advance were warned to quit.

Then came the terrible aftermath. There were hundreds—I may say thousands—of men, women and children, who, a few weeks previously were comfortably housed, well-fed and well-clothed, now penniless, with hunger and want staring them in the face. No matter where one of the strikers went to look for employment, the inexorable question was put: "Were you concerned in the strike at Chicago?" If he admitted the fact he was told on the spot that he was not wanted; if he denied it, he was required to produce proof.

A very few weeks after the strike suicides by drowning in the lake, opposite Front Park, became so common that newspapers ceased to record them even as items of news. I passed through this park morning and evening on my way to and from my office, in the Illinois Central Depot, and daily saw the hundreds of men who had to make it their lodging-place. The police permitted this, as there was no other place for them to go. On the morning trip through the park it was no unusual thing for me to see a group gathered round a couple of policemen who were standing watch over the dead body of a man who had just been fished up out of the water, waiting for the ambulance to take it away. If I made enquiry as to who it was, the answer invariably came, "Oh, only a striker." There were no inquests. If the body was identified as that of a striker, that was enough to satisfy all demands, and no further enquiry was deemed necessary. The piteous appeals of these starving wrecks for ten cents—five cents, even—to buy a loaf or a bun, were so heart-rending that I ceased to pass that way, after disbursing the little money that I possessed.

Will any one suppose I did not plainly see the reverse side of the pictured glories of unionism while I witnessed such scenes; that I did not recognize the sources from which such scenes took their rise; that I did not feel deeply the wrong that had been

committed by such men as Debs in luring these men to their destruction, and then leaving them to perish miserably, tortured to the point of insanity, in many cases, by remorse over the suffering and poverty that they had brought upon a loving wife and a helpless family of children. They had sought death as a relief.

A short time before the strike a book had been published in Chicago under the title, "If Christ Came to Chicago." The author was no less a man than Mr. Stead, the famous English writer. He had visited Chicago during the great exposition, and had gathered the material for the work from a personal investigation. The book contained a chart of the city, and the streets he had walked through, for the purpose of gathering information, were marked out on this chart. As may well be expected, his descriptions of the scenes presented in those streets were in no way flattering to Chicago or to the mayor and city government generally. The book suddenly disappeared from the stalls where it had been offered for sale, and I presumed that the whole edition, as well as the copyright, had been bought up by the city authorities in order to suppress its circulation. I had secured a copy; and following the route marked out on the chart, found that Mr. Stead had not told one-half of the truth. A perusal of this book created in my mind an impression, deep and lasting, for I still remember that about that time I either saw, or dreamed that I saw, a picture representing Christ's coming to Chicago. I will endeavor to describe it. The Figure of Christ was represented as standing on a slight elevation in an open space; around the Figure was gathered a great mob of people, representing all classes, all callings, and all the great interests of the city. Near to the Figure of the Christ was a wealthy Jew, with features distorted by hatred, shouting, "Away with Him!" A noted real estate owner cried, "Down with Him!" A rich banker cried out in a like manner. A butcher, with a murderous-looking knife, representing the stock yards and packing interests, was trying to reach Him with the knife. Masons in regalia, Oddfellows, and all so-called fraternal societies, were represented as reaching towards the Figure with long, slim, sharp blades, as if trying to inflict wounds. An old harlot with bony fingers was grasping at His hair. Females in gorgeous attire, with scornful expressions, were flinging dirt at Him. A line of clergymen, with backs turned upon the Figure, were marching away. In the foreground was the figure representing Unionism. With a spade he was vigorously at work trying to dig away the earth from under the feet of Christ; and so on. Not one in the vast crowd but was eagerly trying to destroy Him. Not one friend was there to say, "Hail! Master!"



The impression that the night of fire and terror had left on my mind might well produce a companion picture to the one described above. It would represent a second appearance of Christ, looking over the scene of destruction and terror with outstretched arms. The anarchist would be there with flaming torch, rushing to and fro, applying it to the great railway terminals. The terror-stricken people thronging the streets looking at the red glare overhead; the armed men charging into the crowds of helpless citizens; the savage looking artillery, with grim, fiery mouths trained upon dense masses of humanity; and, in the foreground, a monster ogre with human features crushing and devouring innocent women and children. The name given to this monster would be "Debsism." In this representation the figure of the Christ would not have remained utterly silent, as in the first picture, but would have cried out in tones of sorrow, not anger, "Oh, Chicago, if thou had'st only known, only listened; but ye would not."

Will any one of my readers believe for a moment that Mr. Debs did not know that rioting and destruction would follow on the excitement caused by all railways being tied up. Did he not even expect to bring something of this kind about? Was it not a part of his purpose? He well knew that there were a hundred thousand lawless, excitable, reckless, anarchistic spirits in Chicago, ready to seize just such an opportunity. In fact, it would be hard to guess what he would *not* expect when his brain was filled with visions of the Presidency; perhaps he was expecting to be called on to play Cæsar, to become Dictator, for, with a Governor of the State entertaining the views which he did at that time, there was something of that kind of idea in the very air of Chicago.

A few months after the strike was over, when the excitement had somewhat settled down, President Cleveland appointed a Commission to enquire into the cause of the strike, and to ascertain the best means of preventing railway strikes in the future. I attended the meetings of that Commission regularly, and found Mr. Debs—even after all this horror and destruction—there with brazen effrontery, making himself the most conspicuous personage at the sittings. He acted as if he had been retained as leading counsel for the Commission, for he was rushing round whispering first to one and then to another of the Commissioners. He was even allowed to cross-question leading railway managers who had answered the call to give voluntary evidence, and in doing this he had so much license, and asked so irrelevant questions, that in one case at least which I witnessed the railway manager left the court in disgust, refusing to answer the ques-

tions or to give further evidence before a court that permitted him to be insulted in such a way by such a man. It was quite evident from the first that the enquiry was to favor the interests of Unionism for some ulterior purpose. When this became apparent, as it did most pointedly, that the enquiry was to be conducted on such lines, all interest in it ceased, except on the part of Union men. It seemed to have become simply a bold attempt to reinstate Unionism and Union leaders in public notice, and throw the blame for the strike on the shoulders of railway managers. It was on this account that I handed in to the Chairman a note offering myself as a witness on the ground of being a railway man of life-long experience, but not connected at the time with any railway. After a short consultation the Chairman politely declined my offer, saying that the Commission had not then time enough to spare to take my oral evidence, but would be glad to receive a written statement from me giving my opinions as to the best means of preventing strikes on railways. In accordance with this request I handed in the statement which appears as an appendix to this pamphlet. As far as anything practical or beneficial resulting from this enquiry is concerned, it seemed to be a complete failure, except, perhaps, that after it the railway interests caused Debs' arrest on the charge of conspiracy, upon which charge he was tried, convicted, and sent to prison for a year.

In order to counteract the bad effects of the utter failure of the strike, and the demoralizing influence that the imprisonment of the leader was having in connection with the labor movement generally, a great meeting of the Unionist leaders was arranged to be held in Chicago during the winter following the strike. It was to be a great demonstration. One of the finest halls in the city was engaged, and great postbills were placarded with such names as Gompers, from New York, another celebrated leader from Philadelphia, whose name I do not remember, another from St. Louis, and several other places distant from Chicago. Even the names of leading ladies, such as Mrs. Potter Palmer, appeared as patronesses. It was pretended that the discussion was to be open to both sides, that is, that railway and other employers were invited to send representatives to discuss the question of Unionism *versus* Non-Unionism.

It would serve no purpose here for me to review or even outline the trend of speeches delivered on that occasion. They were of the usual standard one-sided argument, showing the great work that Unionism had done in the past and would do in the future, and having little, if any, connection with the recent difficulty in Chicago. One thing I remember distinctly was my

disappointment over the speech delivered by Mr. Gompers. On the platform he did not seem to show that great ability with which he was generally credited. Perhaps, in his position of Grand Chief, he did not wish to detract from his colleagues by any display of oratory on his own part. The demonstration as a whole was altogether a one-sided affair, but no doubt served the purpose for which it had been brought about, which clearly was to minimize the effect of Debs' disastrous failure. It even seemed to me that people generally were willing to condone and forgive the strikers for all the damage they had caused the railroads. They went even so far as to say, in an apologetic way, that if the strike had not been a success, it had served to show the railroads what the Unions *could* do.

As an evidence of what they had succeeded in doing, I would mention that the General Manager of the Illinois Central Railway told me that their loss alone would amount to over two million dollars, and that all the other roads running into Chicago had suffered in proportion.

Here I would ask, Are we in Canada not exposed in the same kind of general tie-up? Is there any legal or other machinery ready and competent to prevent a railway strike on any one of our leading systems, or to prevent the men on other systems joining the strike on the pretext of sympathy or some other equally flimsy pretext? The combination of Unionism, especially on railways, is stronger now than at the time of the Chicago strike.

There has been a partial strike of the G. T. R. machinists in this city in existence for nearly two years. By the prompt and energetic measures of the officials of the company, it was prevented from spreading beyond the Port Huron and Toronto shops, and the company have not suffered any great inconvenience, but when it was first inaugurated it was a bold attempt on the part of certain Union leaders to tie up the whole system of the G. T. R.

The cause for it was quite as unreasonable as that of the Chicago strike; in fact, there was no cause for it at all, but it suited the purposes of some parties to work up a trouble on the G. T. R., cause or no cause. I am aware that very many people do not take the trouble to enquire into the facts in such cases; neither do newspapers seem to deem it a part of their duty when they print in prominent columns, under large headings, the agitators' view, to show the other side. On these grounds I deem it advisable here to give a somewhat complete statement of facts that led up to the inauguration of this strike, so that the reader may have a clear conception of how these troubles are brought about.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which many of the older employees of the shops belong, would not accept as members any one who had not served a regular apprenticeship of the trade, so that the fact that a man was a member of this Union, or Society, was a guarantee that he was a properly trained and efficient machinist. The Amalgamated Union is an English association, with headquarters in England. The International Union of Machinists is an American institution, and this latter complained that such restrictions as were imposed by the former was working to the injury of the International, and a system of aggression and persecution was inaugurated to force the Amalgamated Union into amalgamation with the International. To accomplish this, agitators, or organizers, as they are styled by Union men, were sent to the various shops on the G. T. R. to exploit the International at the expense of the Amalgamated. The International would accept as members any kind of men that would join, regardless of the question of proper training or efficiency as a machinist. When they had gained sufficient strength by these methods then they began an agitation, the object of which was to breed trouble. The men employed in this work were experts, and soon succeeded in their object. The next step was to present a "Schedule," with the demand that it be agreed to by the G. T. R. Company. The main features of this "Schedule" were that only one apprentice to every five machinists was to be employed, and that all members of the union would receive the minimum rate of wages, which meant that a man barely fit to earn a dollar and a half a day must be paid two dollars and sixty cents. It is within my personal knowledge that the officials of the railway did everything that was possible, within reason, to avoid the trouble, but that was not what the leaders of the International wanted. They wanted trouble; that was what they were here for.

Now it is a well-known fact that upon all railways a liberal system of apprenticeship is necessary to keep up the supply of skilled labor, not only in machine shops, but in every other department, in the freight sheds, in the ticket offices, on the trains, in telegraph offices, in the audit department, and so on throughout the whole system. It is also a well-known fact that upon all railways, and in all departmental work, there must be grades of pay, that is, the highly efficient man will be better paid than the less efficient. The man in a very responsible position will be paid higher than the one occupying a less responsible position; so that these demands of the new Union were striking at one of the very fundamental principles that go towards making railway operation possible and practicable. These reasons

were explained to the men, and they were told, of course, that what they demanded could not possibly be granted. This was the very answer the agitators expected and, in fact, wanted. After this the usual method of working up men to the proper pitch for a strike was adopted, and a vote "to strike" was carried over the opposition and against the advice of the older employees.

All the men belonging to the unions were ordered to quit work, and they obeyed the order. After the strike had been in force a considerable time, an effort was made by outside parties to bring about a settlement. The Deputy Minister of Labor, Mr. Mackenzie King, came up from Ottawa, and after several days spent in discussing matters between the railway officials and the local Union men, a meeting of the union was called and the men decided by about a two-thirds majority to call the strike off. But this was not what the organizer wanted, for he at once telegraphed to Washington to the Chief, to come on and interfere. Promptly in reply to this call came the Chief, in the person of Mr. O'Connell, who at once ordered another meeting of the local Union to be called for the purpose of rescinding the previous vote calling the strike off, intimating at the same time that unless this were done the charter of the Union would be cancelled. The meeting took place, the previous vote was rescinded according to orders, and the strike, if it can be called a strike, is still on. The Deputy Minister of Labor was thus rebuked, and railways in Canada generally warned by this example of what they, the Chiefs, could and would do. The result of this strike at Stratford has been that about one hundred and twenty men, mostly heads of families, have had to leave their homes and seek employment elsewhere. Many of these families had been residents for over thirty years.

Now, I would ask, could there be a more direct proof of the absolute, arbitrary, autocratic power held by a Chief than was displayed in this case of men stultifying themselves at the beck and call of a foreigner who, as has already been stated, had his own aims and ends to serve, not the interests of the railway, the community, or the men themselves? The promise to tie up the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, when the proper time came, was all that the autocratic leader gave them as compensation for their sacrifice.

To my mind the action of this Chief from Washington, in this case, was a clear challenge to the Government of Canada through its representative, Mr. King, as well as to the railways of Canada. He had shown them *what he could do*, and he told them also what he *would do* when the proper time arrived.

There is an idea prevailing among the less well-informed people on railway matters, that railway officials generally are endeavoring to grind down employees to the lowest possible figure as regards pay, while they are at the same time over-tasking them as to work. This is entirely a mistaken idea. There is no official of a railway, from the general manager down to the section boss, who has the slightest reason for doing this. They are not engaged or placed in such position for any such purpose, and it is no part of their duty to do so. The officers of a railway are neither capitalists nor monopolists, nor yet their agents. They are employees of a company as much as a conductor, engineer or track man; they are only serving in a higher position, in the necessary scale, with more responsibility, and generally with more and harder work to do, and certainly longer hours than those occupying lower positions. I know from a long experience that the responsible officials on all railways have a direct personal interest in retaining the good-will of their staff, to have good men, well contented and loyal, and to do this, they must endeavor to secure for them the highest rate of pay that the situations they fill will warrant. Amicable relations between the parties holding these different positions is in the highest degree desirable and necessary, in order to secure the best results in railway operations. The success of the official depends upon the general good service rendered to the public, and upon the proper discipline and efficiency of the staff under his control. He has everything to lose and nothing to gain by acting in an arbitrary way, thus causing discontent, disloyalty and laxity in the performance of duty, all of which would bring discredit upon himself, danger to the public and loss to the company that employs him. An official has not time to explain the why and wherefore of all his acts and decisions, either to the employee under him, or to the people who are given to listening to one-sided tales of some disgruntled employee who, perhaps, is suffering well-merited punishment for a serious dereliction of duty.

That Unionism, as it is to-day, is a curse to railway operations, as well as to the operatives themselves, is admitted by many well-informed people. For my own part, I say unhesitatingly that I know this to be a fact. Had local unions been kept within the bounds that were first intended when they were inaugurated, they would still be a benefit to both railway companies and railway employees. But they have been exploited to such an extent and to such extremes that their original purpose has been lost sight of, and they have gone wildly into combinations that have, to a great extent, taken the local management out of the hands of local men, and placed it in the hands

of leaders who do not belong even to the same country, let alone the same locality. The foreign leaders, who are not subject to our laws or concerned in our country's success or the success of our industrial institutions, or even the success of the members of these local unions, simply exploit them for their own benefits and ambitions. They can form such combinations through the jealousies, partizanship, ambitions and weaknesses of their subjects (for they rule as autocrats) as will keep them in power, no matter what blunders they make or what crimes they commit. These are some of the facts that are plainly discernible to any one who will make an unbiassed investigation of the systems that are being credited with sacredly guarding the "poor working man" against the greed and tyranny of the unscrupulous capitalist.

Speaking of tyranny, could there be any greater system of tyranny now possible than that which is displayed daily through the operations of these unions, which demands the sacrifice of loyalty to country, to family, to self? These must take a second place when the policy of a Chief leader chooses, for his own ambitious purposes, to order that such a sacrifice be made. To go a little further, is it not tyrannical for one man to have the power to say, You must not work to earn bread for yourself and family until you get permission from me to do so? You must not allow any other man to work in your place, although his family may be suffering for want of bread. You must not allow the industry for which you had been working for forty years, and which paid you liberally and treated you well all that time, you must not allow that industry to make arrangements with other men to carry on the work, no matter who suffers. Whether the public suffer from the want of means to travel; whether the government mails are held up; whether the doctor is prevented from visiting his patients; whether the judge cannot keep his appointment to open court; whether the thousand channels of everyday activities of civilized life are suddenly brought to a standstill? Notwithstanding all these things, "you must not go to work until you get the order to do so." The excuse generally made for doing all this is that it is necessary to show to all people the power that is held by unionism over all their public utilities, and thus secure that recognition of the unions that is necessary to enable them to hold their own against the grinding capitalists. They will say that there is no tyranny, because every member of every union has the privilege of voting on any question. Was there ever a greater attempt made by the greatest tyrant, to justify his acts by more brazen persiflage and crass humbugging of his victims, than this pretended privilege? When

a government, with all its machinery for conducting elections on a basis of purity, signally fail to do so, what chance for pure, honest elections or voting can there be in unrestricted, irresponsible systems such as are in use by unions, where bosses can twist, manipulate, ignore—do as they please with a vote, and no harm can reach them for doing so.

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#### THE WHITE COBBLER AND THE YELLOW PERIL.

The author of the *Beacon* article in his criticism of "Canada's Opportunity," objects to the case of the white cobbler and the Japanese cobbler being "laughed out of court," and drags it in again and demands for it a place on the records and a further hearing. As it will serve to illustrate other points as well, I will endeavor to discuss it briefly from a non-union point of view.

It seems to me that the logical conclusion in the case would be this: If the customers of the white cobbler deserted him to patronize the brown or yellow peril man, it would argue that the white man was not giving satisfaction, that he did poor work, that he was neglecting his customers, that he charged them too much for work done, or all these together. Surely his white brothers would not forsake him and his "interesting" family, and drive them out to seek a home where there was no such competition, unless they had just cause for doing so. The whole case therefore resolves itself into this logical point, viz.: The white cobbler was himself to blame, not the Japanese. The latter only took the opportunity opened up by the white man's failure to do things in a way that would hold his customers against a stranger and an alien.

The Government of the United States and Canada, and of all countries, are to-day looking anxiously for means to keep up a system of competition in all industries in order to prevent great combines and monopolies. If the White Cobbler had no competition to fear, we, who have to get our shoes mended, might have to go with our toes out while the cobbler was amusing himself at a hockey match, baseball game, or attending a union picnic or some other amusement. There is still another point from which a cobbler's case may be viewed. He may drive himself out of business by continuing to raise the charge for repairing shoes until it *reaches the limit that it will bear*. When he does this his customers will simply stop getting their shoes mended, because they will find it cheaper to buy new ones and to throw the old ones away. I have come to this decision already. Who, I ask, is to blame in this case?



The case of repairing a locomotive is an exact parallel from this point of view. Every railway man knows that there is a certain percentage of revenue or gross earnings set aside for general repair; this percentage has been figured out to a definite point. There is so much allowed locomotive repairs, so much for car repairs, so much for repairs in all departments connected with the operation of a railway.

At meetings of stockholders these percentages are very closely scrutinized and compared with previous records and with other railways under similar conditions. For a clearer illustration let us take the case of the Grant Trunk Railway, where meetings of the stockholders take place in England because there is where the stock is principally owned. Ever since the road began operation shareholders have watched these reports, in the vain hope that some day the cost of working would not exceed the revenue and that they would get something, no matter how little, by way of return for their investment. If the usual percentage, say for repairs to locomotives, showed a marked increase over the preceding year, the President of the Board of Directors would be called upon for an explanation, and to be able to give this he must be furnished with full details by the head of that department. In nearly all cases the cost of labor is the principal item. If the cost of labor is increased, say 10 per cent, while the cost of material remained about the same, it would show an increase in the total cost of repairs, of, perhaps, seven per cent., as that would be about the relation that labor would bear to material. If the President could not give satisfactory explanation for such increase it would be made the occasion, most likely, of charges of mismanagement being preferred. On the other hand, if it could be shown that wages were being forced upward generally, the question might be asked: "Have we not reached the limit that repairs to locomotives will stand?" "Had we not better quit repairing and spend the money in buying new locomotives, run them as long as possible, and then throw them onto the scrap heap?"

It will be seen from this that there is a limit that the business will bear in the case of a locomotive just as well as in the case of a pair of shoes.

Now the limit that locomotive repairing will stand is well known, for it has been worked out, and has been a matter under consideration for some time among the executive officers of railways.

The limit of expense is known as regards working of a farm; it is fixed by the amount of profit in the operation; if there is to be no profit in the operation no one would care to own and work the farm, a mill, a factory, a ranch. Let us go still a little farther. If it is in the power of labor unions to force the expense of labor

up to this point of limit, capital could not be got to build more railways, land would decrease in value, mills and factories would cease to operate, and there would be general stagnation. The laboring man would find no labor to do and he would be the first to suffer. Is it not a logical conclusion to arrive at, that if labor unions can keep competitive labor from coming into the country, through their undue influence with Government, while they use their combined forces, backed by a large reserve of funds, to push wages up, that this limit point must soon be reached. The public do not show any disposition to pay a railway any higher rate for the carriage of either passengers or freight, while they are well aware of this increased cost of working on account of higher wages having to be paid. On the contrary, they are demanding reductions in both, and calling upon the Government to enforce it. This being the case, we have one powerful interest forcing working expenses upward, and another, equally powerful, forcing compensation down. The natural result of such conditions must be the conclusion, on the part of the railway companies, that the less business they do the better it will be, if there is no profit to be derived, there can be no incentive for doing business at all.

But it is not my business nor purpose to argue a case for the railways. They have men quite able to that without my aid. My object is to show that by the exclusion of Asiatic labor—call it cheap labor if you will—the progress of the country is being retarded. That by the mistaken, misguided, unpatriotic policy of unionism the great benefits to be derived by competition is being destroyed. Our country, instead of being a cheap country to live in, is rapidly becoming a very dear country. A new house built at the present time will cost about 50 per cent. more than that same house could have been built for, ten years or so ago, all on the account of scarcity and high price of labor, for upon that the price of material used in building is based,—in other words, the country is being run in the interests of one class of the community, the laboring class as it is called, while others are bearing the burden. I remember a case that will illustrate this point. Some thirty years ago, or so, the shareholders of the G. T. R. in England became dissatisfied at the repeated disappointments of the half-yearly reports showing no surplus for dividends. They resolved to appoint a committee from among themselves to visit Canada, examine into affairs of the road and report independently of the directors.

When this committee returned to England they reported that the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was being run for *the benefit of the employees in Canada only.*

As a direct effect of the scarcity of labor in the West I quote the following special despatch from Winnipeg:

## LUMBER PRICES SOAR THREE DOLLARS IN MONTH.

*Famine in Winnipeg Due to Severe Winter.*

Winnipeg, Jan. 8.—(Special.)—Lumber prices have taken a sudden leap and the outlook is far from bright for Winnipeg builders this year. Since December 1 the price of wholesale lumber has gone up nearly \$3. The price was raised \$1 on December 2, and within the past few days prices have soared \$2 more, while dealers state farther advances are due.

The principal cause of the advance is the inability to get the lumber out this winter, owing to the heavy fall of snow and *the scarcity of men*. Record prices were offered last fall for even green men, but they could not be secured at any price.

As further evidence in this respect I quote a paragraph from the address of Byron E. Walker, President of the Bank of Commerce, at the recent annual meeting of shareholders, an authority on such matters second to none in this country. He said:

“In Canada our crying need is found to be scarcity of labor, accentuated, as it is, by labor troubles, notably in the coal regions of Nova Scotia and British Columbia. High wages have largely increased the cost of all building material and inefficient transportation service and facilities have to some extent retarded business.”

Mr. Ralph Smith, M.P. for Nanaimo, B.C., in an address delivered recently at the Canada Club, Toronto, speaking of the deficiency, said:

“The only wise and safe course was for the introduction of the very best class of people from the best countries of the world,” and deprecated the introduction of “a servile class from China and other points of the Orient.”

This might be a safe enough doctrine if the “very best class of the best countries” happened to be starving at home, and would therefore be willing to come to Canada, face a rigid climate, and work at building a railway as the only alternative; but I question whether they will be found in sufficient numbers to meet the present emergency. To my mind we would be lucky enough if we can succeed in inducing enough of the “servile class” from China and elsewhere to come in sufficient numbers.

As a contrast to Mr. Ralph Smith's carefully worded reference to the subject, we find Mr. Frank Morse, Vice-President and General Manager of the Grand Trunk Pacific, saying that although they are trying to get laborers from England, Scotland and Russia that it may be eventually necessary to get Oriental labor. Mr. Morse said: “I do not know of one transcontinental railway line that has been built without the assistance of Oriental labor. It

would be better to have the work of men from the Orient to assist in building and completing a railroad than to have the West suffer as it has done during the last couple of months. Besides, it would open up the ways of commerce with the countries across the Pacific, and perhaps in attracting additional capital to Canada," etc. Mr. Morse further stated to the *Globe* that the procuring of labor was one of the greatest problems affecting railway construction on this continent.

It will be admitted by most people that the winter that is now drawing to a close came very near being one of disaster, if indeed, it has not actually dealt a severe blow to progress in the West. Even the faintest possibility of a coal famine must necessarily prove to be damaging. Let us suppose that if to severe weather and other conditions, that combined to bring about the state of things that existed for two or three months in the west, there had been added a strike of railway men sufficiently extensive to tie up the C. P. R. and C. N. R. for even a short period, what might not have happened to those dependent from day to day upon the supply of fuel brought in, for it has been demonstrated that railway men ordered to strike at a certain hour will obey that order, even if the lives of people in no way connected with their dispute are placed in peril, and that actual suffering and distress to women and children would be inevitable.

It is true that Senator McMullen has introduced a bill in Parliament aiming at the prevention of such a possibility, but it has been met with a prompt protest from unionism and it remains to be seen whether such a measure can be carried in the House of Commons, where there are so many members pledged to support union interests. Although the bill has the additional merit of protecting unionists *against themselves*, it is doubtful whether they will submit to even such desirable legislation in their own behalf. If there was ever a class of men who needed Government intervention to protect them against their own folly it is the unionists of to-day. Below is a clipping from a Toronto newspaper showing how prompt their protest comes, for this item appeared immediately upon the introduction of the Bill:

#### PROTEST FROM LABOR MEN.

##### *Object to Proposed Conciliation Act Amendment.*

Disapprove of the Bill of Senator McMullen in Regard to Strikes—  
Would Fix Hours of Labor on Public Works—Officers  
Nominated.

The Toronto District Trades Council last night concurred in the action of the President of the Trades and Labor Congress in sending

out circular letters asking co-operation in a general protest to Ottawa from organized labor against Senator McMullen's Bill to amend the Conciliation Act by making it impossible for international officers from the United States taking part in strikes or impending strikes in Canada, and approving of the bill of Mr. A. Verville, M.P., to fix the hours of labor on public works at eight hours a day.

I might here add that the Trades and Labor Council are just as prompt in entering protests against the action of a city council or a town council, all over this Province at least. If any city by-law is proposed that they consider gives them the slightest grounds for interfering, their protest is sure and prompt. Even if there are no just grounds they will protest anyway, just to show how closely they are watching things. I would not mention this only that there is a serious side to such a state of matters, and that is, that city councils too often pay heed to such protests and are in many cases controlled by them in their actions, much to the detriment and the interests of a vast majority of other citizens.

The following clipping from a city paper will serve as a case in point:

#### PROTEST AGAINST PROPOSED FEE.

*Stratford Trades and Labor Council Opposed to the Mortuary Chapel Charge.*

The regular meeting of the Trades and Labor Council was held last evening. The secretary was instructed to write Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in regard to a convenient date for him to address a meeting in the city.

Several municipal matters were discussed and the secretary was instructed to write the City Council protesting against the proposed by-law to charge the citizens and ratepayers a fee of \$2 for the interment of a corpse in the Mortuary Chapel. It was considered that the ratepayers had already contributed their share towards the erection of the chapel, without adding this tax.

The new delegates to the Council were received as members. Mr. J. J. B. Meyers was appointed recording secretary for the year.

It is in this way that unionism obtains the undue influence in the Government of the country, which is complained of. As an evidence that city councils are unduly influenced we will take the following instance, which comes within my personal knowledge. Put briefly it is as follows:

The Typographical Union demanded that a city by-law be passed to the effect that no corporation printing should be done at

any other but a union printing establishment. When the by-law came up for a hearing one alderman stated that it would be illegal to pass such a by-law. After some discussion this difficulty was got over and the plain object of the law evaded by passing a resolution that the corporation printing should be done at a union establishment only. The object of all this was to shut out a small printing office owned by a German, which refused to join the union. It is due to a few of the aldermen to say that they were ashamed of such truckling and voted against the resolution. If such undue influence is exercised in one city in the province is it not a fair deduction to draw that it is done in many large and small cities? Is it not a reasonable conclusion to arrive at that such a militant combination will carry its influence into our Legislatures, even into the House of Commons.

When party strife at elections runs to the extremes that it does here in Canada, where two candidates are using every means (or almost every means) to capture votes, would it be too much to suppose that each of them would make promises to labor union men, would not strive to out-bid each the other, to gain the union support, so that no matter which of them succeeds in the election he is under "bonds" to the union party. When he goes to Parliament there is a regular system adopted to watch every vote cast by such a member, and woe unto him if he does not vote as they wish. The rest of the voters in the constituency count for little or nothing, the member is not disturbed on their account, but he is under bonds to the labor union. If this is to any extent the case, as it surely is, then what becomes of the independence of Parliament about which we hear so much? Does it exist, or is it merely a sham? The member must prove false to his promises or acknowledge himself bound by them. Either of which positions is surely a disagreeable one for him to be placed in.

In pamphlet No. 1 reference was made to the trouble between the United States and Japan. Up to the time of writing these lines there does not seem to have been much, if any, progress made towards a settlement. In support of this the following despatch to the *Toronto World* will have a direct bearing:

#### ANTI-ORIENTAL FEELING IS STYLED FEROCIOUS.

*Imperial Commissioner Says U.S.-Japanese Situation is Becoming Very Grave.*

(From the *Sunday World*.)

Montreal, Feb. 16.—(Special.)—"It is not for me to say what action the Japanese Government may take. I can only say the

situation is really very grave," was the statement made to the *World* to-day by the Hon. Masataka Magaki, Imperial Japanese Commissioner, who has been investigating on behalf of the Japanese Government the grievances from which the subjects of the Mikado are suffering in San Francisco.

He arrived to-day from Chicago and left soon after for New York, accompanied by two secretaries. The trio speak the best of English.

The commissioner at first seemed disinclined to discuss the result of his inquiry, on the ground that the mission was absolutely confidential and that his report should be submitted to his Government before publication, but he was prevailed upon to make one or two general observations on the subject matter of his report.

"Do you think the situation is critical or dangerous, having regard to recent developments?" he was asked.

"I would say that the ferocious anti-Oriental feeling—I can really use no milder phrase—that prevails at the Pacific coast is bound to affect the tranquility of the relations between Japan and the United States."

"Is that feeling due to the question of the prohibition of the Japanese from the ordinary schools alone?"

"It is not. I will put it briefly. California wants to export goods to Japan, but does not want the Japanese to establish themselves or make a living on the Pacific coast at all.

"Trade unionism before the earthquake and fire was strongly opposed to the Japanese, Chinese and other Asiatic races. Since the fire the feeling has in no respect mitigated, in fact, my investigations have led me to believe it has grown stronger. Distinguished Japanese scholars, statesmen, officials and envoys and Chinese mandarins and officials are systematically subjected to the most ignominious and discourteous treatment.

"The treatment of the Japanese as regards the schools is mortifying, but it is only a part of the general policy which aims at the exclusion of the Japanese as well as Chinese from San Francisco and other parts of California.

"The authorities mean to restrict Japanese questions. So far as the school question goes, we insist upon the same rights for our children as are conceded to people of other nationalities; we claim that we are entitled to that under the treaty of 1894, but I doubt whether the president will be able to enforce that treaty.

"It is not for me to say," he concluded, "what action the Japanese Government may take, but I can say the situation is really very grave."

It is a matter of history already, that the Japanese official is not given to boasting, nor yet of being prolix in publishing abroad

diplomatic intentions for the benefit of newspapers of foreign Governments, so that it may safely be inferred that the above, coming from so high an authority, means something. It means something that concerns Canada as well as the United States. When the Imperial Commissioner used the term "ferocious" he also used the term "Pacific coast." What Japan will not quietly submit to as regards the treatment of the subjects of the Mikado in California, Japan will not be likely to submit to in British Columbia, even if it be a portion of the British Empire, and ally. Nor will China long submit. There are now twenty thousand Chinese students studying Japanese methods in the universities of Japan. They will soon return to China and begin to instruct millions of students in that country—students whom we know are quick to learn, quick to conceive and interpret, and especially quick to imitate.

Since the issue of the first pamphlet on "Canada's Opportunity," in January last, the writer has talked with many people on the subject of the exclusion of the Asiatic, and the almost unanimous verdict has been that it was a mistaken policy and should be abandoned. Those who still hold to the policy of exclusion were, in nearly all cases, found to be either afraid to offend unionism, or were in some other way committed to support them, whether they were right or wrong. Some few had apparently imbibed union doctrines and union ideas to such an extent that they could see nothing good that did not take its rise from that source. This class might well be called the parasites of unionism; they feed upon it. This is the class of people who shout for the poor "laboring man" in season, and out of season, with more zeal than knowledge. They do not see that the poor laborer is being ground to powder between the upper and nethermost mill-stone as grains of wheat are ground. They will not see that it is no longer the laborer as an individual that is contending with capital, that instead it is the autoocracy of combined unionism which is working for its own mercenary ends while it is devouring the laborer's substance. They will not see that we have capital combining also to resist the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the threatening combination of unionism. Again, they will not see that the policy of keeping labor from coming freely into the country is the serious question which Mr. Frank Morse and others have shown it to be. They will stick to their narrow view in spite of all evidence, that it is a serious drawback to the progress of the Great West.

If the farmers of the western provinces were asked to vote for or against the free entry of Asiatic labor would they not vote for it? If the farmers of Ontario and Quebec and all the other provinces were asked the same question would they not say



yes, give us labor; we will run the risk of being driven out. If the members of the Dominion Parliament were free from the undue influence of unionism would they not give to the farmer, the railroad builders, the coal miners, and the scores of other great industries that are suffering from the scarcity of labor? I say, would they not support a measure that would give general relief, or at least tend to do so? Would they not push aside the flimsy objections about the Asiatic not assimilating, and other sentimental trash of this kind, in order to relieve the labor famine, which beyond question exists to-day, to the injury of progress throughout the country?

We borrow money to build railroads wherever it can be got cheapest—why not borrow labor, which is now just as necessary as money. We send money, in the way of interest or dividends, out of the country—why not allow the laborer to send home his savings to keep his family so long as we get the benefit of his labor. We do this with the Italian, why not with the Oriental?

The following newspaper article, in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor in South Africa, will be of special interest as showing how the question is looked upon in that part of the Empire:

#### CHINESE LABOR.

##### *Necessary for Prosperity of Mines in South Africa.*

Success of Het Volk in Transvaal Elections Makes it Certain That There Will Be No Immediate Repatriation of Foreign Workmen.

Commenting on the result of the election in the Transvaal, *The Times* says:—Incidentally the course of the elections has shown the mind of all parties in the Transvaal on the subject of Chinese labor. It is not the mind which the home Government and their supporters hoped would be shown, and for the sake of revealing which it has been wickedly suggested they tampered with the Transvaal electoral system. The Boers, as well as the Progressives, have made it plain in the contest that they have not the least intention of destroying the only kind of labor which the one great industry of the colony can at present obtain to make up for the deficiency of native labor in South Africa. The crushing defeat of Mr. Creswell, the champion of white labor in the mines, in a constituency which he had himself chosen, and at the hands of a weak opponent, coupled with the fact that other candidates who violently supported the orthodox British Radical views on the question were completely out of the running, is a clear indication of what the Transvaal voters think upon that subject.

The people of the Transvaal, whatever may be their political opinions on other matters, are much too shrewd not to understand that the whole economic welfare of their country is bound up with the prosperity of the mines, and that the prosperity of the mines is dependent upon Chinese labor for a considerable time to come. They have not the least intention of instantaneously repatriating Chinamen whose services they very urgently need, in order to gratify the moral sentiments or the political passions of Radicals at home.

It is quite evident from the above that South Africa will not wait for "the very best people from the best countries" to come and help them out of their labor difficulties, as Mr. Ralph Smith would have us do here in Canada, where our need is fully as great as it is in South Africa.

The time may not be very far distant when British Columbia, instead of passing laws to exclude the Oriental, will be passing laws granting them concessions and special privileges in order to induce them to come to Canada instead of going to South Africa, Australia, or to the United States. If the newspaper report following may be taken as an indication of the intentions of the Government at Washington (and I think it may be so taken), British Columbia may soon have another opportunity of following an example set by California:

#### WOULD ADMIT CHINESE.

*U. S. Immigration Commissioner Expresses View he Says is Unpopular.*

New York, Feb. 11.—Frank P. Sargent, United States Commissioner of Immigration at Washington, said Saturday, before a lecture audience, that the time was not far distant when the Chinese Exclusion Act would be repealed. He was speaking before the League for Political Education. He said, in part:

"The door is shut now to the Chinese; but they come over the fence, notwithstanding the army of immigration inspectors.

"The Chinese will be coming to us soon and saying: 'Is it not time, Mr. American, to admit us to your country?' I believe that time will come, and come sooner than many of us think. I believe that it will be only a few years before the increasing civilization and awakening spirit of the Chinese people will compel us to open the doors freely.

"I expect that I shall be scored very roundly for saying this, but I believe it just the same."

Mr. Sargent made it clear that he had a welcome for all foreigners except the diseased and dishonest.

## LABOR AND CAPITAL.

I have just read Professor Goldwin Smith's latest book and I am almost tempted to say, one of his best works, as far as it goes, for if it has a fault it is that of being too brief. I will take the great liberty of quoting a few paragraphs, even at the risk of showing how crude and feeble have been my own efforts to express similar views when compared with the work of so able and eminent a writer. Referring to the treatment of labor as a commodity, he says:

"There is nothing strange or invidious in treating labor as a commodity, the value, and consequently the wages, of which must be regulated by the market. This is the case with all labor, that of the statesmen, the man of science, the writer, as well as that of the artisan; though the statesman, the man of science, the writer, as well, may draw their wages in a different form. The right of an artisan to a living wage cannot be asserted, unless value in labor can be given for the wage. Nor the right to employment be asserted when no employment offers, in the case of an artisan, any more than in that of the lawyer for whom there are no clients, or the physician for whom there are no patients. Another market must be sought. This is the common lot."

Again, in reference to the tendency of unionism, Professor Smith says:

"Organizations formed for an aggressive purpose are naturally apt to fall into the hands of the most aggressive and least responsible section. There would be fewer strikes if the votes were always taken by ballot and every married man had two. There is also a danger of falling into the hands of aspiring leaders, whose field is industrial war. This danger increases with the extension of the field, and still further when to leadership in political agitation, with the importance which it bestows and the prospects of advancement which it opens.

"Power newly won and flushed with victory seldom stops exactly at the line of right. From enabling the wage-earner to treat on fair terms with the employer, unions seem now to be going on to create for themselves a monopoly of labor. To this the community never has submitted and never can submit. Freedom of labor is the rightful inheritance of every man and the vital interest of all. The defensive forces of the community are slow in gathering to resist usurpation. But they will gather at last, and when they do the end is certain."

"Labor, if it is tempted to be unmeasured in its demands, will do well to bear in mind that formidable competition may be coming

on the scene. In China there is a highly industrial population reckoned at four hundred millions, to which these troubles apparently are unknown, whose labor is steady and reliable. The influence may not be directly felt, though China and Japan are gaining a footing on the western coast of America. But it is pretty sure to work round. Besides, capital has wings. Nor will mechanical invention sleep."

There remains still another point from which the effects of unionism should be viewed in connection with the operations of railways.

The complicated and delicate machinery by which the movement of fast passenger trains and a heavy freight traffic is governed on a single track railway, with due regard to safety, demands that not only must the employees concerned be experienced, well trained, and careful men, but it also demands that they should be well disciplined, obedient and loyal to proper authority.

The interdependent relations between officials who give orders and the train men who execute them are very exacting, and render it necessary that they should have, in the highest possible degree, confidence in the capacity and ability of each other, and that the same aim and object should be the guiding influence of both. That aim and object should be, above all others, the safety of people who travel by railway. From the peculiar nature of the service to be rendered, it will easily be seen that any friction, any cause of discord existing between those whose duty it is to give orders, and those whose duty it is to obey and loyally execute such orders, must necessarily act as a disturbing influence upon this sensitive machinery. Any outside force that would tend, in even a remote degree, to weaken or divert that loyalty in execution of order or advice from those who command to those whose duty it is to heed and act, not in a perfunctory way, but with all due diligence; I repeat, any such cause is in itself an element of danger. Some people might well feel disposed to ask: Has this question not a direct bearing on the sad increase of disasters on railways throughout America, which has been so marked, that both the Governments of the United States and of Canada have been called upon to investigate the cause? This remarkable increase in the number of casualties, in the face of all modern inventions and improvements that have been applied to secure a greater degree of safety, must be the result of some more or less direct cause. That cause may possibly be found to exist in the disturbing element which I have above referred to.

If it were possible to add up and place in actual figures, side by side, a grand total representing the gains and losses to be debited

and credited to unionism since its advent, how would the balance appear? If all the losses of life and destruction of property, all of the loss of time on the part of laborers, all the time of idle machinery and idle capital, all the untold misery, wretchedness and suffering of men and women and children, if all these things, that are directly traceable to organized labor troubles, could be placed side by side in any way that would admit of their being weighed or measured, what would such a totality mean? I ask the reader in all sincerity to look at the whole matter from this point of view. Then ask himself this question: Is it a thing to be desired that this system should be encouraged, fostered and perpetuated, until individual effort, individual freedom, individual independence, has become a thing of the past and there be nothing left for incentive? No reward for superior ability or ambition, nothing but a levelling *down* to mediocrity, and submission to the will of an arbitrary control, the very foundation of which is based upon the crafty Jesuitical motto, "The end justifies the means."

If Canadians are to imitate the democracy that rules in the United States in the future as they have been doing in the past, if we have no guiding ideals of our own, but continue to act the subservient part of imitators, then surely we can have but little reason for claiming the twentieth century as our own.

If the democracy of organized labor, which has been allowed to become international in character, and, in fact, is to be looked upon as a sample of our highest aims, then there can be little hope for a purely Canadian national democracy. If the people and Government of Canada are not strong enough, self-reliant enough, to take the initiative and work out a higher standard of political, social and commercial ethics, independent of the precedents set by our more wealthy and populous neighbor, then we are but as a suburban ward of a large city.

If our great trancontinental railways, such as the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, are subject to the possibility of being "tied up" at the order of an international labor organization, then is the claim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the "twentieth century belongs to Canada," an illusion, a vain boast, and a mockery; the sooner forgotten the better.

But surely there must be a higher destiny before us than this, and surely it must be attainable. The attainment of such a destiny is the work that the twentieth century has marked out for the young giant to undertake. Can he do it? Is he equal to the task? These are pertinent questions, the answers to which are yet hidden below the horizon, below the line of vision. We may be

confident that it is possible and even probable. We may feel sure that with courage and capacity, moral, mental and physical, coupled with that political wisdom, honest zeal and patriotism, with that independent spirit which makes for good and wise government, as well as for prosperous, contented and happy citizens, I say, with these to lead and guide all difficulties and dangers may be brushed aside and the Young Giant Nation can then shake hands with his bride, the Twentieth Century, and make her welcome to a new home, newly furnished, in the Far West of the New World.

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#### APPENDIX.

##### STATEMENT OF PROPOSED EVIDENCE BEFORE THE STRIKE COMMISSIONERS.

To make even an attempt at offering any practical suggestion on the subject a thorough knowledge of the history of railway strikes is necessary, a close analysis of cause and effect, a clear, unbiased conception of all the conditions bearing on and leading up to the disputes between employer and employed.

The object to be attained is vast and difficult, and cannot be secured at once. There was a beginning to strikes, a gradual development in keeping with the development and extension of railways themselves. The remedy must have a beginning, a progress and a development, a growth in power and influence, until railway strikes become unprofitable, unpopular, illegal, impossible; whether the remedy takes the form of legislation or of concession and commingling of interests between railway companies and their employees, or otherwise.

One step has already been taken. The last and greatest strike has proved that strikes are now unprofitable to the strikers. Had the recent trouble been successful, the strikers would have been the losers, but having been unsuccessful they lost all. In other words, they had everything to lose and nothing to gain.

The time is opportune for taking further steps. The possibilities for good and great results from the investigation which your commission is holding cannot be overestimated. The victors and the vanquished should realize this and willingly lend their aid to that end. It is unquestionably for the benefit of railway companies and for the interests of the people and of the state that strife and antagonism should be buried and that peace, harmony and good will should exist between employer and employed.

The best means to bring this about is, as I understand it, one of your aims, and on this line I venture respectfully to offer my

humble opinion, formed from a knowledge, personally gained, of a system adopted by a leading railway which has proved successful to such a degree that I feel warranted in bringing this under your notice.

It partakes somewhat of the nature of a "Civil Service" adapted to railway service. The employees in the Operating Department are divided into classes: First, Second and Third. For example, a brakeman enters the service in the third, or lowest class. After a satisfactory examination at the end of six months he is promoted to the second class, and at the end of eighteen months' further satisfactory service he is promoted to the first class, with an increase of pay upon each promotion. And so on through each branch of service, the length of service and the amount of increase being adjusted to meet the requirements in each case. This schedule of rates and the terms of promotion is adjusted and agreed to by a conference held yearly, or oftener, if necessary, between the company's officers and delegates sent from the different classes of the different branches of the service. Everyone entering the service is required to sign an agreement that they will be governed by this schedule or other regulations issued from time to time.

The system has been the outcome of a gradual movement in that direction and is now so elaborated as to cover almost every point. At the conference any friction or grievance is discussed amicably and adjusted, and friendly feeling and confidence is fostered and encouraged. This system is a protection to the employee, it secures to him certain promotion and increase of pay, which is a strong incentive to good behavior and continuance in the service; it is a protection to the company and public, and its tendency is to keep faithful, experienced men in their places. A man cannot be dismissed or reduced in his class without trial, and has recourse direct to the highest authority. The causes of dismissal or other punishment are published. An employee from another company cannot be taken into the service to the detriment of any one already employed. It does not debar men from joining unions. They elect their best informed and most level-headed men to represent them at the conferences, irrespective of position or union connections, the agitator is suppressed, and men of cool, honest purpose selected instead, commanding and receiving the respect of their officials.

The whole system gives stability and character to the service, brings the employee regularly in contact with his officers, establishes and maintains friendly relations and kindly interests, and inculcates a spirit of tolerance on both sides; yet it is merely a beginning and is capable of being enlarged upon and improved as the times admit. When men are opposed to such a system, learn

that it is for the benefit of all, and not for a few, when they learn it insures them against injustice and oppression, secures to them permanency of employment (as far as that can be done) and an advance in wages as they increase in efficiency, they will cease opposing. It is an established fact that railway companies prefer the old, tried, faithful and experienced servants to new hands at a less cost, and it is the interest of every officer to have friendly relations with the men under his supervision, and these men invariably find it is better to consult with their superior officers themselves than to put their case in the hands of professed agitators. It often occurs that the officer expects too much from the employee who has not had the experience or has not the ability of viewing matters from the official's point of view. It would be well for such officials to remember the motto: "Put yourself in his place," and act accordingly. There is much to be learned and gained by a proper and liberal treatment of employees. Their true interests should be explained to them in a kind and friendly way. Once started in that direction the employee will rapidly learn to appreciate and profit by such treatment, and a growth of confidence will be promoted and relations established that may finally change the whole feature of existing conditions. If there should arise any difficulties that cannot be adjusted at the conference referred to above, then arbitration can be resorted to when the matter in dispute is brought down to a point such as would render arbitration possible and practicable.

With regard to state ownership I would simply say that the question is of such magnitude that I do not feel competent to express even an opinion. The possibilities for good or for evil would be tremendous. Competition, in case of state ownership, would be interfered with. Political influence would inevitably be a great factor, and no one can foretell how that influence might result. I would mention the fact that in the neighboring Dominion of Canada there is a considerable system of railways owned and managed by the Government, but these lines were originally built, equipped and manned by the Government, thus making the conditions altogether different from what would obtain were the Government to acquire and work the roads of this country.

I would again state that I have no personal interest to serve, directly or indirectly, in offering to give evidence, but do so solely in the hope that I may have touched upon some new ground, or brought out some point not covered by other witnesses.

My long experience of thirty-seven years of railway life, in various positions, must be my excuse for venturing to say what I have.

ROBT. LARMOUR.



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**Canada's Century**

**A Review of Labor  
Conditions To-day**

By

MAJOR ROBERT LARMOUR, *Robert*

Author of "Canada's Opportunity."

"The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada."

—SIR WILFRID LAURIER

3  
TORONTO  
WILLIAM BRIGGS

1907



# CANADA'S CENTURY

A REVIEW OF LABOR CONDITIONS TO-DAY

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TORONTO  
WILLIAM BRIGGS  
1907

HD 8106

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Entered according to act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand nine hundred and seven, by ROBERT LARMOUR, at the Department of Agriculture.

TO THE EDITOR,—

In view of the present indications of an impending strike among railway employees in Canada—a contingency involving consequences too disastrous and deplorable to be thought of without concern and alarm—the author hopes that this pamphlet, if it can be brought to the attention of the railway men, will have some weight in deciding them against so unwise a course. You will note that I deal with the disastrous Chicago strike of 1894 and the Stratford strike, both of which have their lessons for the men of to-day. Any mention you may make of the pamphlet will be gratefully appreciated.

—THE AUTHOR.

**NOTE—**

The above circular, with a copy of the pamphlet, has been sent out to thirty-seven newspapers between Halifax and Vancouver.

The author further hopes that citizens generally will lend their influence in the direction of averting a strike that would tie up our railway systems, which would result in disaster to the employees themselves (who are misled by American demagogues), as well as great damage to the business interest of the country.

Stratford, April 2nd. 1707.

HD 8106

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# CANADA'S CENTURY

## *A Review of Present-day Labor Problems*

"THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BELONGS TO CANADA."

—*Sir Wilfrid Laurier.*

THIS most strikingly bold, terse, eloquent and patriotic assertion had its birth in a speech delivered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, in Massey Hall, Toronto. Original in conception, opportune as to time, appropriate as to conditions, it might well be adopted by this young nation, to abide with us, a distinct, definite, national type of Canadian aspiration.

The territorial dimensions of Canada are large enough to warrant the claim. The natural resources are great enough to support it. The vigor, enterprise, and resourcefulness of the people of Canada have given evidence of their ability to sustain it. Stalwart in constitution, big of bone, muscle and brain, the vigorous young giant would thus assert his claim upon time and place in the world's history.

Under such circumstances, would it be too much to say that this, what might be called, national motto, that its adoption would have a tendency to inspire a devotion to country at once loyal and patriotic; a national enthusiasm that would go far towards consolidating differing elements, and to favorably impress those people of other countries who are anxiously looking towards Canada as a future home.

Half a century ago the name of Horace Greeley was so familiar to the people of the United States that it might be said to have held second place only to that of Abraham Lincoln; yet to-day that name is known to millions in that country only by its being connected with that famous and prophetic utterance, "Go West, young man, go West." I am old enough to remember how that cry swept through the Eastern States like the cry of old that roused the people of Europe, and culminated in a mighty crusade against the "Infidel Turk." We, who are old enough to remember the monster wave-like movement of people westward that followed that cry, will be able to realize somewhat of the result. It was phenomenal, and threatened, for a time, to depopulate the Eastern states. It spread across the Atlantic

and over Europe, it was repeated from pulpit and platform, it was reiterated through the press; it was not a mere senseless, popular saying, but serious, sincere, tellingly effective. The great West of Canada was overlooked, ignored or entirely unknown.

But time, that changes all things, has brought about a change in this respect as well; now has come Canada's turn, "CANADA'S OPPORTUNITY."

"The Twentieth Century Belongs to Canada." Let this be preached as a new crusade. The people of the United States already know it, and acknowledge it by the thousands that are moving into our West—from the "West" of Horace Greeley's time—into the long neglected, ignored and overlooked greater West of Canada, and the wave of immigration from Europe is changing its direction while it increases in volume.

#### SOME OF THE CONDITIONS THAT GO TOWARDS SUPPORTING SUCH A CLAIM.

The Laurentian formation, the oldest known dry land on the surface of the globe, guards the eastern boundaries. The Rocky Mountains—the "backbone of the continent," give stability and protection to the vast fertile plains that lie to the eastward, while between lie the greatest fresh water lakes in the world. From these great lakes great rivers flow towards all points of the compass, providing water powers that are almost without limit. Great in forests of valuable timber, great in mineral wealth, but greatest of all in the vast area of land suitable for cultivation; with climatic conditions favorable to health and vigor in man and beast.

Even the oceans that wash our eastern and western boundaries yield a wealth in fish greater than is to be found in any other part of the globe; while, on the other hand, this country is free from many of the evils that affect other countries. We have no earthquakes or tornadoes, no great floods, no war, no famine, no cholera, no yellow fever. But instead of these we have peace and plenty—health and vigor—justice and freedom—law and order; in fact, this country offers such opportunities for the pursuit of happiness and prosperity as are to be found in no other part of the world to-day.

To these favorable conditions may be added the fact that to-day Canada leads the world in railway construction, for we now have more miles of railway, per capita, than any other country; while the undertakings in the way of building new lines and new systems are far greater than they ever were before,



which bids fair to increase the lead already held. Again, the question of improvement in all means of transportation is receiving much more attention and support in all parts of the country; new canals are projected or being built, and the old ones are being enlarged and improved at the public expense. New lines of steamships are constantly being established, while still more and faster lines are being proposed. New routes of trade and travel are being opened in every direction, reaching towards all parts of the habitable world. The banking facilities of Canada are admittedly superior to anything on the continent, while manufacturing and industrial interests are fully keeping pace with the settlement of new territory. The growth of many cities and towns in the Dominion has been so rapid of late years as to be almost incredible, and the increase in foreign trade has been equally astonishing.

In view of such conditions Sir Wilfrid Laurier might well be commended for the use of such a bold and inspiring assertion as that which he used at Massey Hall: "The Twentieth Century belongs to Canada."

But there is always a reverse side to such views to be considered and dealt with. "Two ways of looking at things" is an old saying, but none the less true because old, time-worn and commonplace.

After all, it is not the possession of such valuable land, great national resources, favorable climatic conditions, etc., that makes a great nation, although they may be strong factors. Let us look at the situation from an outside standpoint. With, say, only six millions of inhabitants, and our bordering nation to the south with their eighty millions, what will the average American be most likely to say about this claim that Canada is making to the century. Would they take it seriously, or only smile at our presumption?

Uncle Sam might well be excused if he used some such term as "Right smart young fellow—got some go in him," etc. He might possibly even think it would be worth his while to offer to take the youngster into partnership—as a junior, of course. John Bull might be expected to indulge in a smile, also, but it would be more fatherly and encouraging, one of indulgence over the precocity shown by a son and heir.

Australia, no doubt, would also smile at the idiosyncrasies of her sister colony. How Japan would look upon such an assumption I will leave the reader to imagine, for I do not think Japan would pay us such a compliment as to smile, in the face of the insult offered to her people by our legislation. If Japan did smile at all, it would likely be a smile "grim and threatening."

But there is still another standpoint from which the question should be viewed.

When Sir Wilfrid made use of this assertion we must, at least, give him credit for sincerity. He was not indulging in anything like hyperbole—he must have meant it in all seriousness—and I venture to say that he is willing to stand by it to-day, and to justify its use with still more energy than was employed at the time he first gave it utterance. The question of what the twentieth century would demand from Canada and from him must have vividly presented itself. He must have realized that he could not appropriate the century to Canada's individual use without "Quid pro quo."

What would he do with it? is a proposition that would naturally follow upon the proprietary claim put forth. How would he justify such usurpation?

These are the more serious questions that present themselves when the proposition is looked at from this last view-point.

Let us for a moment glance at some of the things that will naturally be expected of Canada, if we are to make good this claim as put forth by the leader of the present Government. Does the assumption not imply that Canada is prepared to "do things"—things that will mark an epoch in history—things that will set the world an example and start the world thinking and reasoning from new lines—things that will create admiration and give new hope and aspirations to millions of struggling humanity—things that will show that among other advantages which this country possesses, is that of our being able to produce great statesmen to govern this great country—great men who will be capable of rising above the petty things that have too long obstructed and retarded progress, that was otherwise possible; men with capacity and honesty of purpose; men with a proper conception of the great work of leading, directing; men with courage enough to act up to their convictions; men brave enough to scorn hypocrisy; men willing enough to make a sacrifice of selfishness; in short, men that are of a different calibre from the average of prominent men of our times.

The question may well be asked, Does Canada possess the material necessary to produce such men? To this I would answer, in all confidence, that Canada has a rising generation that will meet all future demands in this direction. In the past we have not been behind the rest of the world in the production of men of great ability in all the walks of life. I need not stop here to mention names to verify an assertion that is well known to be true. Nor is Canada at the present time behind in this respect. As for the future, the great new Provinces that have

recently been created in the West are bound to produce young men of high, broad, and deep views of things in general; their environment, the conditions under which they are growing up and being educated, are such as will irresistibly, unconsciously, form in them principles that will tend to lift them into a higher plane of ideals; they will look upon the phenomena of life from a higher level—free from many of the retarding influences of the older and more conventional East; free from many of the customs, habits, formalities, traditions, narrow creeds, and false doctrines that prevail in the older communities, with their tendency to becloud, bewilder, and benumb the best of intellects and the brightest geniuses. There will be bred in the West men of that high quality of courage, that will lead them to strike out on new trails and to follow them with that strength of purpose, honest zeal and broad intelligence that will reach to results of which we of to-day vaguely dream.

Sociology has advanced, within a few years, from being looked upon as merely a system of philosophy, to the position of a science. A very few years more and it will be acknowledged as an applied science. The flood of literature that has issued from the press in recent years, written by the world's ablest men and thinkers, has already placed this subject in the foreground of human effort. The process of society is a cosmic, universal principle—not a law. Malthus, in his "Principles of Population," explains the difference. What we have to do is to adopt the principles of cosmic, universal law. We adopt a principle of the law of gravitation, and run our railway trains. We adopt a principle of the law of resistance, and run our steamships with screws. When we have advanced far enough in the applied science of sociology, known principles will be made use of, to work wonders that will be as marked as that of the railroad train when compared with the stage coach, or the great steamship of to-day when compared with the old sailing ship.

The telegraph, the telephone, the development of electromagnetic power, and many other great discoveries of recent years, which to-day are utilized in a thousand ways for the purposes and benefits of society generally, are all the result of scientific research and inventive genius. In all the walks of life there seems to be a steady, yet rapid, progress. While we notice this general advance in the material welfare of civilization, we cannot help but notice that the old plan of governing the nations remains much the same.

Constitutional governments, although making changes with a view to improvement from time to time, have made no radical changes, have not developed in the same ratio. Government by

party, with its acknowledged defects, seems to be still the highest ideal attainable, or attempted.

Men in high places, even in England, openly say that government by party is the curse of the country. A few years ago it would have been considered rank heresy to utter such words. Is this a sign of the times, a portent of a coming change of opinion in this respect, or is it merely the off-hand expression of disappointed party politicians? Or, on the other hand, is there a process of dis-illusionment going on? Are the defects of the system becoming so apparent that men are beginning to look forward to something higher, nobler, in governing methods? It cannot be possible that the world has reached its highest level in the matter of government. There must still be a loftier plane to which it is possible to attain. The social life of the world cannot stand still—it must advance or fall back; back to feudalism or Cæsarism, or forward to a more pure democracy.

These are great questions, they are questions of the deepest import to us as Canadians; but I must leave the discussion of so vast a field as they open up to some more able pen than my own. As the title of this little work will indicate, it is to a certain extent intended to continue the discussion of the question raised in the closing pages of the previous pamphlet, "Canada's Opportunity," which was published on the 1st of January last. Briefly stated, this question was the assumption that an injurious effect was produced and the progress of the West retarded by the exclusion of Asiatic labor. In order to give readers (if there are any) who may not have seen the first pamphlet, referred to above, some idea of the argument used, I will here quote a criticism which appeared as an editorial in the *Stratford Beacon*, February 2nd, 1907, and also my reply to the same, which also appeared in the *Beacon*, February 4th. This letter was in turn replied to by the *Beacon*, which was again answered by the author.

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#### THE "BEACON" EDITORIAL.

"Our townsman, Major Larmour, writes in his recent pamphlet enthusiastically, and in a delightful strain, of his former Brantford acquaintance, General Butler, who rendered valuable aid to Wolseley in his military expedition against Riel, and who afterwards published his famous book on 'The Great Lone Land.' Major Larmour gives many extracts from this interesting work, possessing in point of style features very much like his own, and proving that the pens of military men of culture are mighty as

are their swords. Butler has a heart full of feeling. He has affection for every creature that walks the earth. He laments the fate of the Indian and the extinction of the buffalo, on whose flesh the Indian subsisted and in whose skin he was clothed. The hardships of the "hauling dog" excite his sympathy, in spite of the great rascalities of that cunning beast, developed by ill-usage, the analogy being man reduced to servitude, for, he remarks, just as slavery produces certain vices in the slave, this perversion of the dog from his true use to that of a beast of burden produce, in endless variety, traits of cunning and deception in the hauling dog." To get along with a dog-train he says the driver must be able to swear volubly in three languages. We shall spare the reader the scene depicted by Butler at the death of his favorite horse, Blackie. It reminds one of Sterne's Sentimental Journey, and of the tears he shed over a dead donkey. More germane to the subject in hand is Butler's vision of the future greatness of the North-West country—the fertile land, the home of millions yet unborn. He sees a vast country lying silently awaiting the approach of the immense wave of human life which rolls unceasingly from Europe to America. 'Far off as are the regions of the Saskatchewan, from the Atlantic seaboard on which that wave is thrown, remote as are the fertile glades which fringe the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, still that wave of human life is destined to reach those beautiful solitudes, and to convert the wild luxuriance of their now useless vegetation with all the requirements of civilized existence.' And much more in the same poetic and prophetic vein. This country, it will be seen, he would keep as a white man's paradise, and especially a heritage, or home, for his own race, for he has in him a fine strain of patriotism, of undying love for the old motherland who gave him birth, and to whom, in spite of complained of neglect, his best services as a soldier have ever been freely given.

"Entertaining to the full, as we know, the same patriotic sentiments, Major Larmour goes further, and welcomes as joint possessors of these vast regions of virgin soil the hordes of Asia. He recognizes the need for labor—he is influenced by the feelings of friendship so universal at this time among those who speak the English language towards the island empire of Japan. But he would include also the Chinese. He is alive to the wants of the great railway systems under construction, on the one hand, and of starving millions on the other, and he imagines that General Butler, with these conditions before him, would join him in saying: 'Let British Columbia open her doors, reach out across the Pacific Ocean, and shake hands with Japan and

China. Let trade and commerce be encouraged to the fullest extent between us. Let meaningless social barriers be thrown down. Let prejudice of color, race and religion be scattered to the winds.' What General Butler would say to Major Larmour we know not, we can only surmise. But we do know what is being said about the little brown men by white men where the yellow peril is making itself actually felt at the present moment. We know what is said by British Columbia. Now listen to what was said in one of the numbers of the *New York Independent* of last month. The Japanese coolie who comes to these shores is usually above the status of an unskilled laborer. 'He is a cobbler, tailor, gardener, cook, waiter, or one or other of a dozen classes of workman, as the case may be. He can, and does, live just as cheaply as a Chinaman. A handful of rice, a little dried fish, and a cup of tea make a square meal for him. To speak specifically, let us take the case of a cobbler. He has learned his trade in his own country. He has scarcely set foot in America when he rents a dingy little room in close proximity to the white shoemaker who has been established in that location for many years. Then the little brown man puts up his sign and announces his scale of prices. A perusal of the latter shows that he asks about one-half the amount charged by his white neighbor for similar work.' The upshot is that the white man and his family, unable to subsist on the brown man's fare, are driven from their home, to begin anew the struggle for existence in some other section which the Japanese have not, as yet, invaded. The article goes on to say that the relationships, legalized relationships, between the sexes of their race are, according to our standards, positively immoral, and furthermore, that they have no loyalty to any country but their own. So devoted are they to the Mikado that oaths of naturalization are but a hollow mockery, an empty formality, signifying nothing. The Japanese stands ever ready to do service at the call of his country, in money and in arms, even against the country that now shelters him and to which he may have sworn allegiance. What does Major Larmour say to that? In face of this picture, his contrast between our toleration of the black man, the Doukhobor, and the Mormon go for little. The negro has no nationality claiming his fealty, and he is still the terrible unsolved problem of the South. The Doukhobor is a pest to our North-West Mounted Police, and we will have no more of him. The Mormon, because of his abominations, is being contested claim to representation, in the person of his accredited agent, Smoot, in the United States Senate. But negroes, Mormons and Doukhobors are never likely to be more than a fraction of our population, while Japan-

ese and Chinamen would come over and possess the land. Major Larmour calls it 'Canada's Opportunity.' To us it looks like Canada's peril. The Oriental comes—the Caucasian disappears. It is the case of the white man and the Indian reversed."

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" AN OPPORTUNITY, NOT A PERIL.

"To the Editor of *The Beacon*:

"*Sir*,—The best thanks of the writer of 'Canada's Opportunity' are due, and are hereby tendered to *The Beacon*, for the very kindly and extended notice of his little work which appeared in Saturday's issue. I assure you that he had not the vanity to expect that his ideas would be accepted as gospel. The question touched upon opens a wide field, and, for a time at least, there will no doubt be as wide a divergence in opinion. I will feel still further indebted to *The Beacon* if it will give space for the following, which is copied from Hansard of January 15th. It is an extract from the reply made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Mr. Kennedy, member from New Westminster, B.C., who had just delivered a speech to the House advocating, among other things, the exclusion of Asiatic labor. Sir Wilfrid said:

"I would like to call the attention of my hon. friend from Westminster (Mr. Kennedy) and my friends from British Columbia generally, to the fact that at the present time there is a tendency to improve our trade relations with the nations of the Orient, with Japan, with China, and with India. Japan has undergone a revolution, it is no longer a country of Asiatic tendencies or Asiatic civilization, it is fast becoming a European country, and we have a growing trade with Japan, a trade which must be improved, and which will assume in years to come, and in the very near future, very large proportions. I want our friends from British Columbia to remember this, that if we are to trade with Japan we must treat Japan as a civilized nation. We cannot afford to treat the Japan population with anything like contempt; we must recognize their value, we must recognize that they are allies of Great Britain, we must realize that they are a European and civilized community, and if we are to have any benefit from the trade we expect to have, we must take these facts into consideration.

"I would like to have my hon. friend from Westminster (Mr. Kennedy), and all the gentlemen from British Columbia, remember that we are undergoing a revolution, and that condi-

tions are not to-day what they were yesterday, and that they will not be to-morrow what they are to-day, but there is a large tendency, an always increasing tendency, for a more intimate communication between the nations of the East and the nations of the West.'

"I just wish to add that about the same date the Government gave audience to a deputation of union delegates. Among other things these delegates demanded was one to the same effect, viz., the exclusion of Asiatic labor. In Sir Wilfrid's reply, he gave them, in effect, the same answer, the same advice and warning that he gave Mr. Kennedy and the British Columbia members. To my mind, this means the death knell to the undue influence of unionism in the government of the country.

"As for the story of the Japanese cobbler which you quote from a New York newspaper, I must say that I regret that you thought it applicable in this case. That story is not less than twenty-five years old—had its origin in California, I think, and has done duty ever since in varied forms to suit the locality and notions of union orators. 'This is a white man's country' is another of their popular phrases, which has been in stock for a long time. As to the 'Yellow Peril,' we now know this to have been meaningless, senseless, and without foundation. The real peril lies in the repeated insult offered by the white man to a people such as the Japanese have shown themselves to be—a nation which Lord Rosebery had characterized as the most efficient in the world to-day—a people of whom President Roosevelt has said, 'We have so much to learn from the Japanese as the Japanese have to learn from us.'

"I notice that you omitted to mention my reference to these authorities, also to the despatch from Calcutta showing that the safety of the Empire was threatened by the action of the Transvaal Government in denying the people of India the right of citizenship.

"If I understand the language used by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his reply to Mr. Kennedy, it means that he does not want the disagreeable duty of disallowing further acts of exclusion forced upon him. The language used by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress referring to the trouble over the discriminating legislation of the State of California, is on the same lines. The action of the Colonial Department of the British Government in regard to the British Columbia act of exclusion of Japanese is an object lesson to us as Canadians. Would it not be wise for us to pay due heed to these signs of the revolution that is taking place, the evidence of which is plainly visible from day to day.



"May I hope that *The Beacon* will extend a similar kindness when No 2 pamphlet makes its appearance. It will be under the heading of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's eloquent assertion, 'The Twentieth Century Belongs to Canada.'

"R. L.

"Stratford, February 4th, 1907."

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"MAJOR LARMOUR'S LETTER.

"Major Larmour wrote to *The Beacon* yesterday in the same admirable spirit that he manifested in his pamphlet. His feeling of brotherhood for all nations and his desire to satisfy the labor hunger in the North-West are excellent traits, to which no exception can be taken except it be to the measures he proposes to realize the ideals he has formed. The development of Japan and our *entente cordiale* with that nation are both happy circumstances. It would be a crime to do anything to lessen the friendship of the two island empires. "Hands across the sea." The quotation Major Larmour made from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech is exactly in point, but its citation was hardly necessary for the purpose of his argument, for we are all of the same mind in this matter. Pushed, however, to its proper conclusion, it is rather against Major Larmour's contention that we should assist in peopling the North-West with Japanese, than helpful to it, seeing that it was designed, in the true tone of Imperial statesmanship, to appease the wrath created already in a portion of our country by the coming into it of the people from Japan, and was not intended to advocate the further extension of the mischief. British Columbia is in trouble from this cause; it would be a great mistake to help by it to create a ferment in the North-West also. Different households are far more likely to remain at peace in their respective homes than they would be if they were fated to live together under the same roof. With alien races, with varying customs, tastes, and habits, and fighting one another for the upper hand, the case, of course, would be vastly worse. Major Larmour speaks of the Transvaal and of India. Opposing elements in the Transvaal led to the Boer War, and trouble from the same cause seems to be brewing in India. One of the reasons why we should not invite Japanese to come here in greater numbers is to avoid the same kind of embroilments. Already the situation both here and in the United States is sufficiently delicate. Let us not add to the complication. The social aspect of the question lies at the bottom of the trouble. Major Larmour laughs at the story of the cobbler, and says after twenty-five years of travel it has been

exploded. Has it? Is it not true? Many more examples were given in the New York Independent to show that Oriental and Caucasian cannot live side by side, working with the same tools. Only when the white man has superiority in equipment can he, with his higher standard of living, compete successfully with the man whose skin is brown. Major Larmour hopes we will show the same kindness to his pamphlet No. 2 when it appears as we have shown to pamphlet No. 1. We assure him that we will. To the offspring of the brain of so kind a man as Major Larmour, how could anyone do otherwise? Major Larmour, like General Lee, may fight in a losing cause, but he fights with clean weapons."

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" OPPORTUNITY, NOT PERIL.

" To the Editor of *The Beacon*:

" *Sir*,—As the author of 'Canada's Opportunity,' I wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks my further obligations to *The Beacon* for the second very able and kindly worded notice which appeared in the issue of the 5th inst., in reply to my letter of the 4th.

" I would not venture to occupy more of your space than is necessary to do this; but to do this only, your readers might be left under the impression that I had retreated from the stand taken in the pamphlet, and supported by my letter of the 4th. This is by no means what I would like them to think for a moment. Put very briefly, the point I wish to make is, that under the undue influence of Trade Unionism British Columbia has been induced to pass laws to exclude Asiatic labor, which is injurious to the general interests and welfare of the West.

" It is the great cosmic principles that underlie the whole structure of society and social relations that I intended, and would still like to deal with, rather than the petty likes and dislikes of individuals, or even communities. To go into the details of an argument on such lines would require volumes of matter instead of a single newspaper article.

" The narrow and selfish motives of concerted Trade Unionism has given undue prominence to some erroneous ideas in this, as well as other countries, in regard to social relations and the duties that communities and races owe to one another as common inheritors of the earth's surface. Because a people happen to occupy a different and far away portion of this common inheritance, and were born into this world under different conditions—conditions that we know so little about—is no good reason why we should ill-use them.

"Because we happen to have the opportunity, just at the moment, to do so, is no justification for doing it.

"Social science is destined in the near future to produce changes relatively as great as those achieved by the applied science of mechanics during the last half century. When the science of sociology has had the same attention from cultured intellects—the same amount of earnest endeavor that has been devoted to inventions in the mechanical world—then those who live after us may see as great a change in the social world as we now see between the old sailing ship of fifty years ago and the present magnificent and speedy steamship, or the rapid and luxurious railway train and the old stage-coach. These changes will not be brought about by the wild frenzy of anarchism nor yet by the narrow, futile and selfish conceptions of unionism, which barely conceals the seeds of anarchy that only wait favorable conditions to sprout up.

"That hybrid fancy called Socialism may yet succeed in working out something good if well cultivated, trained, and trimmed, but at present it is but a sickly plant, badly injured by the cold blast that recently blew upon it from Germany.

"To come more directly to the point raised in your last letter, which I understand to be that more trouble would be created by the admission of Asiatic labor into the West than by persistence in keeping it out. To this I would make answer that there is not the remotest danger of either Japanese or Chinese coming in such 'hordes' as to create a danger of the white man being driven out. In the first place, the emigration laws of Japan only allow some four or five persons to leave each province yearly. As for the 'hordes' from China, you may take it for granted that the average Chinaman does not love the 'foreign devils' well enough to leave his country and people—which he loves so dearly—to place himself at the mercy of these devils. It's only a few venturesome spirits who perhaps choose between the foreign devil and starvation who emigrate.

"This whole cry about the 'hordes' from the Far East coming to possess our land and drive us out is as senseless as it is weak, and is one of the erroneous ideas put forth in the way that I have mentioned above, too simple, too foolish to be treated seriously.

"This is not the class of Eastern people we should be afraid of. To my mind, we have a greater reason to fear that class who transact business, buy and sell, and have the power to boycott our trade, as China is to-day boycotting the United States trade. There is still another class that we should regard with more fear than the poor innocent, ignorant laboring man, and

that is the ruling class—the government, the army, the navy, the men whom we insult by our discriminating legislation. And the only reason we can offer for such legislation is that it was done to satisfy the clamor of Trades Unionism; and here I again venture to say that it is all a mistake, perhaps more serious than many of us think.

“It is surely high time that the old musty prejudices engendered by the tales of soldiers and marines, and the still more musty notions of Anglo-Saxon exclusiveness or Caucasian superiority, built upon no better authority, or on no authority at all. I say it is high time that we, in this young and progressive country, should shake ourselves free from such drivel, and stand up like men, acknowledge man to be kindred all the world over—deal with him as kindred, honestly and fairly. If this were done there would be far less occasion for resorting to the arbitrament of war to settle family quarrels and disputes; for, after all, we belong to one family, or else such men as Huxley, Darwin, Spencer and a long list of others, have lived, worked and died in vain.

“At the moment of writing these few lines I have received a letter from a gentleman in Toronto, Mr. E. S. Caswell (a bookman), who is widely known throughout the country as a man of broad and cultivated intellect. Referring to this question, he says:

“‘We are living in a time when the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns.’ ‘We have no right to exclude those who are not of the same color or creed as ourselves.’

“The ancient fable of the ‘dog in the manger’ may well be applied to us by other people if we continue the narrow, weak policy of pandering to the foolish demands of a class, who by the very nature of things—by all the principles of the law that has governed social life from the earliest periods of history—are not the class of people best equipped for the great work of governing and guiding an advanced people and a vigorous young nation. The old Roman who boasted that ‘to be a Roman was greater than to be a king’ perhaps had some ground for so doing, but I fail to see on what reasonable ground the handful of Anglo-Saxons recently settled in British Columbia can find just grounds for their action towards the ancient, populous and powerful nationalities of Asia. Apologists may plead expediency, but will Japan, China and India be content to accept such an excuse. American diplomats have already tried the ‘expediency’ role, but it has proved a dismal failure.

“It is no crime against society on the part of Eastern people to eat moderately of wholesome food, such as rice and fish, instead

of gorging themselves in the way that most Western people love to do; neither is it a crime for them to love their country and their families so well that they work hard and save their wages to send money home. Yet there are people who urge this as a reason for their exclusion from our country.

"I may be likened to one 'crying in a wilderness' for advocating such cosmopolitan notions, but I am doing so from no selfish motives, nor am I being inspired by any outside influence. The only reward I hope for is that some good may result from the fair and open discussion of a subject that is, to this country at this time, one of grave importance.

"Yours sincerely and thankfully,

"R. L.

"Stratford, Feb. 9, 1907."

#### THE GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE OF 1894 AT CHICAGO.

A famous American general (Sherman) said, "War is hell." I have not seen much of actual war in my lifetime, but I have seen a considerable section of hell in the light that the General's phrase was intended to present it. The exhibition of this that I witnessed was located in Chicago at the time of the great railway strike in 1894, generally known as the Pullman strike, because the trouble began at the Pullman works. It would be more properly called the "Debs" strike, because it was worked up from the little beginning of a handful of men at the Pullman works, to what it became afterwards, by the direct mechanism of that arch demagogue, Debs. I was living in Chicago at the time, and in a position to know much about the methods employed to embroil the whole of the trainmen—locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen—of every road leading in and out of Chicago. I purposely undertake to give a brief description of what I saw and knew personally, because it is the reverse side of the picture that Union leaders always hold up to general view—that is, showing the great benefits that have been, are being, and are still to be, derived from Unionism.

Debs had been somewhat successful in manœuvring a strike on the Great Northern Railway a short time before, and was in consequence hailed as a hero when he made his appearance in Chicago and took a hand in the trouble at the Pullman works.

He had grown, in his own estimation, quite as great a man as the labor unions were prepared to make of him. In a very

short time after his advent he grew to such proportions by this joint admiration business that no place less than the great Auditorium Theatre was prominent enough for him to deliver his public lectures, and five dollars was the price of a ticket for a seat there. I saw factory girls, shop girls, sewing girls, paying their five dollars to hear the great man, the man who had suddenly arisen from obscurity to the position of leader, regenerator, deliverer, or whatever he claimed to be. There was a certain class of people ready to worship him as a god, for a short period at least, and he was quick and ready enough to seize the opportunity that was thus generously offered, and also to make the most of it while it lasted. I speak advisedly when I say that within a short time he was talked of as the coming President of the United States, and that he himself had the conceit to think that this was to be the ultimate result of the great work he proposed to carry out, which was the tying up of all the railways in the West until they had acknowledged his power and authority, and begged from him permission to resume business under any terms that he chose to dictate.

The trouble at Pullman was extended to the railways by instructions to the conductors ('Union men') to refuse to take out any train that had a Pullman car attached. Of course the first conductor who obeyed this order was promptly dismissed by the railway officials, and another man put in his place. The next order was for the engineers (Union men again) to refuse to haul a train with a Pullman car attached, and they in turn were also discharged and replaced. The next move was an order for *all* conductors and engine-men to refuse to take out any train until their discharged comrades were replaced, and this the railway companies' officials of course refused to do. Then a general strike was ordered, and it took place without delay.

It is not my purpose here to act the part, or to assume the responsibilities, of the historian of this monstrous strike. It will answer my purpose to say there were the usual conferences between the Union leaders and railway officials, but they failed to produce anything like a settlement, and the strike spread from day to day until there was not a train arriving or leaving Chicago; in fact, there was a general tie-up—west to San Francisco, south to New Orleans, east to Detroit, and north to St. Paul. It was then that the calamity—for calamity it was—began to manifest new features. Chicago's worst element broke loose, and destruction began. The State troops were called on to maintain order, but they added fuel to the fire instead of quenching it. The Governor of the State of Illinois was well known to be a Socialist sympathizer; the City Volunteer Corps fraternized with

the strikers, if not with the anarchists, that were rioting and destroying the property of the various railways. The city police were nowhere in such a monster uprising as had taken place; business was suspended generally, and citizens were in a state of terror lest another burning of Chicago was at hand. They had good reasons to be afraid of this, for great fires were raging all round the city in the railway terminal yards, situated in the outskirts. I was at that time located in the Grand Central Station on Twelfth Street, and from the top of the high tower one night I counted a dozen such conflagrations, extending from the lake shore on the north clear round the city to the lake shore on the south at South Chicago. At the same time, in the very heart of the city, an immense lumber yard along the river was in flames and quite beyond the control of the fire brigade; in fact, the engines that were sent to fight this fire had to be abandoned, the men barely escaping with their lives. Millions upon millions of feet of dry lumber were feeding the flame that reached up to the cloud of black smoke that hung over the city. Great flakes of flame would break off it at the top, leap up and bury themselves in the black pall, while whole pieces of boards and even planks would be carried away blazing by the swirling eddy of out-rushing over-heated air, thus starting fresh fires in every direction. It seemed to me, that night, that Chicago was certainly doomed to be a second time destroyed by fire. The streets were packed with terror-stricken people who apparently thought the same. Sleep was not to be thought of under such circumstances. This was the state of affairs when President Cleveland ordered General Miles with Federal troops to take charge of the city and put a stop to rioting and destruction of property. The Governor of Illinois promptly protested against Federal interference, but the President paid little heed to the protest; on the contrary, fresh troops were hurried forward from all points, some coming from garrisons as far east as Vermont. Lake Front Park was turned into a camp, the streets were patrolled night and day by armed mounted Federal troops. Gatling guns presented their grim muzzles at the foot of the leading streets, while troops of cavalry dashed into crowds everywhere, dispersing them; companies of infantry were placed in every railway station, and guards at all the Government buildings. The prompt action of General Miles in this respect had the effect of checking the demonstrations of the lawless element, which consisted largely of foreigners. The next move was to place Federal guards on railway trains and to make the attempt to run, at least, mail trains out of the city. The first attempt of this kind was the signal for a fresh outbreak of violence; tracks were blocked by overturned

freight cars on the rails, and the train itself, as it appeared outside of the depot, was met with showers of stones and missiles of all kinds; even shots were fired at it. The attempt had to be abandoned, and the train backed into the depot again. This was looked upon as a great victory by the rioters, and matters began to look worse than ever, but General Miles proved equal to the occasion, for he promptly ordered the train to be got ready again for another start. This time he ordered a whole company of troops as a guard, to occupy the front of the engine, the foot-plate, the tender, the first steps of the first car and all the steps to the rear. Their orders were to shoot if assailed, and "*shoot to kill.*" The same order was given out at all points where trains were to be started. I knew of this order being issued and saw the troops taking up their positions on the train at the Grand Central Depot, and I went up to the tower to watch its progress, after getting outside of the station building, where there was an immense crowd of howling rioters gathered.

At the first street crossing, which was within a few yards of the station enclosure, the attack on the train commenced. I had but a moment to wait for the result, for the attack was greeted by a shot from the soldiers stationed on the front of the engine; then another and another shot followed, from the right and left side of the train. It was an exciting moment, indeed, for I fully expected that these shots would be met by a fusillade from the frenzied mob; but to my great astonishment not a shot was fired from the immense crowd; on the contrary, the great wild mass of beings seemed to recede from that train as if drawn back in a body by some invisible force.

Farther and farther back it went with increasing speed, like some ponderous machine—first it moved slowly, but at every moment it seemed to gather momentum. In a few seconds the great crowd had utterly disappeared and the train was moving forward as if nothing had happened or was expected to happen. The great strike was over as far as obstructing the movement of trains was concerned. The order of General Miles had done its work, and another proof had been given of the utter madness of a wild, disorganized mob attempting resistance against regular soldiers, properly armed, and acting under proper authority. It was enough for the mob to know that these regular soldiers would obey their orders and "*shoot to kill*" if they were attacked.

And now it becomes my disagreeable task to tell something of the effects. It would be impossible for anyone to tell the whole story or to follow the results to the extreme ends of the trails of misery, sorrow and wretchedness that took their start from this ill-advised and wicked combination of railway employees against



the companies who employed them, and against whom they had not a single complaint to make, either as to wages, treatment or anything else. These railway men had succeeded in tying up the roads to which they belonged, blocked the business of a great city—not one city only, but many—stopped a gigantic traffic that had been flowing over an immense territory, caused damage and loss of millions upon millions of money, and all for what? Simply because they obeyed the order of a demagogue! They tried to make themselves, and others, believe that it was a "Sympathy Strike." It was nothing of the kind! It was simply and solely because they belonged to a Union that demanded an obedience, right or wrong; they had to obey the order to strike—throw up their positions on the railway that had taken them many years of hard work to gain, positions that paid high wages, positions that were sure for life if they only conducted themselves properly—all this they sacrificed, and again I ask, for what? What would have happened to any of them if they had refused? If any of them had said they had no complaint against their employers, that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by going out on strike, and for these reasons had refused to quit work on the order of such an authority? Why, they would have been forsworn, and liable to have been called "scabs" by their comrades.

Such men as railway conductors and engine-men are, as a class, generally men of good common-sense, careful and cautious, as their calling requires them to be. They are, unlike many other men, a class that give due consideration to anything affecting their own and their families' prospects in life. But in this case they seemed to have been carried away by a morbid feeling of allegiance to their Union. If not this, then it must have been that they acted under an excitement that blinded their better judgment—an excitement that was kept up at an extreme pitch by the florid, fiery speeches of Debs, and his co-workers, who, no doubt, knew well how to use such a force, for these leaders well know the power it gives them, such a power as is not suspected by their dupes and victims.

It was the old, old story of the aborigine and his war dance, only in a new garb and with new surroundings.

For a more clear illustration at this point I will take the case of the employees of the Illinois Central Railroad. This road was one of the wealthiest, best equipped, best managed roads that entered Chicago. Their employees were paid the highest wages going, and there was not the slightest friction of any kind between the officials of the road and their trainmen. This I personally know for a fact. Their conductors and engine-men were all old

hands who had worked their way up, some of them having been in the employ fifteen or twenty years and even more, yet they quit work to a man, over the whole extent of that large system, and without giving the slightest warning or reason. They obeyed the order of their chief like an army in a field would obey the call of the bugle, never halting to ask the reason, Why? They seemed to give the terrible results that were sure to follow no thought. The General Manager of the Illinois Central told me afterwards that when his men quit work in this unceremonious way, he sent for some of the oldest and best known men to have a talk with them, with a view to seeing what reason they would offer or explanation they would make for their apparently rash and foolish conduct. He questioned them categorically.

"Had they any complaint as to wages?"

"No."

"Had they any complaint as to treatment?"

"No."

"Had they any demands to make?"

"No."

"Did they expect that he was going to keep the road standing idle until they chose to come back to work?"

"Well, no. They hardly expected that."

"Did they expect that if he took on other men to work the trains, while they remained on strike, that he would dismiss the new men, and take them back when they chose to come back?"

"Well, they hoped he would."

Then he put the direct question:

"Why are you on strike, if you have neither complaint or demand to make?"

To this they could give no intelligent answer, but said something to the effect that the men on the other roads had joined the strike and if they did not do the same they would be called "scabs," etc. They seemed to have no definite understanding what they were expected to do, any more than that they were to quit work. They did not expect pay while they were off duty; they were not even promised this.

During the continuance of the strike the railway managers had formed themselves into an association for mutual protection. Among other decisions that they arrived at was one to the effect that trainmen who had joined the strike should in no case be re-employed on any of the roads that had suffered from the strike. This seemed almost cruel, but managers pointed out that it was an actual necessity for the very existence of the roads to make an example that would serve to prevent strikes in future, and further disaster to railway interests. Up to the time of the strike, and

even for some time after it was inaugurated, there was a large portion of citizens who showed open sympathy with the movement, but for what reason they could not explain afterwards. The man who first refused to take out a Pullman car on his train was a hero for a short time, and then allowed to starve—so much for the sympathy of the public. The rank and file of the strikers, however, had not even the reward of being looked upon as heroes or martyrs; they were simply forgotten and forsaken at once, especially when it became known that there was no re-employment for them. Those that were in debt had their furniture seized, those that were behind in their rent were turned into the streets. Those who had not money enough to pay rent in advance were warned to quit.

Then came the terrible aftermath. There were hundreds—I may say thousands—of men, women and children, who, a few weeks previously were comfortably housed, well-fed and well-clothed, now penniless, with hunger and want staring them in the face. No matter where one of the strikers went to look for employment, the inexorable question was put: "Were you concerned in the strike at Chicago?" If he admitted the fact he was told on the spot that he was not wanted; if he denied it, he was required to produce proof.

A very few weeks after the strike suicides by drowning in the lake, opposite Front Park, became so common that newspapers ceased to record them even as items of news. I passed through this park morning and evening on my way to and from my office, in the Illinois Central Depot, and daily saw the hundreds of men who had to make it their lodging-place. The police permitted this, as there was no other place for them to go. On the morning trip through the park it was no unusual thing for me to see a group gathered round a couple of policemen who were standing watch over the dead body of a man who had just been fished up out of the water, waiting for the ambulance to take it away. If I made enquiry as to who it was, the answer invariably came, "Oh, only a striker." There were no inquests. If the body was identified as that of a striker, that was enough to satisfy all demands, and no further enquiry was deemed necessary. The piteous appeals of these starving wrecks for ten cents—five cents, even—to buy a loaf or a bun, were so heart-rending that I ceased to pass that way, after disbursing the little money that I possessed.

Will any one suppose I did not plainly see the reverse side of the pictured glories of unionism while I witnessed such scenes; that I did not recognize the sources from which such scenes took their rise; that I did not feel deeply the wrong that had been

committed by such men as Debs in luring these men to their destruction, and then leaving them to perish miserably, tortured to the point of insanity, in many cases, by remorse over the suffering and poverty that they had brought upon a loving wife and a helpless family of children. They had sought death as a relief.

A short time before the strike a book had been published in Chicago under the title, "If Christ Came to Chicago." The author was no less a man than Mr. Stead, the famous English writer. He had visited Chicago during the great exposition, and had gathered the material for the work from a personal investigation. The book contained a chart of the city, and the streets he had walked through, for the purpose of gathering information, were marked out on this chart. As may well be expected, his descriptions of the scenes presented in those streets were in no way flattering to Chicago or to the mayor and city government generally. The book suddenly disappeared from the stalls where it had been offered for sale, and I presumed that the whole edition, as well as the copyright, had been bought up by the city authorities in order to suppress its circulation. I had secured a copy; and following the route marked out on the chart, found that Mr. Stead had not told one-half of the truth. A perusal of this book created in my mind an impression, deep and lasting, for I still remember that about that time I either saw, or dreamed that I saw, a picture representing Christ's coming to Chicago. I will endeavor to describe it. The Figure of Christ was represented as standing on a slight elevation in an open space; around the Figure was gathered a great mob of people, representing all classes, all callings, and all the great interests of the city. Near to the Figure of the Christ was a wealthy Jew, with features distorted by hatred, shouting, "Away with Him!" A noted real estate owner cried, "Down with Him!" A rich banker cried out in a like manner. A butcher, with a murderous-looking knife, representing the stock yards and packing interests, was trying to reach Him with the knife. Masons in regalia, Oddfellows, and all so-called fraternal societies, were represented as reaching towards the Figure with long, slim, sharp blades, as if trying to inflict wounds. An old harlot with bony fingers was grasping at His hair. Females in gorgeous attire, with scornful expressions, were flinging dirt at Him. A line of clergymen, with backs turned upon the Figure, were marching away. In the foreground was the figure representing Unionism. With a spade he was vigorously at work trying to dig away the earth from under the feet of Christ; and so on. Not one in the vast crowd but was eagerly trying to destroy Him. Not one friend was there to say, "Hail! Master!"

The impression that the night of fire and terror had left on my mind might well produce a companion picture to the one described above. It would represent a second appearance of Christ, looking over the scene of destruction and terror with outstretched arms. The anarchist would be there with flaming torch, rushing to and fro, applying it to the great railway terminals. The terror-stricken people thronging the streets looking at the red glare overhead; the armed men charging into the crowds of helpless citizens; the savage looking artillery, with grim, fiery mouths trained upon dense masses of humanity; and, in the foreground, a monster ogre with human features crushing and devouring innocent women and children. The name given to this monster would be "Debsism." In this representation the figure of the Christ would not have remained utterly silent, as in the first picture, but would have cried out in tones of sorrow, not anger, "Oh, Chicago, if thou had'st only known, only listened; but ye would not."

Will any one of my readers believe for a moment that Mr. Debs did not know that rioting and destruction would follow on the excitement caused by all railways being tied up. Did he not even expect to bring something of this kind about? Was it not a part of his purpose? He well knew that there were a hundred thousand lawless, excitable, reckless, anarchistic spirits in Chicago, ready to seize just such an opportunity. In fact, it would be hard to guess what he would *not* expect when his brain was filled with visions of the Presidency; perhaps he was expecting to be called on to play Cæsar, to become Dictator, for, with a Governor of the State entertaining the views which he did at that time, there was something of that kind of idea in the very air of Chicago.

A few months after the strike was over, when the excitement had somewhat settled down, President Cleveland appointed a Commission to enquire into the cause of the strike, and to ascertain the best means of preventing railway strikes in the future. I attended the meetings of that Commission regularly, and found Mr. Debs—even after all this horror and destruction—there with brazen effrontery, making himself the most conspicuous personage at the sittings. He acted as if he had been retained as leading counsel for the Commission, for he was rushing round whispering first to one and then to another of the Commissioners. He was even allowed to cross-question leading railway managers who had answered the call to give voluntary evidence, and in doing this he had so much license, and asked so irrelevant questions, that in one case at least which I witnessed the railway manager left the court in disgust, refusing to answer the ques-

tions or to give further evidence before a court that permitted him to be insulted in such a way by such a man. It was quite evident from the first that the enquiry was to favor the interests of Unionism for some ulterior purpose. When this became apparent, as it did most pointedly, that the enquiry was to be conducted on such lines, all interest in it ceased, except on the part of Union men. It seemed to have become simply a bold attempt to reinstate Unionism and Union leaders in public notice, and throw the blame for the strike on the shoulders of railway managers. It was on this account that I handed in to the Chairman a note offering myself as a witness on the ground of being a railway man of life-long experience, but not connected at the time with any railway. After a short consultation the Chairman politely declined my offer, saying that the Commission had not then time enough to spare to take my oral evidence, but would be glad to receive a written statement from me giving my opinions as to the best means of preventing strikes on railways. In accordance with this request I handed in the statement which appears as an appendix to this pamphlet. As far as anything practical or beneficial resulting from this enquiry is concerned, it seemed to be a complete failure, except, perhaps, that after it the railway interests caused Debs' arrest on the charge of conspiracy, upon which charge he was tried, convicted, and sent to prison for a year.

In order to counteract the bad effects of the utter failure of the strike, and the demoralizing influence that the imprisonment of the leader was having in connection with the labor movement generally, a great meeting of the Unionist leaders was arranged to be held in Chicago during the winter following the strike. It was to be a great demonstration. One of the finest halls in the city was engaged, and great postbills were placarded with such names as Gompers, from New York, another celebrated leader from Philadelphia, whose name I do not remember, another from St. Louis, and several other places distant from Chicago. Even the names of leading ladies, such as Mrs. Potter Palmer, appeared as patronesses. It was pretended that the discussion was to be open to both sides, that is, that railway and other employers were invited to send representatives to discuss the question of Unionism *versus* Non-Unionism.

It would serve no purpose here for me to review or even outline the trend of speeches delivered on that occasion. They were of the usual standard one-sided argument, showing the great work that Unionism had done in the past and would do in the future, and having little, if any, connection with the recent difficulty in Chicago. One thing I remember distinctly was my

disappointment over the speech delivered by Mr. Gompers. On the platform he did not seem to show that great ability with which he was generally credited. Perhaps, in his position of Grand Chief, he did not wish to detract from his colleagues by any display of oratory on his own part. The demonstration as a whole was altogether a one-sided affair, but no doubt served the purpose for which it had been brought about, which clearly was to minimize the effect of Debs' disastrous failure. It even seemed to me that people generally were willing to condone and forgive the strikers for all the damage they had caused the railroads. They went even so far as to say, in an apologetic way, that if the strike had not been a success, it had served to show the railroads what the Unions *could* do.

As an evidence of what they had succeeded in doing, I would mention that the General Manager of the Illinois Central Railway told me that their loss alone would amount to over two million dollars, and that all the other roads running into Chicago had suffered in proportion.

Here I would ask, Are we in Canada not exposed in the same kind of general tie-up? Is there any legal or other machinery ready and competent to prevent a railway strike on any one of our leading systems, or to prevent the men on other systems joining the strike on the pretext of sympathy or some other equally flimsy pretext? The combination of Unionism, especially on railways, is stronger now than at the time of the Chicago strike.

There has been a partial strike of the G. T. R. machinists in this city in existence for nearly two years. By the prompt and energetic measures of the officials of the company, it was prevented from spreading beyond the Port Huron and Toronto shops, and the company have not suffered any great inconvenience, but when it was first inaugurated it was a bold attempt on the part of certain Union leaders to tie up the whole system of the G. T. R.

The cause for it was quite as unreasonable as that of the Chicago strike; in fact, there was no cause for it at all, but it suited the purposes of some parties to work up a trouble on the G. T. R., cause or no cause. I am aware that very many people do not take the trouble to enquire into the facts in such cases; neither do newspapers seem to deem it a part of their duty when they print in prominent columns, under large headings, the agitators' view, to show the other side. On these grounds I deem it advisable here to give a somewhat complete statement of facts that led up to the inauguration of this strike, so that the reader may have a clear conception of how these troubles are brought about.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which many of the older employees of the shops belong, would not accept as members any one who had not served a regular apprenticeship of the trade, so that the fact that a man was a member of this Union, or Society, was a guarantee that he was a properly trained and efficient machinist. The Amalgamated Union is an English association, with headquarters in England. The International Union of Machinists is an American institution, and this latter complained that such restrictions as were imposed by the former was working to the injury of the International, and a system of aggression and persecution was inaugurated to force the Amalgamated Union into amalgamation with the International. To accomplish this, agitators, or organizers, as they are styled by Union men, were sent to the various shops on the G. T. R. to exploit the International at the expense of the Amalgamated. The International would accept as members any kind of men that would join, regardless of the question of proper training or efficiency as a machinist. When they had gained sufficient strength by these methods then they began an agitation, the object of which was to breed trouble. The men employed in this work were experts, and soon succeeded in their object. The next step was to present a "Schedule," with the demand that it be agreed to by the G. T. R. Company. The main features of this "Schedule" were that only one apprentice to every five machinists was to be employed, and that all members of the union would receive the minimum rate of wages, which meant that a man barely fit to earn a dollar and a half a day must be paid two dollars and sixty cents. It is within my personal knowledge that the officials of the railway did everything that was possible, within reason, to avoid the trouble, but that was not what the leaders of the International wanted. They wanted trouble; that was what they were here for.

Now it is a well-known fact that upon all railways a liberal system of apprenticeship is necessary to keep up the supply of skilled labor, not only in machine shops, but in every other department, in the freight sheds, in the ticket offices, on the trains, in telegraph offices, in the audit department, and so on throughout the whole system. It is also a well-known fact that upon all railways, and in all departmental work, there must be grades of pay, that is, the highly efficient man will be better paid than the less efficient. The man in a very responsible position will be paid higher than the one occupying a less responsible position; so that these demands of the new Union were striking at one of the very fundamental principles that go towards making railway operation possible and practicable. These reasons



were explained to the men, and they were told, of course, that what they demanded could not possibly be granted. This was the very answer the agitators expected and, in fact, wanted. After this the usual method of working up men to the proper pitch for a strike was adopted, and a vote "to strike" was carried over the opposition and against the advice of the older employees.

All the men belonging to the unions were ordered to quit work, and they obeyed the order. After the strike had been in force a considerable time, an effort was made by outside parties to bring about a settlement. The Deputy Minister of Labor, Mr. Mackenzie King, came up from Ottawa, and after several days spent in discussing matters between the railway officials and the local Union men, a meeting of the union was called and the men decided by about a two-thirds majority to call the strike off. But this was not what the organizer wanted, for he at once telegraphed to Washington to the Chief, to come on and interfere. Promptly in reply to this call came the Chief, in the person of Mr. O'Connell, who at once ordered another meeting of the local Union to be called for the purpose of rescinding the previous vote calling the strike off, intimating at the same time that unless this were done the charter of the Union would be cancelled. The meeting took place, the previous vote was rescinded according to orders, and the strike, if it can be called a strike, is still on. The Deputy Minister of Labor was thus rebuked, and railways in Canada generally warned by this example of what they, the Chiefs, could and would do. The result of this strike at Stratford has been that about one hundred and twenty men, mostly heads of families, have had to leave their homes and seek employment elsewhere. Many of these families had been residents for over thirty years.

Now, I would ask, could there be a more direct proof of the absolute, arbitrary, autocratic power held by a Chief than was displayed in this case of men stultifying themselves at the beck and call of a foreigner who, as has already been stated, had his own aims and ends to serve, not the interests of the railway, the community, or the men themselves? The promise to tie up the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, when the proper time came, was all that the autocratic leader gave them as compensation for their sacrifice.

To my mind the action of this Chief from Washington, in this case, was a clear challenge to the Government of Canada through its representative, Mr. King, as well as to the railways of Canada. He had shown them *what he could do*, and he told them also what he *would do* when the proper time arrived.

There is an idea prevailing among the less well-informed people on railway matters, that railway officials generally are endeavoring to grind down employees to the lowest possible figure as regards pay, while they are at the same time over-tasking them as to work. This is entirely a mistaken idea. There is no official of a railway, from the general manager down to the section boss, who has the slightest reason for doing this. They are not engaged or placed in such position for any such purpose, and it is no part of their duty to do so. The officers of a railway are neither capitalists nor monopolists, nor yet their agents. They are employees of a company as much as a conductor, engineer or track man; they are only serving in a higher position, in the necessary scale, with more responsibility, and generally with more and harder work to do, and certainly longer hours than those occupying lower positions. I know from a long experience that the responsible officials on all railways have a direct personal interest in retaining the good-will of their staff, to have good men, well contented and loyal, and to do this, they must endeavor to secure for them the highest rate of pay that the situations they fill will warrant. Amicable relations between the parties holding these different positions is in the highest degree desirable and necessary, in order to secure the best results in railway operations. The success of the official depends upon the general good service rendered to the public, and upon the proper discipline and efficiency of the staff under his control. He has everything to lose and nothing to gain by acting in an arbitrary way, thus causing discontent, disloyalty and laxity in the performance of duty, all of which would bring discredit upon himself, danger to the public and loss to the company that employs him. An official has not time to explain the why and wherefore of all his acts and decisions, either to the employee under him, or to the people who are given to listening to one-sided tales of some disgruntled employee who, perhaps, is suffering well-merited punishment for a serious dereliction of duty.

That Unionism, as it is to-day, is a curse to railway operations, as well as to the operatives themselves, is admitted by many well-informed people. For my own part, I say unhesitatingly that I know this to be a fact. Had local unions been kept within the bounds that were first intended when they were inaugurated, they would still be a benefit to both railway companies and railway employees. But they have been exploited to such an extent and to such extremes that their original purpose has been lost sight of, and they have gone wildly into combinations that have, to a great extent, taken the local management out of the hands of local men, and placed it in the hands

of leaders who do not belong even to the same country, let alone the same locality. The foreign leaders, who are not subject to our laws or concerned in our country's success or the success of our industrial institutions, or even the success of the members of these local unions, simply exploit them for their own benefits and ambitions. They can form such combinations through the jealousies, partizanship, ambitions and weaknesses of their subjects (for they rule as autocrats) as will keep them in power, no matter what blunders they make or what crimes they commit. These are some of the facts that are plainly discernible to any one who will make an unbiassed investigation of the systems that are being credited with sacredly guarding the "poor working man" against the greed and tyranny of the unscrupulous capitalist.

Speaking of tyranny, could there be any greater system of tyranny now possible than that which is displayed daily through the operations of these unions, which demands the sacrifice of loyalty to country, to family, to self? These must take a second place when the policy of a Chief leader chooses, for his own ambitious purposes, to order that such a sacrifice be made. To go a little further, is it not tyrannical for one man to have the power to say, You must not work to earn bread for yourself and family until you get permission from me to do so? You must not allow any other man to work in your place, although his family may be suffering for want of bread. You must not allow the industry for which you had been working for forty years, and which paid you liberally and treated you well all that time, you must not allow that industry to make arrangements with other men to carry on the work, no matter who suffers. Whether the public suffer from the want of means to travel; whether the government mails are held up; whether the doctor is prevented from visiting his patients; whether the judge cannot keep his appointment to open court; whether the thousand channels of everyday activities of civilized life are suddenly brought to a standstill? Notwithstanding all these things, "you must not go to work until you get the order to do so." The excuse generally made for doing all this is that it is necessary to show to all people the power that is held by unionism over all their public utilities, and thus secure that recognition of the unions that is necessary to enable them to hold their own against the grinding capitalists. They will say that there is no tyranny, because every member of every union has the privilege of voting on any question. Was there ever a greater attempt made by the greatest tyrant, to justify his acts by more brazen persiflage and crass humbugging of his victims, than this pretended privilege? When

a government, with all its machinery for conducting elections on a basis of purity, signally fail to do so, what chance for pure, honest elections or voting can there be in unrestricted, irresponsible systems such as are in use by unions, where bosses can twist, manipulate, ignore—do as they please with a vote, and no harm can reach them for doing so.

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### THE WHITE COBBLER AND THE YELLOW PERIL.

The author of the *Beacon* article in his criticism of "Canada's Opportunity," objects to the case of the white cobbler and the Japanese cobbler being "laughed out of court," and drags it in again and demands for it a place on the records and a further hearing. As it will serve to illustrate other points as well, I will endeavor to discuss it briefly from a non-union point of view.

It seems to me that the logical conclusion in the case would be this: If the customers of the white cobbler deserted him to patronize the brown or yellow peril man, it would argue that the white man was not giving satisfaction, that he did poor work, that he was neglecting his customers, that he charged them too much for work done, or all these together. Surely his white brothers would not forsake him and his "interesting" family, and drive them out to seek a home where there was no such competition, unless they had just cause for doing so. The whole case therefore resolves itself into this logical point, viz.: The white cobbler was himself to blame, not the Japanese. The latter only took the opportunity opened up by the white man's failure to do things in a way that would hold his customers against a stranger and an alien.

The Government of the United States and Canada, and of all countries, are to-day looking anxiously for means to keep up a system of competition in all industries in order to prevent great combines and monopolies. If the White Cobbler had no competition to fear, we, who have to get our shoes mended, might have to go with our toes out while the cobbler was amusing himself at a hockey match, baseball game, or attending a union picnic or some other amusement. There is still another point from which a cobbler's case may be viewed. He may drive himself out of business by continuing to raise the charge for repairing shoes until it *reaches the limit that it will bear*. When he does this his customers will simply stop getting their shoes mended, because they will find it cheaper to buy new ones and to throw the old ones away. I have come to this decision already. Who, I ask, is to blame in this case?

The case of repairing a locomotive is an exact parallel from this point of view. Every railway man knows that there is a certain percentage of revenue or gross earnings set aside for general repair; this percentage has been figured out to a definite point. There is so much allowed locomotive repairs, so much for car repairs, so much for repairs in all departments connected with the operation of a railway.

At meetings of stockholders these percentages are very closely scrutinized and compared with previous records and with other railways under similar conditions. For a clearer illustration let us take the case of the Grant Trunk Railway, where meetings of the stockholders take place in England because there is where the stock is principally owned. Ever since the road began operation shareholders have watched these reports, in the vain hope that some day the cost of working would not exceed the revenue and that they would get something, no matter how little, by way of return for their investment. If the usual percentage, say for repairs to locomotives, showed a marked increase over the preceding year, the President of the Board of Directors would be called upon for an explanation, and to be able to give this he must be furnished with full details by the head of that department. In nearly all cases the cost of labor is the principal item. If the cost of labor is increased, say 10 per cent, while the cost of material remained about the same, it would show an increase in the total cost of repairs, of, perhaps, seven per cent., as that would be about the relation that labor would bear to material. If the President could not give satisfactory explanation for such increase it would be made the occasion, most likely, of charges of mismanagement being preferred. On the other hand, if it could be shown that wages were being forced upward generally, the question might be asked: "Have we not reached the limit that repairs to locomotives will stand?" "Had we not better quit repairing and spend the money in buying new locomotives, run them as long as possible, and then throw them onto the scrap heap?"

It will be seen from this that there is a limit that the business will bear in the case of a locomotive just as well as in the case of a pair of shoes.

Now the limit that locomotive repairing will stand is well known, for it has been worked out, and has been a matter under consideration for some time among the executive officers of railways.

The limit of expense is known as regards working of a farm; it is fixed by the amount of profit in the operation; if there is to be no profit in the operation no one would care to own and work the farm, a mill, a factory, a ranch. Let us go still a little farther. If it is in the power of labor unions to force the expense of labor

up to this point of limit, capital could not be got to build more railways, land would decrease in value, mills and factories would cease to operate, and there would be general stagnation. The laboring man would find no labor to do and he would be the first to suffer. Is it not a logical conclusion to arrive at, that if labor unions can keep competitive labor from coming into the country, through their undue influence with Government, while they use their combined forces, backed by a large reserve of funds, to push wages up, that this limit point must soon be reached. The public do not show any disposition to pay a railway any higher rate for the carriage of either passengers or freight, while they are well aware of this increased cost of working on account of higher wages having to be paid. On the contrary, they are demanding reductions in both, and calling upon the Government to enforce it. This being the case, we have one powerful interest forcing working expenses upward, and another, equally powerful, forcing compensation down. The natural result of such conditions must be the conclusion, on the part of the railway companies, that the less business they do the better it will be, if there is no profit to be derived, there can be no incentive for doing business at all.

But it is not my business nor purpose to argue a case for the railways. They have men quite able to that without my aid. My object is to show that by the exclusion of Asiatic labor—call it cheap labor if you will—the progress of the country is being retarded. That by the mistaken, misguided, unpatriotic policy of unionism the great benefits to be derived by competition is being destroyed. Our country, instead of being a cheap country to live in, is rapidly becoming a very dear country. A new house built at the present time will cost about 50 per cent. more than that same house could have been built for, ten years or so ago, all on the account of scarcity and high price of labor, for upon that the price of material used in building is based,—in other words, the country is being run in the interests of one class of the community, the laboring class as it is called, while others are bearing the burden. I remember a case that will illustrate this point. Some thirty years ago, or so, the shareholders of the G. T. R. in England became dissatisfied at the repeated disappointments of the half-yearly reports showing no surplus for dividends. They resolved to appoint a committee from among themselves to visit Canada, examine into affairs of the road and report independently of the directors.

When this committee returned to England they reported that the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada was being run for *the benefit of the employees in Canada only.*

As a direct effect of the scarcity of labor in the West I quote the following special despatch from Winnipeg:

## LUMBER PRICES SOAR THREE DOLLARS IN MONTH.

*Famine in Winnipeg Due to Severe Winter.*

Winnipeg, Jan. 8.—(Special.)—Lumber prices have taken a sudden leap and the outlook is far from bright for Winnipeg builders this year. Since December 1 the price of wholesale lumber has gone up nearly \$3. The price was raised \$1 on December 2, and within the past few days prices have soared \$2 more, while dealers state farther advances are due.

The principal cause of the advance is the inability to get the lumber out this winter, owing to the heavy fall of snow *and the scarcity of men*. Record prices were offered last fall for even green men, but they could not be secured at any price.

As further evidence in this respect I quote a paragraph from the address of Byron E. Walker, President of the Bank of Commerce, at the recent annual meeting of shareholders, an authority on such matters second to none in this country. He said:

“In Canada our crying need is found to be scarcity of labor, accentuated, as it is, by labor troubles, notably in the coal regions of Nova Scotia and British Columbia. High wages have largely increased the cost of all building material and inefficient transportation service and facilities have to some extent retarded business.”

Mr. Ralph Smith, M.P. for Nanaimo, B.C., in an address delivered recently at the Canada Club, Toronto, speaking of the deficiency, said:

“The only wise and safe course was for the introduction of the very best class of people from the best countries of the world,” and deprecated the introduction of “a servile class from China and other points of the Orient.”

This might be a safe enough doctrine if the “very best class of the best countries” happened to be starving at home, and would therefore be willing to come to Canada, face a rigid climate, and work at building a railway as the only alternative; but I question whether they will be found in sufficient numbers to meet the present emergency. To my mind we would be lucky enough if we can succeed in inducing enough of the “servile class” from China and elsewhere to come in sufficient numbers.

As a contrast to Mr. Ralph Smith's carefully worded reference to the subject, we find Mr. Frank Morse, Vice-President and General Manager of the Grand Trunk Pacific, saying that although they are trying to get laborers from England, Scotland and Russia that it may be eventually necessary to get Oriental labor. Mr. Morse said: “I do not know of one transcontinental railway line that has been built without the assistance of Oriental labor. It

would be better to have the work of men from the Orient to assist in building and completing a railroad than to have the West suffer as it has done during the last couple of months. Besides, it would open up the ways of commerce with the countries across the Pacific, and perhaps in attracting additional capital to Canada," etc. Mr. Morse further stated to the *Globe* that the procuring of labor was one of the greatest problems affecting railway construction on this continent.

It will be admitted by most people that the winter that is now drawing to a close came very near being one of disaster, if indeed, it has not actually dealt a severe blow to progress in the West. Even the faintest possibility of a coal famine must necessarily prove to be damaging. Let us suppose that if to severe weather and other conditions, that combined to bring about the state of things that existed for two or three months in the west, there had been added a strike of railway men sufficiently extensive to tie up the C. P. R. and C. N. R. for even a short period, what might *not* have happened to those dependent from day to day upon the supply of fuel brought in, for it has been demonstrated that railway men ordered to strike at a certain hour will obey that order, even if the lives of people in no way connected with their dispute are placed in peril, and that actual suffering and distress to women and children would be inevitable.

It is true that Senator McMullen has introduced a bill in Parliament aiming at the prevention of such a possibility, but it has been met with a prompt protest from unionism and it remains to be seen whether such a measure can be carried in the House of Commons, where there are so many members pledged to support union interests. Although the bill has the additional merit of protecting unionists *against themselves*, it is doubtful whether they will submit to even such desirable legislation in their own behalf. If there was ever a class of men who needed Government intervention to protect them against their own folly it is the unionists of to-day. Below is a clipping from a Toronto newspaper showing how prompt their protest comes, for this item appeared immediately upon the introduction of the Bill:

#### PROTEST FROM LABOR MEN.

##### *Object to Proposed Conciliation Act Amendment.*

Disapprove of the Bill of Senator McMullen in Regard to Strikes—  
Would Fix Hours of Labor on Public Works—Officers  
Nominated.

The Toronto District Trades Council last night concurred in the action of the President of the Trades and Labor Congress in sending



out circular letters asking co-operation in a general protest to Ottawa from organized labor against Senator McMullen's Bill to amend the Conciliation Act by making it impossible for international officers from the United States taking part in strikes or impending strikes in Canada, and approving of the bill of Mr. A. Verville, M.P., to fix the hours of labor on public works at eight hours a day.

I might here add that the Trades and Labor Council are just as prompt in entering protests against the action of a city council or a town council, all over this Province at least. If any city by-law is proposed that they consider gives them the slightest grounds for interfering, their protest is sure and prompt. Even if there are no just grounds they will protest anyway, just to show how closely they are watching things. I would not mention this only that there is a serious side to such a state of matters, and that is, that city councils too often pay heed to such protests and are in many cases controlled by them in their actions, much to the detriment and the interests of a vast majority of other citizens.

The following clipping from a city paper will serve as a case in point:

#### PROTEST AGAINST PROPOSED FEE.

*Stratford Trades and Labor Council Opposed to the Mortuary Chapel Charge.*

The regular meeting of the Trades and Labor Council was held last evening. The secretary was instructed to write Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in regard to a convenient date for him to address a meeting in the city.

Several municipal matters were discussed and the secretary was instructed to write the City Council protesting against the proposed by-law to charge the citizens and ratepayers a fee of \$2 for the interment of a corpse in the Mortuary Chapel. It was considered that the ratepayers had already contributed their share towards the erection of the chapel, without adding this tax.

The new delegates to the Council were received as members. Mr. J. J. B. Meyers was appointed recording secretary for the year.

It is in this way that unionism obtains the undue influence in the Government of the country, which is complained of. As an evidence that city councils are unduly influenced we will take the following instance, which comes within my personal knowledge. Put briefly it is as follows:

The Typographical Union demanded that a city by-law be passed to the effect that no corporation printing should be done at

any other but a union printing establishment. When the by-law came up for a hearing one alderman stated that it would be illegal to pass such a by-law. After some discussion this difficulty was got over and the plain object of the law evaded by passing a resolution that the corporation printing should be done at a union establishment only. The object of all this was to shut out a small printing office owned by a German, which refused to join the union. It is due to a few of the aldermen to say that they were ashamed of such truckling and voted against the resolution. If such undue influence is exercised in one city in the province is it not a fair deduction to draw that it is done in many large and small cities? Is it not a reasonable conclusion to arrive at that such a militant combination will carry its influence into our Legislatures, even into the House of Commons.

When party strife at elections runs to the extremes that it does here in Canada, where two candidates are using every means (or almost every means) to capture votes, would it be too much to suppose that each of them would make promises to labor union men, would not strive to out-bid each the other, to gain the union support, so that no matter which of them succeeds in the election he is under "bonds" to the union party. When he goes to Parliament there is a regular system adopted to watch every vote cast by such a member, and woe unto him if he does not vote as they wish. The rest of the voters in the constituency count for little or nothing, the member is not disturbed on their account, but he is under bonds to the labor union. If this is to any extent the case, as it surely is, then what becomes of the independence of Parliament about which we hear so much? Does it exist, or is it merely a sham? The member must prove false to his promises or acknowledge himself bound by them. Either of which position is surely a disagreeable one for him to be placed in.

In pamphlet No. 1 reference was made to the trouble between the United States and Japan. Up to the time of writing these lines there does not seem to have been much, if any, progress made towards a settlement. In support of this the following despatch to the *Toronto World* will have a direct bearing:

#### ANTI-ORIENTAL FEELING IS STYLED FEROCIOUS.

*Imperial Commissioner Says U.S.-Japanese Situation is Becoming Very Grave.*

(From the *Sunday World*.)

Montreal, Feb. 16.—(Special.)—"It is not for me to say what action the Japanese Government may take. I can only say the

situation is really very grave," was the statement made to the *World* to-day by the Hon. Masataka Magaki, Imperial Japanese Commissioner, who has been investigating on behalf of the Japanese Government the grievances from which the subjects of the Mikado are suffering in San Francisco.

He arrived to-day from Chicago and left soon after for New York, accompanied by two secretaries. The trio speak the best of English.

The commissioner at first seemed disinclined to discuss the result of his inquiry, on the ground that the mission was absolutely confidential and that his report should be submitted to his Government before publication, but he was prevailed upon to make one or two general observations on the subject matter of his report.

"Do you think the situation is critical or dangerous, having regard to recent developments?" he was asked.

"I would say that the ferocious anti-Oriental feeling—I can really use no milder phrase—that prevails at the Pacific coast is bound to affect the tranquility of the relations between Japan and the United States."

"Is that feeling due to the question of the prohibition of the Japanese from the ordinary schools alone?"

"It is not. I will put it briefly. California wants to export goods to Japan, but does not want the Japanese to establish themselves or make a living on the Pacific coast at all.

"Trade unionism before the earthquake and fire was strongly opposed to the Japanese, Chinese and other Asiatic races. Since the fire the feeling has in no respect mitigated, in fact, my investigations have led me to believe it has grown stronger. Distinguished Japanese scholars, statesmen, officials and envoys and Chinese mandarins and officials are systematically subjected to the most ignominious and discourteous treatment.

"The treatment of the Japanese as regards the schools is mortifying, but it is only a part of the general policy which aims at the exclusion of the Japanese as well as Chinese from San Francisco and other parts of California.

"The authorities mean to restrict Japanese questions. So far as the school question goes, we insist upon the same rights for our children as are conceded to people of other nationalities; we claim that we are entitled to that under the treaty of 1894, but I doubt whether the president will be able to enforce that treaty.

"It is not for me to say," he concluded, "what action the Japanese Government may take, but I can say the situation is really very grave."

It is a matter of history already, that the Japanese official is not given to boasting, nor yet of being prolix in publishing abroad

diplomatic intentions for the benefit of newspapers of foreign Governments, so that it may safely be inferred that the above, coming from so high an authority, means something. It means something that concerns Canada as well as the United States. When the Imperial Commissioner used the term "ferocious" he also used the term "Pacific coast." What Japan will not quietly submit to as regards the treatment of the subjects of the Mikado in California, Japan will not be likely to submit to in British Columbia, even if it be a portion of the British Empire, and ally. Nor will China long submit. There are now twenty thousand Chinese students studying Japanese methods in the universities of Japan. They will soon return to China and begin to instruct millions of students in that country—students whom we know are quick to learn, quick to conceive and interpret, and especially quick to imitate.

Since the issue of the first pamphlet on "Canada's Opportunity," in January last, the writer has talked with many people on the subject of the exclusion of the Asiatic, and the almost unanimous verdict has been that it was a mistaken policy and should be abandoned. Those who still hold to the policy of exclusion were, in nearly all cases, found to be either afraid to offend unionism, or were in some other way committed to support them, whether they were right or wrong. Some few had apparently imbibed union doctrines and union ideas to such an extent that they could see nothing good that did not take its rise from that source. This class might well be called the parasites of unionism; they feed upon it. This is the class of people who shout for the poor "laboring man" in season, and out of season, with more zeal than knowledge. They do not see that the poor laborer is being ground to powder between the upper and nethermost mill-stone as grains of wheat are ground. They will not see that it is no longer the laborer as an individual that is contending with capital, that instead it is the autocracy of combined unionism which is working for its own mercenary ends while it is devouring the laborer's substance. They will not see that we have capital combining also to resist the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the threatening combination of unionism. Again, they will not see that the policy of keeping labor from coming freely into the country is the serious question which Mr. Frank Morse and others have shown it to be. They will stick to their narrow view in spite of all evidence, that it is a serious drawback to the progress of the Great West.

If the farmers of the western provinces were asked to vote for or against the free entry of Asiatic labor would they not vote for it? If the farmers of Ontario and Quebec and all the other provinces were asked the same question would they not say

yes, give us labor; we will run the risk of being driven out. If the members of the Dominion Parliament were free from the undue influence of unionism would they not give to the farmer, the railroad builders, the coal miners, and the scores of other great industries that are suffering from the scarcity of labor? I say, would they not support a measure that would give general relief, or at least tend to do so? Would they not push aside the flimsy objections about the Asiatic not assimilating, and other sentimental trash of this kind, in order to relieve the labor famine, which beyond question exists to-day, to the injury of progress throughout the country?

We borrow money to build railroads wherever it can be got cheapest—why not borrow labor, which is now just as necessary as money. We send money, in the way of interest or dividends, out of the country—why not allow the laborer to send home his savings to keep his family so long as we get the benefit of his labor. We do this with the Italian, why not with the Oriental?

The following newspaper article, in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor in South Africa, will be of special interest as showing how the question is looked upon in that part of the Empire:

#### CHINESE LABOR.

##### *Necessary for Prosperity of Mines in South Africa.*

Success of Het Volk in Transvaal Elections Makes it Certain That There Will Be No Immediate Repatriation of Foreign Workmen.

Commenting on the result of the election in the Transvaal, *The Times* says:—Incidentally the course of the elections has shown the mind of all parties in the Transvaal on the subject of Chinese labor. It is not the mind which the home Government and their supporters hoped would be shown, and for the sake of revealing which it has been wickedly suggested they tampered with the Transvaal electoral system. The Boers, as well as the Progressives, have made it plain in the contest that they have not the least intention of destroying the only kind of labor which the one great industry of the colony can at present obtain to make up for the deficiency of native labor in South Africa. The crushing defeat of Mr. Creswell, the champion of white labor in the mines, in a constituency which he had himself chosen, and at the hands of a weak opponent, coupled with the fact that other candidates who violently supported the orthodox British Radical views on the question were completely out of the running, is a clear indication of what the Transvaal voters think upon that subject.

The people of the Transvaal, whatever may be their political opinions on other matters, are much too shrewd not to understand that the whole economic welfare of their country is bound up with the prosperity of the mines, and that the prosperity of the mines is dependent upon Chinese labor for a considerable time to come. They have not the least intention of instantaneously repatriating Chinamen whose services they very urgently need, in order to gratify the moral sentiments or the political passions of Radicals at home.

It is quite evident from the above that South Africa will not wait for "the very best people from the best countries" to come and help them out of their labor difficulties, as Mr. Ralph Smith would have us do here in Canada, where our need is fully as great as it is in South Africa.

The time may not be very far distant when British Columbia, instead of passing laws to exclude the Oriental, will be passing laws granting them concessions and special privileges in order to induce them to come to Canada instead of going to South Africa, Australia, or to the United States. If the newspaper report following may be taken as an indication of the intentions of the Government at Washington (and I think it may be so taken), British Columbia may soon have another opportunity of following an example set by California:

#### WOULD ADMIT CHINESE.

##### *U. S. Immigration Commissioner Expresses View he Says is Unpopular.*

New York, Feb. 11.—Frank P. Sargent, United States Commissioner of Immigration at Washington, said Saturday, before a lecture audience, that the time was not far distant when the Chinese Exclusion Act would be repealed. He was speaking before the League for Political Education. He said, in part:

"The door is shut now to the Chinese; but they come over the fence, notwithstanding the army of immigration inspectors.

"The Chinese will be coming to us soon and saying: 'Is it not time, Mr. American, to admit us to your country?' I believe that time will come, and come sooner than many of us think. I believe that it will be only a few years before the increasing civilization and awakening spirit of the Chinese people will compel us to open the doors freely.

"I expect that I shall be scored very roundly for saying this, but I believe it just the same."

Mr. Sargent made it clear that he had a welcome for all foreigners except the diseased and dishonest.

## LABOR AND CAPITAL.

I have just read Professor Goldwin Smith's latest book and I am almost tempted to say, one of his best works, as far as it goes, for if it has a fault it is that of being too brief. I will take the great liberty of quoting a few paragraphs, even at the risk of showing how crude and feeble have been my own efforts to express similar views when compared with the work of so able and eminent a writer. Referring to the treatment of labor as a commodity, he says:

"There is nothing strange or invidious in treating labor as a commodity, the value, and consequently the wages, of which must be regulated by the market. This is the case with all labor, that of the statesmen, the man of science, the writer, as well as that of the artisan; though the statesman, the man of science, the writer, as well, may draw their wages in a different form. The right of an artisan to a living wage cannot be asserted, unless value in labor can be given for the wage. Nor the right to employment be asserted when no employment offers, in the case of an artisan, any more than in that of the lawyer for whom there are no clients, or the physician for whom there are no patients. Another market must be sought. This is the common lot."

Again, in reference to the tendency of unionism, Professor Smith says:

"Organizations formed for an aggressive purpose are naturally apt to fall into the hands of the most aggressive and least responsible section. There would be fewer strikes if the votes were always taken by ballot and every married man had two. There is also a danger of falling into the hands of aspiring leaders, whose field is industrial war. This danger increases with the extension of the field, and still further when to leadership in political agitation, with the importance which it bestows and the prospects of advancement which it opens.

"Power newly won and flushed with victory seldom stops exactly at the line of right. From enabling the wage-earner to treat on fair terms with the employer, unions seem now to be going on to create for themselves a monopoly of labor. To this the community never has submitted and never can submit. Freedom of labor is the rightful inheritance of every man and the vital interest of all. The defensive forces of the community are slow in gathering to resist usurpation. But they will gather at last, and when they do the end is certain."

"Labor, if it is tempted to be unmeasured in its demands, will do well to bear in mind that formidable competition may be coming

on the scene. In China there is a highly industrial population reckoned at four hundred millions, to which these troubles apparently are unknown, whose labor is steady and reliable. The influence may not be directly felt, though China and Japan are gaining a footing on the western coast of America. But it is pretty sure to work round. Besides, capital has wings. Nor will mechanical invention sleep."

There remains still another point from which the effects of unionism should be viewed in connection with the operations of railways.

The complicated and delicate machinery by which the movement of fast passenger trains and a heavy freight traffic is governed on a single track railway, with due regard to safety, demands that not only must the employees concerned be experienced, well trained, and careful men, but it also demands that they should be well disciplined, obedient and loyal to proper authority.

The interdependent relations between officials who give orders and the train men who execute them are very exacting, and render it necessary that they should have, in the highest possible degree, confidence in the capacity and ability of each other, and that the same aim and object should be the guiding influence of both. That aim and object should be, above all others, the safety of people who travel by railway. From the peculiar nature of the service to be rendered, it will easily be seen that any friction, any cause of discord existing between those whose duty it is to give orders, and those whose duty it is to obey and loyally execute such orders, must necessarily act as a disturbing influence upon this sensitive machinery. Any outside force that would tend, in even a remote degree, to weaken or divert that loyalty in execution of order or advice from those who command to those whose duty it is to heed and act, not in a perfunctory way, but with all due diligence; I repeat, any such cause is in itself an element of danger. Some people might well feel disposed to ask: Has this question not a direct bearing on the sad increase of disasters on railways throughout America, which has been so marked, that both the Governments of the United States and of Canada have been called upon to investigate the cause? This remarkable increase in the number of casualties, in the face of all modern inventions and improvements that have been applied to secure a greater degree of safety, must be the result of some more or less direct cause. That cause may possibly be found to exist in the disturbing element which I have above referred to.

If it were possible to add up and place in actual figures, side by side, a grand total representing the gains and losses to be debited



and credited to unionism since its advent, how would the balance appear? If all the losses of life and destruction of property, all of the loss of time on the part of laborers, all the time of idle machinery and idle capital, all the untold misery, wretchedness and suffering of men and women and children, if all these things, that are directly traceable to organized labor troubles, could be placed side by side in any way that would admit of their being weighed or measured, what would such a totality mean? I ask the reader in all sincerity to look at the whole matter from this point of view. Then ask himself this question: Is it a thing to be desired that this system should be encouraged, fostered and perpetuated, until individual effort, individual freedom, individual independence, has become a thing of the past and there be nothing left for incentive? No reward for superior ability or ambition, nothing but a levelling *down* to mediocrity, and submission to the will of an arbitrary control, the very foundation of which is based upon the crafty Jesuitical motto, "The end justifies the means."

If Canadians are to imitate the democracy that rules in the United States in the future as they have been doing in the past, if we have no guiding ideals of our own, but continue to act the subservient part of imitators, then surely we can have but little reason for claiming the twentieth century as our own.

If the democracy of organized labor, which has been allowed to become international in character, and, in fact, is to be looked upon as a sample of our highest aims, then there can be little hope for a purely Canadian national democracy. If the people and Government of Canada are not strong enough, self-reliant enough, to take the initiative and work out a higher standard of political, social and commercial ethics, independent of the precedents set by our more wealthy and populous neighbor, then we are but as a suburban ward of a large city.

If our great transcontinental railways, such as the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, are subject to the possibility of being "tied up" at the order of an international labor organization, then is the claim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the "twentieth century belongs to Canada," an illusion, a vain boast, and a mockery; the sooner forgotten the better.

But surely there must be a higher destiny before us than this, and surely it must be attainable. The attainment of such a destiny is the work that the twentieth century has marked out for the young giant to undertake. Can he do it? Is he equal to the task? These are pertinent questions, the answers to which are yet hidden below the horizon, below the line of vision. We may be

confident that it is possible and even probable. We may feel sure that with courage and capacity, moral, mental and physical, coupled with that political wisdom, honest zeal and patriotism, with that independent spirit which makes for good and wise government, as well as for prosperous, contented and happy citizens, I say, with these to lead and guide all difficulties and dangers may be brushed aside and the Young Giant Nation can then shake hands with his bride, the Twentieth Century, and make her welcome to a new home, newly furnished, in the Far West of the New World.

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#### APPENDIX.

#### STATEMENT OF PROPOSED EVIDENCE BEFORE THE STRIKE COMMISSIONERS.

To make even an attempt at offering any practical suggestion on the subject a thorough knowledge of the history of railway strikes is necessary, a close analysis of cause and effect, a clear, unbiased conception of all the conditions bearing on and leading up to the disputes between employer and employed.

The object to be attained is vast and difficult, and cannot be secured at once. There was a beginning to strikes, a gradual development in keeping with the development and extension of railways themselves. The remedy must have a beginning, a progress and a development, a growth in power and influence, until railway strikes become unprofitable, unpopular, illegal, impossible; whether the remedy takes the form of legislation or of concession and commingling of interests between railway companies and their employees, or otherwise.

One step has already been taken. The last and greatest strike has proved that strikes are now unprofitable to the strikers. Had the recent trouble been successful, the strikers would have been the losers, but having been unsuccessful they lost all. In other words, they had everything to lose and nothing to gain.

The time is opportune for taking further steps. The possibilities for good and great results from the investigation which your commission is holding cannot be overestimated. The victors and the vanquished should realize this and willingly lend their aid to that end. It is unquestionably for the benefit of railway companies and for the interests of the people and of the state that strife and antagonism should be buried and that peace, harmony and good will should exist between employer and employed.

The best means to bring this about is, as I understand it, one of your aims, and on this line I venture respectfully to offer my

humble opinion, formed from a knowledge, personally gained, of a system adopted by a leading railway which has proved successful to such a degree that I feel warranted in bringing this under your notice.

It partakes somewhat of the nature of a "Civil Service" adapted to railway service. The employees in the Operating Department are divided into classes: First, Second and Third. For example, a brakeman enters the service in the third, or lowest class. After a satisfactory examination at the end of six months he is promoted to the second class, and at the end of eighteen months' further satisfactory service he is promoted to the first class, with an increase of pay upon each promotion. And so on through each branch of service, the length of service and the amount of increase being adjusted to meet the requirements in each case. This schedule of rates and the terms of promotion is adjusted and agreed to by a conference held yearly, or oftener, if necessary, between the company's officers and delegates sent from the different classes of the different branches of the service. Everyone entering the service is required to sign an agreement that they will be governed by this schedule or other regulations issued from time to time.

The system has been the outcome of a gradual movement in that direction and is now so elaborated as to cover almost every point. At the conference any friction or grievance is discussed amicably and adjusted, and friendly feeling and confidence is fostered and encouraged. This system is a protection to the employee, it secures to him certain promotion and increase of pay, which is a strong incentive to good behavior and continuance in the service; it is a protection to the company and public, and its tendency is to keep faithful, experienced men in their places. A man cannot be dismissed or reduced in his class without trial, and has recourse direct to the highest authority. The causes of dismissal or other punishment are published. An employee from another company cannot be taken into the service to the detriment of any one already employed. It does not debar men from joining unions. They elect their best informed and most level-headed men to represent them at the conferences, irrespective of position or union connections, the agitator is suppressed, and men of cool, honest purpose selected instead, commanding and receiving the respect of their officials.

The whole system gives stability and character to the service, brings the employee regularly in contact with his officers, establishes and maintains friendly relations and kindly interests, and inculcates a spirit of tolerance on both sides; yet it is merely a beginning and is capable of being enlarged upon and improved as the times admit. When men are opposed to such a system, learn

that it is for the benefit of all, and not for a few, when they learn it insures them against injustice and oppression, secures to them permanency of employment (as far as that can be done) and an advance in wages as they increase in efficiency, they will cease opposing. It is an established fact that railway companies prefer the old, tried, faithful and experienced servants to new hands at a less cost, and it is the interest of every officer to have friendly relations with the men under his supervision, and these men invariably find it is better to consult with their superior officers themselves than to put their case in the hands of professed agitators. It often occurs that the officer expects too much from the employee who has not had the experience or has not the ability of viewing matters from the official's point of view. It would be well for such officials to remember the motto: "Put yourself in his place," and act accordingly. There is much to be learned and gained by a proper and liberal treatment of employees. Their true interests should be explained to them in a kind and friendly way. Once started in that direction the employee will rapidly learn to appreciate and profit by such treatment, and a growth of confidence will be promoted and relations established that may finally change the whole feature of existing conditions. If there should arise any difficulties that cannot be adjusted at the conference referred to above, then arbitration can be resorted to when the matter in dispute is brought down to a point such as would render arbitration possible and practicable.

With regard to state ownership I would simply say that the question is of such magnitude that I do not feel competent to express even an opinion. The possibilities for good or for evil would be tremendous. Competition, in case of state ownership, would be interfered with. Political influence would inevitably be a great factor, and no one can foretell how that influence might result. I would mention the fact that in the neighboring Dominion of Canada there is a considerable system of railways owned and managed by the Government, but these lines were originally built, equipped and manned by the Government, thus making the conditions altogether different from what would obtain were the Government to acquire and work the roads of this country.

I would again state that I have no personal interest to serve, directly or indirectly, in offering to give evidence, but do so solely in the hope that I may have touched upon some new ground, or brought out some point not covered by other witnesses.

My long experience of thirty-seven years of railway life, in various positions, must be my excuse for venturing to say what I have.

ROBT. LARMOUR.

